TAMIL LITERATURE AND INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Dr. S.N. KANDASWAMY



INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TAMIL STUDIES
உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்
சென்னை - 600 113

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Title	:	Tamil Literature and Indian Philosophy
Author	:	Dr. S.N. KANDASWAMY
Publisher	:	International Institute of Tamil Studies C.I.T. Campus, Taramani Chennai - 600 113
Edition	:	First
Date of Publication	:	2001
Publication No.	:	409
Language	:	English
Paper used	:	TNPL 18.6.KG Maplitho
Size of the book	:	1/8 Demy
Printing types	:	10 points
No. of pages	:	viii + 656
Price	:	200/- (Rupees Two hundred only)
No. copies	:	1000
Printed by	:	United Bind Graphics 189-D, Royapettah High Road Mylapore, Chennai - 600 004
Subject	:	Literature and Philosophy

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Foreword

This Volume comprises thirty articles of Prof. S.N.Kandaswamy, written during the last three decades of his academic career. Most of them have been presented in National and International Seminars and subsequently published in reputed journals. In this Collection, the first fifteen articles are mainly concerned with some of the essential aspects of Tamil literature, while the next fifteen with significant topics of Indian philosophy.

The first article projects the salient features of Tamil literature through the ages. The next article claims National status for the world - renowned Tamil classic, Tirukkuṟaḷ on solid and valid grounds. A comparative study of Sutta Piṭaka, the Pāli Buddhist canonical literature and Tirukkuṟaḷ has been carried out in the subsequent article bringing forth the core values, enshrined in them. In the next article, he has elucidated on fresh sources that Tolkappiyam, the classical Tamil grammar cum poetics should have been written in 500 B.C. though some additions, deletions and alterations occurred in the text in subsequent periods. The rhetorical tradition, as delineated in Tolkappiyam and its Commentaries formed the theme of one article.

His observations on the impact of Tamil on Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages are balanced and unbiased. In one article, he has explicated that the literary genre **Sataka** is Pan-Indian form, since it is popular in Tamil, Sanskirt and other major languages of India. The phylogenetic changes as noticed in the language of the Buddhist Tamil epic Maṇimēkalai enables him to conclude that the epic was a product of 450 A.D. - 550 A.D. The life and times of Saint Appar, one of the vanguards of Bhakti Movement formed the substance of one article. The author shares his experiences of translating *Sundarar Devaram* [A.D.710] in the next article. There are three articles on modern Tamil poetry. The English writings of Dr.M.Arunachalam, the great Tamil literary historian are highlighted in one article. The national thoughts in the Tamil classics are underscored in the subsequent article.

The eminent western literary critics Rene Wellek and Austin Warren observed that *"literature can be treated as a document in the history of ideas and philosophy"* [vide, Theory of Literature, p.III]. The veracity of this statement is attested in the rest of the articles. The metaphysical thoughts of both the homogeneous and heterogeneous systems of Indian philosophy, as embalmed in the Tamil Classics have been sufficiently analysed and the contributions of Tamil intellectuals to the main stream of Indian thought have been adequately assessed in these articles.

The Institute has already published the author's monumental book *"Indian Epistemology As Expounded in the Tamil Classics"*. Among his other works, *Tamilum Tattuvamum* [1976], *Tirukkuṟaḷ kūṟum Uṟuti-p-poruḷ [1977], Tamil Ilakkiyattil Boutham [1977], Buddhism As Expounded in Manimekalai [1978] Evolution of Tamil Prosody Vol.I - II [1989], Bharatidasan As a Romantic Poet [1991] Puṟattiṇai Vaazhviyal [1995] and Tirumuṟai Ilakkiyam [1996]* are note-worthy. He is a reputed Tamil scholar, multi - lingual and a specialist in Buddhism. He has been Visiting Professor of our Institute during 1998-99. About four decades, he was serving in the Annamalai University, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur and Tamil University in various capacities. He is a regular contributor of review articles to the National Daily, The Hindu since 1973. The Institute feels happy in bringing out the scattered articles of the learned author in this volume, and expresses sincere thanks to him and the editors of the journals and volumes for their kindness and courtesy. We sincerely hope that this volume will be of immense help to the readers, researchers, scholars and specialists in the specific areas.

I convey my heartfelt thanks to the Honourable Education Minister of Tamil Nadu Government Dr.M. Thambidurai, M.A.M.Litt., Ph.D. who is also the Chairman of this Institute and also to the Secretary, Thiru. P.A. Ramaiah, I.A.S. and Additional Secretary Thiru. D. Chandrasekaran, I.A.S., Tamil Culture and Development for their keen interest, constant encouragement and kind support to our Institute.

Our thanks are also due to the DTP Assistants of our Institute and the United Bind Graphics for the excellent execution of the book.

Chennai
15.09.2001

Director

Preface

Literature and Philosophy are intimately connected and mutually influenced as far as Indian tradition is concerned. The great Tamil poets had lofty thoughts and noble sentiments, contributing to human perfection. They envisaged that the main purpose and function of literature meant not only to delight the readers, but also to enlighten them. The moral philosopher Tiruvalluvar [B.C.50 - A.D. 50] and the Sangam celebrity Kaṉiyaṉ Poonguṉṟan [300 B.C.] preached and practised the concept of one world and universal brotherhood. The great vanguards of Bhakti Movement were puissant social reformists, professing love and humanism.

Dramila Vatsyāyana [A.D.400], the earliest commentator of Nyāyasutra, Dignaga [A.D. 450], Dharmapala [A.D.475], Cāttaṉār [A.D. 500], Samkaraswamin [A.D.500], Bodhi dharma [A.D.500] and Dharma kirthi [A.D.650], the eminent Buddhist metaphysicians and dialecticians were closely associated with **Kāñci,** the citadel of Pallava kings and centre for advanced learning, attracting students even from overseas. Similarly the contributions of Kundakundacharya [A.D.50] and Umāswami [A.D.50], hailing from Tamilnadu to the field of Jainism cannot be minimised. Adi Sankara, the official interpreter of Advaita Vedanta and Ramanuja, the efficient exponent of Viśiṣtādvaita, are acclaimed to be Tamilians, leave alone Tirumūlar, Meykaṇḍār and others, the potential proponents of Saiva Siddhanta. Having these and similar ideas in mind, most of the articles constituting the present volume have been prepared and presented in many seminars held at National and International levels, and subsequently published in many journals and volumes. There are articles on some significant aspects of Tamil literature. The author expresses his sincere thanks to the editors and publishers of the articles. Since these articles were written at various intervals of time, some unavoidable repetitions are found. They may be treated as *"anuvādas"* to serve different purposes in different contexts. Some corrections and additions are also made in these articles.

The author is beholden to the Eminent Professor, Dr. R. Balasubramanian, Ex-Chairman, I.C.P.R. New Delhi and formerly

Director, The Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras for his blessings and encouragement.

He expresses his heartfelt thanks to the members of the Publication Committee, especially to Dr. S.S. Ramar Ilango, the dynamic Director of the International Institute of Tamil Studies for bringing out this volume for the benefit of not only the academics but also for those who are interested in Tamil literature and Indian Philosophy, and also for his illuminating foreword.

Thanjavur
28.08.2001

S.N. Kandaswamy

TAMIL LITERATURE THROUGH THE AGES
A BIRD'S EYE VIEW

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

India is a museum of different languages and distinct cultures. Despite the superficial differences, there exists from the dim past, the underlying unity in the customs and conventions, ideas and ideals among the people distributed from Kashmir in the North to Cape Comorin in the South. The accounts about the Tamil Monarchs Chera, Chola and Pandyas available in the *Ithihasas* and also in the Asokan Rock Edicts, and the references to the dynasties of Nandas and Mauryas in the ancient Tamil Sangam Classics bear testimony to the cordial relationship, prevailed between the South and the North. Our National Tamil poet Mahakavi Bharati in one of his lyrics sings the glorious sentiment of emotional integrity and national solidarity thus: "Though Mother India possesses 18 languages, She has one mind". It is heartening to note that the great Tamil epic poet, Cāttaṉār (500 A.D.) mentions that in Kāñchi, the renowned capital city of the Pallava rulers, there were people speaking 18 languages, perhaps indicating the commercial and cultural commingling of various nations. Bharavi, the famous Sanskrit poet extols the glory of Kānchi in the immortal phrase, **Nagareshu Kāñci** meaning that Kanchipuram is the best among the cities, since it has been a centre of Indian culture, architecture, religion and philosophy, especially attracting students and scholars even from overseas to specialise Buddhistic studies. Bodhidharma, a native of Kanchi is held responsible for the dessemination of Dhyana Buddhism in China and Japan where it became very popular and was named respectively Jann and Zen Buddhism. It is from this important city that Dignaga, the eminent Buddhist logician and his erudite disciple, Dharmapala were invited to preside over the destiny of Nalanda University as Vice-Chancellors one after the other, and their works are still preserved in Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese languages. From the orthodox section, Sankara and Ramanuja, the eminent exponents of **Vedanta** and **Viśiṣtādvaitha** philosophy respectively, hailed from the South. Not only in the sphere of intellectual speculation, but even in the domain of literary activities we witness the mutual understanding

and influence of various linguistic groups. It is a well known fact that Sanskrit has been studied by Southerners who have contributed much to the enrichment of that language. Though the Indian languages possess their own individuality and originality, the influence of Sanskrit in them can not be overlooked. Nevertheless Tamil, an equally important ancient language has also exerted its impact on Sanskrit as noticed by T. Burrow and Emeneau. According to A.B. Keith, Kumarila, the excellent commentator of Jaimini's *Mimamsa Sutra* revealed his knowledge of Dravidian languages in his *Tantravartika* and permitted the incorporation of Dravidian words, provided that they are given Sanskrit terminations[1]. Hence, it is sufficient to conclude that in the exchange of knowledge neither the region nor the language stood as a barrier. All Indologists including Max Muller have clearly pointed out the Pan Indian thoughts indicating the unity in diversity.

With these introductory remarks, I am glad to proceed to present some of the significant aspects of the literary epochs in the historical journey of Tamil language.

ANCIENT TAMIL

Tamil language has a continuous history of literature spreading over 2,500 years or even more. According to the tradition, the Pandya kings established **Tamil Cankam,** like the French Academy of scholars and patronized the poets who have produced the best specimens of Tamil poetry. Though most of the works of the early **Cankams** were dwindled into oblivion due to deluge and carelessness, the available classical wrtings that stood the ravages of time are *Tolkappiyam,* the earliest extant Tamil grammar and the super-anothologies known as *Ettutokai* (Eight Compilations of poetry) and *Pattupattu* (Ten Idylls). These are regarded to be the finished products of the Tamilian intellect. These works roughly belong to a period extended from 500 B.C. to 300 A.D. This is called the Sangam Age which has been compared to the Periclian age in the Greek history and the golden age of the Guptas.

TOLKAPPIYAM - SOME ASPECTS

First and foremost, I shall attempt to say something about *Tolkappiyam,* the senor most Tamil treatise handed down to posterity. The author of this grammatical work is Tolkappiyar, having erudition in almost all the branches of knowledge as evidenced from the references in

his text. As a result of his arduous and ardent study of curent usages and literary conventions, he has codified the rules and regulations governing the structure of the Tamil Language and the content and form of its literature in three parts. The first two portions of his monumental work descriptively deal with the linguistic aspects, while the last one discussed in detail the poetics and prosody, the literary aspects of the Tamil language simultaneously throwing a flood of light on the social history of the people.

Since the author in many contexts in the text has referred to his predecessors (Purva Acharyas) and also to some of his contemporaries not by name but by some general appellatives and epithets, it is worthwhile to suggest that he should have taken into account the ancient and recent trends and developments in the literary field, and their relation and relevance to the then current society that moulded him to prepare this immortal work.

Hence, it is reasonable to earnestly endeavour to earmark the literary conventions and poetic traditions as embedded in the text, that provided sufficient guidelines for the ancient writers who were chiefly poets and bards.

THREEFOLD USAGES

First of all let us focus on the three kinds of usages, adopted by the authors in creating a poetry, one by one.

1. Ulaka Vaḻakku

This term indicates the empirical or popular usage found in the poetry, depicting the normal life and social conventions of the people. It does not mean that literature should be a copy of the actual life. There may be some omissions and commissions in the portrayal of the society. This usage comes very close to what modern critics call realistic idealism. Though more prescriptions are found to delineate the brighter and purer sides of life, Tolkappiyar did not prohibit to touch on the dark scenes, if such a depiction aimed to exterminate the evil and to ennoble the society [2] The value of literature depends on the degree of its concern with society. In this context, the view of W.H. Hudson is appropriate to be quoted.

> "We care for literature on account of its deep and lasting human significance. A great book grows directly out of life; in reading it, we are brought into large, close and fresh relations with life....It

is fundamentally an expression of life through the medium of language."[3]

So, we can conclude that the concept, 'literature for literature's sake' is untenable and that it has something to instruct artistically has been the general trend as far as the ancient Tamil poetry is concerned.

Next, we proceed to say a few words about another kind of usage to be followed in the literary creation.

2. Nāṭaka Vaḻakku

This nomenclature literally means the dramatic usage which intends to reveal the delightful and interesting scenes occurring in a sequence in the form of monologues or dialogues. This usage is totally devoted to describe all that is good and virtuous. It indicates the imaginative and illuminative elements constituting the idealistic aspect of literature. This usage provides enough opportunity for the poets to exercise their imaginative faculty to wonderful but meaningful works of art.

3. Pulaṉ neṟi vaḻakku

The third one is known aas Pulaṉ neṟi Vaḻakku i.e., the usage based on the scholarly conventions, being the blend of the first two usages. Usually the poets follow this method by which they combine both realism and idealism sc that they should create what is beneficial and useful to the society.

After having seen the threefold usages for the literary production we now pass on to deal with the nature of subject-matter or literary theme as conceived by Tolkaapiyar.

Literary theme

Since literature is considered to be a social product, its theme essentially centres around the incidents of life and social activities. Love and warfare are the dominant themes in the primitive society and the conventions and norms governing these two aspects had become standardized during the peirod of *Tolkappiyam*. In the language of *Tol.* love is known as **Akam,** literally means that which is internal and subjective, and in its extension of meaning denoted the pre-marital or clandestine love and postmarital love of the ideal hero and heroine (known

as **Aṉpiṉ Aintiṇai)**, in addition to the unreciprocated love or one-sided love (i.e. **Kaikkiḷai)** and mismatched love or inappropriate relationship (i.e. **Peruntiṇai)**. The last two varieties though commonly seen in the society are not taken by many writers as the subject matter of their poetic treatment. Most of them prepared to sing the glory of ideal love so that the society would follow the right course.

It is also prescibed that an ideal hero and heroine should be equals in ten respects, viz., birth, heredity, quality, age, beauty, love, grace, knowledge, humbleness and opulence. Further, even the superiority of the groom over the bride is also admitted. It is also a literary convention that the lovers entering into the secret relationship should one day come forward to openly wed and in any circumstances none of them should forsake the other. The characters of love poetry include the lady companion, male friend, foster-mother, harlot, bard, dancing damsel, ascetic and others. Another tradition as recorded in *Tol.* proclaims that the characters of love poems should not be mentioned by their personal names, but get their general names in accordance with their local habitation. *Depersonalization in love poems has been a peculiar feature in the literary conventions of ancient Tamil,* since the objective of the writers was to communicate the emotions, feelings and sentiments of the characters in a general way so that they may be taken for a wider circle of readers without offending or wounding the individual. Even in modern times, the editors of the Tamil weeklies and monthlies used to publish in the open page that the names, incidents etc., occurring in the stories do not refer to any individual, but that they are fictitious. This common trend found in the ancient and modern creative writing deserves special mention. This trend is labelled as generalisation.

The landscape and the season, the divisions of the day and night, the flora and fauna and the five aspects of lovers' behaviour, viz., union, separation, patiently waiting, sulking and pining are elaborately expalined in *Tol.* which served not only as a work of poetics, but also as a manual to the study of sex-eductaion. Since a major portion of the poetics in *Tol.* is devoted to the norms of love poetry, it is evident that the hedonistic way of life was very popular during the period of *Tol.*

The next dominant theme that includes the warfare, polity, education, arts and crafts etc., is known as **Puṟam,** literally means that which is external and objective. Cattle-lifting, fighting with the purpose

of territorial expansion, or establishing one's valour, besieging the castle ect., were considered some of the aspects of ancient warfare. Further the success that one gains in every walk of life, the realisation of the evanescent and transcient nature of mundane life, the objects of praise etc., are also to be dealt with in the **Puṟam** poetry.

Apart from the dichotomy of **Akam** and **Puṟam** themes which are purely local and native, the author has also presented a Pan-Indian literary view known as **'Trivarga'** i.e. **Mu-p-pāl** or the three aims of life, emphasised to treat exclusively with **Dharma (aṟam-** virtue), **Artha (Poruḷ** - wealth) and **Kāma (iṉpam** - pleasure).[4] The total absence of the fourth objective, viz., **Mokṣa** is significant in *Tol.* and it is essential to note that this aspect gained importance only in the post-Sangam period, when religous movements swept the minds of the people.

The prosodial portions in *Tol.* provided the canons of versification, the literary genres-including the oral bardic poetry and prose works etc., in addition to the emotional aspects and rhetorics which throw a flood of light both on the structure and substance of different types of literary creation existed in the remote past.

Next, we proceed to deal with the literary trends as found in the Sangam classical poetry.

Sangam poems

The originality, profundity and perfection of the **Cankam** classics were attested even by modern scholars who are adepts in more than one language. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri observes.[5]

> "We have in the **Cankam** classics a superb literature of incomparable force and beauty coupled with economy of telling expression".

The renowned Tamilologist, Prof. A.K. Ramanujan endorses the above view in a different way:

"In their antiquity and in their contemporaneity, there is not much else in any Indian literature equal to these quiet and dramatic Tamil poems. In their values and stances, they represent a mature classical poetry : passion is balanced by courtesy, transparency by ironies and nuances of design, impersonality by vivid detail, leanness of line by richness of implication".

These observations are sufficient to estimate the greatness of ancient Tamil poetry. If they are properly rendered into English and other world languages, it is certain that they will receive the due recognition and reputation from all quarters of the globe.

It is essential to note that among the **Cankam** Celebrities, there are many poetesses and monarchs, leave alone the regular poets and bards hailing from various walks of life.

The total poems in the entire corpus of **Cankam** literature are 2381 of which **Akam** (-Subjective or love) poems amount to 1862. This indicates the significance and popularity commanded by the love lyrics amongst the creaters as well as readers. Most of these poems are in **Akaval** metre, akin to the blank verse and they were arranged on the basis of the metrical lines. Two collections are named after the metre in which they were composed. They are *Paripatal* and *Kalittokai* which are musical by nature.

If the poems are long, naturally the description of the landscape, the seasonal setting, the depiction of the flora and fauna, the historical and mythical allusions etc., occupy a predominent place to unfold the human behaviours. Anyhow, they are subordinated to be the background to delineate the love themes which alone are dominant in the **Akam** poems. If the poems are medium in size, the natural descriptions etc., are also limited. Whether the poem is long or short, the love theme is conspicuously present in all of them.

Some of the salient features of the love poems are worth mentioning. They are the following:

1. In accordance with the literary convention as enshrined in *Tolkappiyam,* the personal names of the lovers of the people connected with them are uniformly avoided. Only their general names, associated with the landscape to which they belong, are used.

2. Though some poems may be considered to be the expression of personal experience, it seems that these poets are not willing to expose themselves, so that their creation becomes common without prejudice or favour for the understanding and appraisal of all. This tendency shows their polite and gentle attitude.

3. *The reference to caste system is totally absent in the love poems* which extol the glory of sincere love of various types of people distributed to different regions and various avocations.

4. It is a peculiar feature in the **Cankam** poetry that the lady love has been compared to a city or a beautiful place. This sort of comparison is not found in the literature of other languages.

5. The characters of the **Akam** poetry, especially the heroine, hero, maid and foster mother due to overwhelming emotion and intense feeling used to address moon, wind, bird and other natural objects thinking that they would listen and respond. This sort of pathetic fallacy is a unique feature in the **Akam** poems.

6. The poems that deal with the separation of the lover and the pangs of separation of the lady love are very many. They disclose the fact that the male-members of the society were valorous, enterprising and adventurous and they travelled to far off places to amass wealth or to fight for his country's welfare.

7. The modesty, fidelity and tenderness of the heroine, being the help-mate and life partner of the hero are duly glorified.

8. In addition to the depiction of ideal love, the one-sided and unrequital love and mismatched love also become the subject-matter of some poems which throw some light on the real side of the society.

9. Beautiful similes, images, symbolism, description of nature and other poetic embellishments are abundant in these poems. **Uḷḷuṟai** and **Iṟaicci** the literary techniques of refined expression are peculiar to **Akam** poems.

10. These poems, which are essentially meant to praise and propagate the greatness of ideal love, are actually advocating the paramount significance of wealth without which, one poet clearly stated that neither virtue nor pleasure could be attained. So, it is evident that Sangam poems are very practical and down to the earth.

11. The historical allusions are more frequent, and are highly useful to reconstruct the political history of the ancient Tamils.

12. In addition to the monologues and soliloquies, dialogues are also found in *Paripatal* and *Kalittokai* which belong to the later part of

the Sangam period [A.D.200]. The technique of stream consciousness is also found in some poems. These aspects indicate a development in the creative process of the ancient poetry.

In order to illustrate the creative faculty of one of the greatest **Akam** poets of Sangam period **Paranar** by name a free rendering of his poem (**Akam,** 122) and its situation are presented hereunder:

During the clandestine course of the lovers, the hero fixed a place and time in the night for their meeting. The heroine, being guarded by her foster-mother vigilantly, has to overcome many a hurdle which has been splendidly portrayed in the poem which is a soliloquy of the heroine.

"Even if there is no festival, the people of the uproaring city, dotted by youngsters who are drinking and playing till late in the night, do not sleep.

Even if the people living in the market streets with many prosperous night shops repose, the mother always uttering harsh words does not sleep, though it becomes mid-night.

If the mother, who actually imprisons me without permitting me to go elsewhere goes to sleep, the watchmen with wakeful eyes holding spears in their hands are wandering hither and tither discharging their night duty.

Even if they also sleep, the watch-dogs with their sharp teeth and curling tails bark.

Even if they get tired and become quiet, the milky moon comes to shine like day in the broad sky.

Slowly the moon sets in the west and the whole atmosphere is plunged into dim darkness. It is such a terrible mid-night, when the ghosts are rambling, that the owls preying on the rats in the houses hoot to the horror of all. Even the owls go to roost, the domestic cocks commence to crow.

One day, overcoming all these obstacles, I was able to reach the place, fixed by my lover. But, Lo! He who is residing in my herart was unable to come to the spot."

So, the heroine expresses her plight and pitiable condition to her maid thus:

"Our clandestine love has many hurdles, like the forest fortress encircled the great city, Uraiyur of the Chola king Tittan, whose horses are famous for their majestic gait".

It is implied that the heroine's talk is directed towards the hero, who is standing in a proximate place, hesitating to approach her because she is in the company of her maid. This sort of dramatic situations suggests that the hero will understand the difficulty of his lady-love and that it is not wise to continue any further the clandestine course and that it is essential and inevitable to come forward to arrange for the wedding so that she will be relieved from unnecessary troubles.

Thus, the poem with full of suggestions remains to be a delicious and delightful piece of art revealing the poet's creative genius.

After having said so much about the literary aspects of **Akam** poems, let us move to say a few words about the **Puram** poems, which as we have already ponted out are valuable records to understand our ancient culture and civilization, polity and society, arts and crafts, trade and commerce both local and foreign.

Instead of subjecting all the poems on objective themes, known as **Puram** for a careful study, let me confine myself to deal with *"Puram-Four Hundred"*, a collection containing 400 poems of various dimensions, reflecting the spirit of the heroic period. Most of them extol the glorious achievements of the Tamil Kings, Cheftains and Philanthropists. Apart from this, this anthology is studded with noble thoughts, high ideals and ethical norms to confirm the well-known literary concept that literature is a record of the best thoughts. Some illustrations are sufficiaent.

1. The ideal life of a poet is revealed thus:

   "I will not utter lie in order to get a prosperous life; I will always speak the truth"[6]

2. The poet addresses his wife to give some instructions which follow thus:[7]

   "Oh, my Darling! Distribute all the wealth donated to me by the great philanthropist, Kumanan, to all the people who love you, and are loved by you, to the relatives and to those who helped you in need, and to all, without any consideration or consultation with me".

3. One poet who is also a King enumerates the reasons for the endurement and existence of the world. They are presented here[8]:

"The world exists because,

a) There are people who even though procured ambrosia from Indra's heaven will not consume it in isolation, but they will share it with others.

b) There are people who do not despise others, and who are not slothful and indolent.

c) There are people who fear only for doing dreadful deeds, and who are prepared to give up their own lives to achieve name and fame. They will not commit any detestable act even if they are tempted to receive the whole world. They are tireless in discharging their duties.

d) Such a high souled people are devoid of selfishness and are always working for the benefit of others.

This poem from the pen of a ruler clearly projects the basis of a welfare state.

4. Another poet opines that neither the paddy nor the water is the life of the country which has the ruler as its animating principle.[9]

5. Avvaiyar, the great poetess declares that wherever the male - members are virtuous, then the habitat becomes good.[10]

6. Another poetess, Ponmutiyar enlists the duties and reponsibilities of the different persons thus.[11]

"Mother's duty is to give birth to a son and to nurture him. Father's duty is to make him wise. Smith's duty is to make for him a shapely spear. King's duty is to guide him to fight. Son's duty is to boldly enter the war-front, to kill the elephants and to return with success".

Modern writers should take note of this poetry and wield their pen to carve the social obligations and patriotic feelings in their writings so that they would stir and spur the people to act accordingly.

With regard to the devotional religious poetry of Sangam period, *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* and *Paripāṭal* are considered to be the best

specimens. Lord Murukan̲, the embodiment of Divine beauty and prowess, and Lord Tirumāl, the God of protection become the object of adoration in these poems.

DIDACTIC LITERATURE

Next comes the epoch of didactic literature or the ethical works amongst which *Tirukkural* occupies a supreme place and requires special mention.

Normally, this work is assigned to 50 A.D. Tiruvalluvar, the author of this immortal ethical literature has been an evolved soul. Having experience and erudition in various branches of knowledge, he has composed this monumental masterpiece dealing with (1) **Ar̲am** or **Dharma** i.e. Virtuouse course of life, (2) **Poruḷ** or **Artha** i.e., wealth being the core for polity and (3) **In̲pam** or **Kāma** i.e. erotics. The whole book contains 133 chapters each of which is consisting of 10 couplets, famous for their brevity and potentiality of expression, laden with lofty thoughts and profound ideals. The author's scholarship,maturity of thought, power of imagination to draw analogies from the empirical world to elucidate the ethical norms, mastery and command over the language and metre, and above all the tone and texture of common concern, appealing to all humanity transcending the barriers of race, land, language and creed made him a universal poet. It is the only Tamil text, for which more than ten commentaries have been produced from early times to this period. The influence and impact of this text is uniformly witnessed in almost all the literatures that appeared subsequently through the ages down to our own times. *It is the only secular Indian literature that has been translated in almost all the well-known world languages.* We are legitimately proud of having such an eminent and excellent ethical literature. Since time cannot wither such a superb creation, may I suggest that all the modern writers should dive deep into the ocean of *Tirukkural* in order to give new forms and fresh dimensions to the noble thoughts found therein since they are relevant and pertinent to modern period.

Let us present the essence of some couplets to highlight the wit and wisdom of Tiruvalluvar.

1. The alphabetical system commences with the first letter 'A'. So also, the world commences with the root principle of God. (1)

2. Married life becomes purposeful and meaningful, if it is possessed by love and virtue (45)

3. The wealth possessed by the magnanimous persons is highly useful to the poverty striken society, just like the medicinal tree (-whose bark, leaves, fruit and even root are very much useful to the patients) (217).

4. A welfare state is one that is bereft of extreme hunger, endless disease and external aggressions (734)

5. A good country is one where unfailing yields, men of integrity and compassionate rich people are found (731)

6. Industry brings prosperity, while indolence indulges one in poverty (616)

It is clearr that Tirukkuṟaḷ is a classic which is meant not for merely reading but for digesting and applying in the day to day life.

EPOCH OF EPICS

Now we pass on to the next period of Tamil literature which produced eminent epics. Epic is a new form. The epoch of the early epics roughly belongs to 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. during which period the Twin Epics, viz., *Cilappatihāram* and *Maṇimekalai* were created respectively by Ilango and Cāttaṉār.

The first epic has three objectives :

1. Those who are disloyal to the country will be punished by the God of Righteouness.

2. The chaste woman becomes the object of adoration and veneration of all the great people.

3. Nobody can escape the consequences of one's own deeds.

Having these main objectives in mind, Ilango, the versatile ascetic and the younger brother of the Chera monarch Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ wrote this Epic of Anklet to immortalise the heroine Kannaki, the embodiment of all virtues becoming the goddess of Chastity. This is the first epic where the citizens, not monarchs become the hero and heroine. Side by side, he has synthesised the three divisons of Tamil country by giving equal

prominence to all of them in narrating the epic story. Hence, the poet has been praised for his sense of national integrity. For the first time in the history of Tamil, we come across a manual of fine arts *"Arankērrukātai"* as a component part of an epic.

The majestic style, the chosen diction, the power of imagination, the use of different metres and the creative genius of Ilango are highly appreciable and admirable. This epic is also known as *Muthamilkāppiyam,* since it contains the elements of **iyal** (i.e. prose & poetry), **isai** (music) and **nāṭakam** (dramatic aspects).

Maṇimekalai is a sequel to *Cilappatikāram.* It is named after the heroine of the epic. It is a Buddhist epic. Its author, Cāttaṉār having erudition in Tamil, Pali and Saskrit has composed this great epic with a view to establishing Buddhist logic and philosophy. It is heartening to note that the first compendium of the various systems of Indian philosophy is found in this Tamil epic. The basic principles of Buddhism are distributed through the diffferent types of characters during the course of narration. During the period of this epic, it is understood that Tamil has become the medium of high philosophical learning. *Cīvakacintāmaṇi, Cuḷāmani* and other epics also deserve special mention.

Next comes the period of devotional literature.

DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE

Devotional literature is the net result of Bhakti Movement, sponsored by the Saiva and Vaiṣṇava saints, who lived during 600-900 A.D. in order to stem the tide of Jainism and Buddhism which once held high sway over the Tamils. Sambandhar, the prodigy and great apostle of Saivism and Tirumangai Alwar of the Vaiṣṇava sect are the important personalities in spreading the Bhakti movement with the purpose of exterminating the heterodox systems and establishing the orthodox religion. The *Thirumuṟai* collections and the *Divya prabandha* form the main corpus of the Devotional literature. Some of the new trends and traits of these god-intoxicated hymns are the following:

1. The innovative types of metre, rhythm and melody, and the sweet language are the characteristic features of these bone-melting poems which earned the title for Tamil, the language of devotion.
2. The pleasant descriptions of nature, the beautiful depiction of the shrines, the glorification of all beautiful and merciful Almighty,

the plight of the suppliant and the stress on devotion to be the singular means to win the grace of God are some of the landmarks of these poems of piety.

3. The portrayal of the spiritual and mystic experience of the devotional poets being the outcome of intense devotion is significant and superb.

4. The social equality and the caste-ridden society are the two objectives after which the authors of devotional literature strived for. This social concern of the spiritual poets is noteworthy.

5. These poems are the guide star for the subsequent poets to develop new metres, fresh forms and also to create many small genres which later came to be known as 'Prabandhas'.

Even in the later periods, there were great devotional poets among whom Saint Aruṇagiri, Tāyumāṉavar and Rāmalingar are worth mentioning. Through their melodious poems they propagated high ideals and noble sentiments which instilled in the minds of the people to have God fearing and to lead an ethical life.

KAMBARĀMĀYAṆA

Among the medieval compositions, the grand epic *Kambarāmāyaṇa* stands supreme. Hence, it is necessary to say a few words about this masterpice of a Mahakavi who ranks by his erudition and eminent faculty of creation among world poets. The multilingual genius V.V.S. Aiyar observes that "in the *Ramayana* of Kamban the world possesses an epic which can challenge comparison not merely with the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*, the *Paradise Lost* and the *Mahabharata*, but with its original itself, namely the *Ramayana* of Valmiki."[12]

Though the story of *Ramayana* has been retold in many languages in various versions with varying poetic forms written at various intervals of time, the epic reached its zenith only in Kamban's creation which contains six cantos and about 12,000 poems. The main theme or soul that pervades the whole of the classic remains that virtue i.e., righteousness will ultimately win over the wrong or vice.

Kamban's ideal state is a poetic dream yet to be realised. It is a welfare state, where everyone possesses every sort of wealth, and where there is no symptom of suffering or suppression, and where everyone is

equal. Unlike the early poets who professed that king is the soul of the country, Kamban categorically states that the king is only a body, animated by the souls of the people, since he protects the country treating everybody as his own self. Such a revolutionary thought is peculiar to Kamban only revealing his sense of equality and dignity to humanity.

The greatness of the chastity of Sita, the nobility and prowess of Rama, the dutymindedness of Lakṣmana, the valorous and devoted character of Hanuman, the trustworthy and grateful personality of Kumbakarna, the indomitable and undaunted heroism of Indrajit and a host of other thrilling characters enrich the epic contents and elevate its grandeur.

Kamban's diction, fertile imagination, majestic style, musical language, powerful expression, perfection of characterization, poetic emotion and creative genius are unparalleled in the history of Tamil Literature.

With these few words, let us proceed to peep into the next stage of the literary evolution of Tamil.

PRABANDHAS

The later period (i.e. 1200-1900) witnessed a bumper crop of 'Prabandha literature' or the minor literary genres which are generally counted to be 96. Actually due to the whims and fancies of the later day poets, the number of **'Prabandhas'** was increased to a larger extent. The rudiments for these varieties are already found in the ancient and medievel Tamil poems. These minor works have been generally classified according to the content, metre and number of poems that they possess. Historical, religious, erotic and mythological themes are dominant in these works. Growth in the structure of the metre is a noteworthy feature. Though in the texture of these poems, hyperbolic conceits, verbal jugglery, excessively praising the petty patrons etc., are noticed, nobody can deny their individual character of literary status.

Among these minor compositions *Tūtu, Ulā, Piḷḷaittamiḻ, Kalampakam, Kōvai,* etc., are very common. Jayamkondār (A.D. 1100) Oṭṭakkūttar (1150 A.D.) Kumarakuruparar (1700 A.D.), Sivappirakācar (1700 A.D.) and Mahavidwan Meenakshisundaram Pillai (19th cent.) are some of the significant contributors to the devlopment of *Prabandha* literature.

So far we have attempted to have a bird's eye view of the past writings. Leaving the innumerable works on grammar, philosophy, religions, medicine and astrology, and the works of the Siddhas that do not have any direct bearing on literature, we have to focus our attention on the advent of novels, short stories, dramas, poetry and neo-poetry of modern period.

Modern Literature

Due to Western education, renaissance dawned in the realm of Indian literature. Critical thinking as well as creative skill was developed. As a result of erudition in English and other European languages, innovations took place not only in the structure but also in the content of the literature. The gradual changes were effected in the form, language, diction, style, expression, thought and imagination. The new literary forms viz., Novel, Shorty Story, Essay, Drama, etc., have been gradually developed with a purpose and function. Even in the field of poetry, conventions and traditions have been considerably changed and even fresh forms such as prose - poetry and verselibra have been introduced to meet the requirements of the changing society. A new outlook is witnessed in the literary atmosphere. The writers are achieving considerable success in making experiments in the techniques and subject - matter. An excursion into the history of Tamil literature is enough to earmark the deviation and departure of modern literature from the mainstream of traditional and orthodox works.

First of all, let us concentrate on the germination of novels which are estimated to be epics in prose form.

NOVELS

Vedanayagam Pillai (1826-1889) has been acknolwedged by all the modern wrtiers to be the father of Tamil Novel. By profession he was a District Munsif. He had the talent of creative writing. *'Pratāpamudaliar Carittiram* and *Sugunasundari Carittiram'* are the two novels written by him. According to the author, instruction and entertainment are the two aims of his novels. The didacticsm and idealisation are the characteristic features of his creations. Perhaps, all critics would not subscribe to his view of novel. In the next stage, we witness the realistic movement commenced by Rajam Aiyar whose *'Kamalambal Carittiram'* (1893) opened new vistas in the form and content. Realistic characterization,

portrayal of rural life, presentation of the customs and manners of his own Thanjavur District, introduction of the colloquial speech, avoidance of the fantastic improbabilities, provision for plenty of action etc., are the salient aspects of this novel. He is followed by an effective Novelist, A. Madhaviah endowed with originality and abiility to create novels which he employed as a vehicle for soical revolution. His concern was with the soical problems and social reforms. He excels in making the characters true to life. His psychological bent of mind enables him to expose the hidden evil qualities in the sub-consciousness of approved good people, and underline the humanweaknesses. His *'Padmavathi Carittiram'* and *'Tillai Govindan'* are famous novels.

In the galaxy of modern novelists, the names of Mu. Va., Akilan̲, Kalki, Jayakānthan̲, Deepam Parthasarathy and others-to name a few, are worth mentioning. In their hands the art of novel writing attained new dimensions and development. The individuality in their style, diction, characterisation, plot-construction, narration-techniques, themes etc., wins them a remarkable place in history of modern literature. The social novels of these eminent writers are classics by themselves. In their creative works they projected a panoramic picture of the society. They cared more for the upressed and suppressed. They wielded their pen against the social foibles, tyranny of caste-system, subjugation of women, inequalities, fanaticism, superstitions, illiterary etc. They advocated benevolent socialism and Gandhiyan principles to find a solution to the social evils. Among them, Kalki has also been regarded to be the Walter Scott of Tamil Historical Novels.

Short Stories

Though story telling is universally found, the form with the defined features is a product of 19th century. In Tamil T. Selvakesavaraya Mudaliar (1864-1921) has been considered to be the first story wirter as evidenced by his collection known as *Apinavakkataikal.* It is the multilingual genius, V.V.S. Aiyar who gave the artistic shape and design to the genre. The contributors to the literary journal *'Manikkoti'* are held responsible for the rapid growth of Tamil short stroy. They include K.Srinivasan, Puthumaipittan, B.S. Ramaiya, N. Pichamurti, K.P. Rajagopalan and others. Satire and humour are the hall mark of the short stories of Puthumaipittan. Kalki, Rajaji, Akilan, Jayakanthan and others also have created wonderful short stories. Dr. K.V.Balasubramanian's story collections with the titles Thuṇṭu and Narasimmam are interesting

artistically exposing the social foibles with the sense of humour and invective. Unlike novels, this genre is essentially poetic both in content and expression.

All these writers have one objective in common, i.e. to awaken and uplift the society.

Another genre is drama about which a few words may be said.

DRAMA

Though drama as a form has been known to Indian writers from the past, due to the influence of English dramas some new trends and techniques have been applied to Tamil Dramas. Prof. Sundaram Pillai's *'Manonmaniyam'*, wrtten in a majestic style mostly in **Akaval** metre with Acts, and Scenes has been extolled as an excellent drama. The dramas of Sabapathy Mudaliar, T.K. Shanmugham, Arignar Anna, S.D. Sundaram and others deserve special mention. Most of them have soical themes. The dialogues in these works are in lucid prose written in living language. The characters are very near to us. Their speeches kindle our emotion. There are also innumerable dramas broadcast in the Radios and also in T.V.

ESSAYS

Though prose-writing is as old as *Tolkāppiyam,* essay as a literary genre, came into existence only after the advent of European Missionaries. In the initial stage, religion and puranic themes occupied this form. But in the twentieth century, it is the easiest and effective form to present all sorts of ideas and thoughts.

The essays of Maraimalai Adigal, Thiru. Vi.ka., R.B. Sethu Pillai, Mu.Va., A.C. Chettiyar, Kalki, T.K.C. and others are worth mentioning. There are many styles, as style is the man. Modern Tamil has been enriched by the prose writings of which essay occupies an enviable position.

Poetry

Though poetry has been a very old literary form, modern poetry has been recorded to have an individuality and independent character. *Mahakavi Bharathiyar is the father of modern Tamil poetry.* It is he who has given the force and power to this genre. According to his own statement his poetry is new and fresh with regard to diction, taste, style and thought.

He commenced the new era of Tamil poetry. His national and regional poems, poems on eithical, religious and philosophical themes, *Kaṉṉaṉ Pāṭṭu, Kuyil Pāṭṭu* and *Pāñchāli Sabatham* are immortal works of enduring art. Similarly the poems of Bharatidasan, Kavimani Desiga Vināyagam Pillai, Suddhānandar, Namakkal Kavignar, Kaṇṇadāsan and a host of others are rich and varied, deserving a special study. Among the poems of regular academics, Dr.K.V.Balasubramaniyan's **Kayaṟkaṇṇi, Vaṇḍārkuzhali, Nilā-k-kāla Niṉaivukaḷ** and other poetical creations, which earned him State Awards, merit significant mention.

A new wave has been blowing in the domain of poetry and it is known verse-libra. This genre is completely free from the orthodox prosody. It has been liberated from the clutches of rigorous grammatical rules. Thoughts through images and symbolism are the main concern of this new poetry which is rightly called in Hindi as *'Nayi Kavita'* and in Telugu *'Digambara kavita'*. Kamarasan, Ingulab, Meera, Erode Tamizhanban, Metha, Dr.D.Seenisami, Abdul Rahman, Sirpi and a number of others have written in this form. Most of them are leaned towards Marxian philosophy.

In this monograph, only a sample survey is made tempting the readers to go into the originals to develop a personal literary taste.

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TIRUKKUṞAḶ AS NATIONAL LITERATURE

Introduction

The main purpose of the present paper is to find out the solid and valid grounds to recommend *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the Tamil classic par excellence, to be the best suited national literature for India. It is hoped that the study and practice of the ethical epigrams embalmed in this immortal classic by all people will certainly ennoble, elevate and improve the mental outlook and will expand the inner personality of one and all. Not only to eliminate linguistic animosity and to exterminate parochialism, but also to foster unity in diversity and to nurture harmony and human understanding, such a classic as *Tirukkuṟaḷ* will really contribute much.

National Symbols

India, having many races, languages, religions and cultures, after independence, has evolved some common symbols which are meant to bind the nation together. They are the national flag, national emblem, national anthem, common language, national bird, animal etc. The leaders and vanguards, who led the movement of freedom struggle from the last quarter of the 19th century upto the middle of 20th century, after a long deliberation felt the importance of having the national insignia which should be respected and regarded more than one's life. Actually, the national song, *'Vande Mataram'* (Hail to my mother land)[1], sung by the great Bengali writer, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee aroused the national fervour in the hearts of the freedom fighters to get united in order to drive away the foreign aggressors. Similarly, another national song, 'Janagana Mana Athinayaka'[2] sung by an equally great Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, the noble laureate appealed to the minds of all Indians to realize their common cultural heritage and to develop national ego to think India, the Nation more above all.

The concept of national insignia is not new or recent one as far as the Tamils are concerned. *Tacāṅkam,* one of the 96 prabandhas in Tamil bears ample testimony to the ten kinds of national or royal emblems which include the name of the ruler, name of the country and its capital city,

river, mountain, mount, army, royal drum, garland and flag. In modern times, some of them are left out, while some new items are introduced. However, the fact, that the idea about the essential emblems that go to establish the sovereignty of a nation was not unknown to our ancients, is clearly understood by the creation of *Tacankam* literature in Tamil.

Nevertheless, the concept of nation, nationalism and nationality has been considered to be a recent phenomena. Hence, before directly proceeding to propose *Tirukkuṟaḷ* to be the unique national literature of India, it is important to know something about the aforesaid new political concept.

The concept of Nation

According to the political thinkers, the concept of nation belongs to the modern world. Before the pre-modern period, people expressed their fidelity and loyalty only to their communities, tribes, feudal chiefs, petty kings and religious orders. Local sense was predominant in them. So, their attachment was at their regional level. They cared more for the established traditions and authorities. It is due to the American and French revolutions, the concept of nation attained a final form and shape. The anticolonial movement was also instrumental for the formation of the same concept.

There are many factors responsible for the stabilisation and strengthening of national feeling. These factors include certain common aspects agreeable and acceptable by all quarters of the population, living in the same country. The implementation and unanimous adoption of them would certainly foster the integrity of the nation. Before probing into the common factors that contribute to the unity of the nation, it is essential to know what is meant by nation, nationalism and nationality in general.

First of all, the definition of nation given by John G.Stoessinger can be considered.

"In summary, then, what constitutes a nation in our own time may be characterized as follows: First and foremost, it is a *sovereign political unit.* Second, it is a *population* that in being committed to a particular *collective identity* through a common image of past and future, shares a greater or lesser degree of nationalism. And finally, it is a population

inhabiting a *definite territory,* acknowledging a *common Government* and usually-though not always - exhibiting common linguistic and cultural patterns."[3]

From the above definition, it is evident that the component parts of a nation are the population, territory, government and sovereignty which are collectively called by almost all the political thinkers to be the essential elements of a state, which is synonymous with nation. If the people belongs to the homogeneous category forming one race, speaking one language and following one religion as in the case of France, Italy, Greece etc., there is poor chance for any problem. But, if they happen to be heterogeneous, as in the case of India, America, Canada, South Africa, Malaysia etc., then some extra-ordinary and effective common forces are needed to bind the people together. These forces should not be physical but something psychical and to accept them, feeling of oneness, large heartedness and mutual understanding are indeed essential. These forces should be due to the manifestations of the central common aspects found among the various sections of the population inhabiting the entire country.

Binding Forces

How to choose the common aspects? Who are the authorised persons to identify such aspects? What will be the response from the different quarters of the same population? These are some questions, naturally arising when we think about the common factors for the unity of the nation. When safety and security, liberty and privilege of the poeple are at stake, either when they are under the yoke of foreign rule as in the Colonial India, or they are ruled by themselves as in Modern India, the political and social leaders should come forward to remind the people about the need and necessity of unity and integrity, being the utmost requisites to guard themselves from such impending danger. They should convince the people about the common traits that fasten them together. With regard to the identification of common conditions, a give and take policy should be evolved. In forming such a policy, even a single state within the nation should not be ignored or neglected. *To put it in other words, some common factor from each one of the states should be identified and accepted by the rest, so that that state would have every pride of having contributed something to the solidarity of the nation. For instance, there are about 21 states in India, and so, at least 21 common aspects should be chosen from each one of them and given national status.*

Only those, who are basically patriotic, recognising the values of others, and who are ready to give equal treatment to at least one common factor found in a single state, are the most qualified persons for investigating and examining thoroughly the adequacy and appropriateness of the national character of the common forces to be chosen.

After the identification and introduction of the national insignia, let it be language or literature whatever it may be, every citizen should come forward to recognize and respect the same. After implementation, nobody should raise their voice against it or revolt, questioning of its propriety or validity. Proper orientation should be given, and clear understanding should be developed among the various sections of the people with regard to the realisation of national unity.

Nationalism and Nationality

After having seen something about the concept of nation, a few words about nationalism and nationality are to be said. For the solidarity of a nation, the sentiment of nationalism, that places the existence and welfare of the nation highest in the rungs of the ladder of political loyalties should be nurtured. It embodies the citizen's thirst to strive hard for the establishment and endurance of the nation against the threats of alien forces in any form. It indicates the group's consciousness of shared history, language, race and values. In order to make the nation a cohesive viable entity, the role of nationalism is significant and dynamic. In this context, it is appropriate to quote Anub Chand Kapur:

"Nationalism is a feeling of territorial patriotism or a sense of identification of the individual with the entire people of the land". He is frank to mention the fact that "consciousness of being Indians, as distinct from a Bengali, or a Punjabi or a Maharastran or a Tamilian, rises to the surface only when activated by a foreign threat or by some external blow to India's national pride. As soon as more or less normal relations are restored, the brief surge of all-India patriotism quickly fades away to be replaced by a renewed consciousness of the importance of those issues which divide Indian from Indian".[4]

From his observation, it is made clear that the sentiment of nationalism should not be a temporal or time serving fractor, but it should be a permanent force to bring the divergent elements into an organic whole.

From the writings of the specialists on the subject, it is made clear that nationalism is a psycholigical force striving always for strengthening the national unity, deriving inspiration and harmonious feeling from the cultural heritage and other common aspects pertaining to that nation.

Nationality naturally refers to the status of a person as subject of a nation. According to John Stuart Mill, a portion of mankind may be said to constitute nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies... which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other peaple, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves, or a portion of themselves exclusively.[5]

Hence, it goes without saying that nation, nationalism and nationality are interconnected phenomena revolving around the unification of one greater community. With this background, let us proceed to present some of the salient aspects of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* which are universal, embracing the whole of humanity without any prejuduce or bias to any section.

I The Universal Perspective

Tiruvalluvar lived in the beginning of the Christian era. Though he was born in the Tamilnadu, his thoughts are not restricted or constricted to that region only. His erudition in Tamil, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit and his rich experience of world life enabled him to collect and select the vital aspects congenial to a healthy and harmonious living. His clarity of thought and brevity of expression made his work more popular. The artistic arrangement of the ethical, political and erotic thoughts in refined language with well chosen words is really superb and thought-provoking. His similies and analogies drawn from the natural objects are realistic and instructive.

It is significant to note that there is no mention about Tamil language or the Tamil monarchs in Tirukkuṟaḷ. This omission itself suggests that this work is meant not exclusively to the Tamils, but to the whole of mankind. He addresses directly to the man - the citizen of the world, transcending the territorial, linguistic and religious barriers. The common values and practical ethics applicable to the day to day life of all, are elucidated in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and hence, it has an universal appeal. Such expressions as *nilam* (land), *mānilam* (great land), *ulakam* (world),

ñālam (earth) and *vaiyam* (universe) in various couplets in the text, bear testimony to his universal and cosmopolitan outlook. In the chapter on *nāṭu,* he deals with the characteristic features of a welfare state. What is adumberated in this chapter is not with reference to a particular country, but to any country in the world. Foollowing the footsteps of *Kaṇiyan Pūṅkuṉṟaṉār,* the Cankam poet, who declared that "all countries are ours and all are our kith and kin", *Tiruvalluvar* proclaims thus:[6]

"How is it that any one can remain without learning, even to his death, when to the learned man every country is his own country, and every town is his own town?"

It is sufficient to quote the following two coupets to understand and appreciate *Tiruvaḷḷuvar's* erudition in the world classics:[7]

1. The folly of desiring the woman who is the property of another man is not found in the world amongst those who have perused the works on ethics and polity.

2 There is no fame for those who have forgetfulness, and this conclusion is upheld by all the world writers on ethics.

If an ethetician wellversed in the eithical literatures of the various countries in the world dives deep into the maxims of *Tirukkural,* he will be easily convinced that most of the sayings in the Tamil text are in perfect conformity with the virtues found in the *Book of Dead, Precepts of Kagemni, Precepts of Ptahhetep* and *Maxims of Ani-all* being the products of Egyptian Civilization; with the morals of the Babylonian monarch Hammurabi and with the matured wisdom of the Greek thinkers Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Epicuras, and also with the ethics of the Sophists and Stoics.

In *Tirukkuṟal* one can listen to the echo of Moses and Jesus. There are parallels in this text with the noble thoughts of Zoraster, Confucius and Tao. The Upanisadic ideas, the Jain and Buddhist virtues are found in many couplets. (For further details, see the present author's book entitled, *"Tirukkuṟaḷ Kūṟum Uṟutipporuḷ")*

It is essential to mention that the Islamic Tamil scholars find in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* sufficient common ideas preached by the prophet Mohammed.

Hence the eclectic nature of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* and his all embracing world outlook is clearly understood.

The schoars and adepts in all the Indian languages have thoroughly analysed and compared the various ethical works with *Tirukkural* and have unanimously admired the awe inspiring similarity found among them. In their opinion, *Tirukkural* occupies a supreme place in the Indian ethical literary history.[8]

After having understood the international outlook of *Tiruvalluvar*, an attempt is being made to underline his catholicity as revealed in the well known commentary of *Parimēlalakar*

II The Catholicity of Tiruvalluvar

Parmēlalakar, the greatest among the commentators of *Tirukkural*, having equal erudition in the well-known branches of knowledge, has clearly pointed out the Catholicity of *Tiruvalluvar*. Because of his intimate and close study of the text, in many places he was able to rightly identify the views of the author. The following are some of the portions in his commentary to substantiate the fact that *Tiruvalluvar* is comprehensive and collective in presenting the various aspects of virtue.

1. In the commentary on the couplet that deals with the greatness of ascetics, *Parmēlalakar* elucidates the usage *panuval*, meaning treatise, thus: Since the author has generally used the word, *panuval* without any specific reference to any one, it indicates the religious texts of both the homogeneous and heterogeneous schools which totally agree in extolling the glory of the ascetics, who strictly following the rule of conduct, have renounced all desires (for the benefit of humanity).[9]

2. According to the commentator, the couplet 242 reveals that all the conflicting systems of Indian philosophy unanimously approve that compassion is the best means for the acquisition of eternal bliss.

3. He observes that in conformity with the habit of *Tiruvalluvar* to select the best ideas found in all standard texts and to teach them to all in general, in this couplet (322) he mentions that the head of all virtues which the authors of various texts have summed up, is the partaking of food, shared with others and protecting the manifold creatures through feeding. This virtue is unanimously agreed by all, belonging to different schools.[10]

4. In the introductary portion of the commentary on the chapter on transience, he has elucidated that the theory of impermanence has been

accepted by almost all the systems of Indian philosophy. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* has also dealt with the evanescent nature of the empircal objects just to remind the people to adopt the virtuous course to attain the eternal. Here again, it is to be understood that the concept of transcience belongs to the national stock of Indian philosophy.[11]

5. The chapter 37 in the text has discussed in detail the extirpation of desire, as a pre-requisite for the realisation of the Absolute Reality. Here again, the commentator has stated that this idea is also common and agreeable to all religions, aspiring for the supreme bliss.[12]

After having noticed the catholicity of the great Tamil ethetician in the light of the commentary of *Parmēlaḻakar,* let us proceed to find out some more cardinal tenets that place *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in an exalted position.

III Pan-Indian thought

The world renowned Indologist Max Muller and Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, after examining the common thoughts pervading the whole of Indian literature and thought, came to the conclusion that they belonged not exclusively to a particular region, but to the whole nation. They called them the Pan-Indian thoughts. One of them is the concept of *Purusharthas,* i.e., the objectives to be attained by everyone to achieve fruition and perfection on earth. One has to choose the right way of life, to adopt righteous means to acquire wealth, and to follow virtuous course to obtain pleasure. Thus *purusharthas* are threefold, viz.., *Dharma* (aṟam), *Artha* (Poruḷ) and *Kāma* (iṉpam). These three are collectively called *Trivarga* (muppāl). This concept is national in nature, since it has been portrayed not only in the Sanskrit classics, but also in the Tamil works especially in *Tirukkuṟaḷ.* The Vedic Kalpa Sutras have laid stress on the three ends of life, i.e., righteous conduct (dharma), acquisition of worldly objects (Artha) and their enjoyment (Kāma).[13] The Mīmāmsakas and others also have endorsed the same view. The Buddhist Amarasimha has mentioned *Trivarga* in his lexicon. The Jains are no exception to this. The Saivites and Vaishnavites have also elaborately dealt with this concept.

Nevertheless, it is to be noted that in the Sanskrit tradition we have Dharma Sastra, Artha Sastra and Kāma Sastra separately. But in the Tamil tradition alone, all the three are put together in the causal sequence, as evidenced in *Tirukkuṟaḷ.* There may be some unique features in the

treatment of *Trivarga* in the Tamilclassics. Perfection is the ultimate goal of life. Only after the fulfilment of some needs and requirements this goal will be attained. Man has physical needs concerning with his food, dress, residence, vehicle etc. To fulfil these needs, artha (porul) is essential. His emotional needs are fulfilled by love (-iṉpam), while his mental perfection is fruitioned by the constant practice of dharma (aṟam - ethics).

Next, let us see how *Tiruvalluvar* has been secular while he has indicated the theological and philosophical tenets in his universal ethical treatise.

IV Common theological and philosophical thoughts

When we say that India is a secular state, it does not mean that it is against religion, but it signifies that it gives equal treatment to all faiths. If this connotation to secularism is tenable, then we can easily establish that *Tirukkural* is secular, since it contains the rudiments of all systems of Indian theology and philosophy. It is to be borne in mind, that *Tirukkural* is not at all a religious or philosophical book, but it is essentailly an ethical treatise. Even then, whenever it is needed, the author has not lagged behind to present some of the basic principles of various systems of thought. To confirm this, a few examples are given hereunder.

The opening chapter is on the praise of God. Tiruvalluvar has not mentioned God by any name. Even the word Pakavan (Bagavan) in the first couplet is commonly used to denote any supreme being. The epithets and attributes used in this chapter are general and hence applicable to all religions. This tendency is also found when he used the word *paṟṟaṟṟāṉ* (350) in the chapter on renunciation. There, the commentator has ably pointed out that the author has indicated god in a general way as he has done in the first chapter.

According to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the Absolute is the embodiment of pure knowledge. He is the all compassionate. He is the First to the world, just like the letter 'A' is to the alphabetical system. By nature he is bereft of all blemishes, free from the defilement of twofold karmas. He is devoid of desire and aversion. He has no comparison. These ideas about God are really admissible to all theologians.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar is cognizant of not only the Vedic systems, viz., Sāmkhya and Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāmsa and Vedānta, but

also the non-Vedic systems viz., Materialism, Jainism and Buddhism,[14] according to the commentator, Parimēlaḻakar.

In this context, when we consider the national status of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, two points require special mentioning. The famous Brahadaranya Upaniṣadic line, "Satyam eva jayate" (i.e., truth alone will suceed) is found in the National emblem. The elaboration of this saying is found in the chapter on *Vāymai* in *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. Dharma cakra is also found in the National insignia. Its counter part in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is *"aṟavāḻi"*.[15] Such similarities are many.

Humanism is the keynote of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. Avoidance of slaughtering living beings is strongly advocated in this classic. Vegetarianism is the religion of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. He could not tolerate the sufferings of the fellow-beings. Removal of hunger is considered to be the best charity. The chapters on benevolence and giving are sufficient to conclude that Tiruvaḷḷuvar's concern has been more with the suppressed and oppressed. His ultimate desire has been to elevate them, fulfilling their basic needs. He condemns begging, but simultaneously he advices the rich to spare their wealth to share with the poor. His boundless compassion goes to that extent as to curse the creater if He has made the people to beg. The altruism of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is admirable and appreciable.

After having seen some of the salient common aspects of theology and philsophy, something about the political and economic thoughts enshrined in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* to earmark its fitness to become the national literature of India should be mentioned.

V Political and Economic thoughts

The concept, that state is made up of seven limbs, belongs to the national stock of Indian polity. So, it can be rightly called a Pan-Indian thought. In the Sutta Piṭaka (500 B.C.), the *parinibbana sutta* clearly refers to the seven limbs of a state. In the Artha Sastra (400 B.C) an elaborate discussion on the seven angas that constitute a state has been made. According to its author, Kautilya, the king (Svamya), Cabinet (amātya), territory (Janapada), fortress (durga), treasury (Kośa), army (danda) and the friends (mitrāṇi) are the essential ingredients of a state. In conformity with this Indian tradition, the first couplet of Poruṭpāl, the second book in *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, has enumerated seven limbs and their characteistic features have been thoroughly analysed and properly

presented in all the 70 chapters of Poruṭpāl, which forms the biggest portion in the treatise. It shows the importance given by the author to the concept of polity.

Some may say that in the enumeration of the above elements, there is no mention about citizenship which occupies a prominent place in *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. It is to be considered that Kautilya while mentioning janapada, clearly has indicated the territory fit to be inhabited by the people. Despite the minor differences both in the content and treatment between the two texts under reference,the areas of common interest are many. Here, in this article we do not indulge in a comparative study of the two works.

It is to be stated that the contents of Poruṭpāl are mainly meant for those who have actively engaged in political and social life, though many of them are found suitable for the individual or personal life. Since politics and economics are inter-connected, a line of demarcation between them is not drawn in the text. A brief outline about each one of the essential elements of a state is being made hereunder, just to point out Tiruvalluvar's political wisdom which has been unanimously acclaimed by our national leaders and political thinkers.

The Head of the State

Since monarchy was the only known form of government in our country upto the dawn of independence, Tiruvaḷḷuvar places the king to be the head of the state. In 25 chapters, he deals with the traits and talents of a benevolent ruler, and they are equally applicable to the head of any form of government.

The ruler should be powerful, learned, brave, vigilant and munificent. He should not swerve from virtuous course but be abstinent from vicious path. He must be easily accessible and should not use harsh words. He should bear the words that embitter his ears. He must be impartial and render justice. He should find out the manifold sources of income and accumulate wealth and preserve them, so that they would be properly distributed for the welfare of the state.

He is required to seek the guidance of the great who have rich experience and ripe wisdom. He should listen even to their censuring words. On any account he should not be in the company of the mean and low minded persons. He has to employ faithful spies who are the eyes of

the kings. With regard to the discharge of the political obligations, he should have the discriminating knowledge to weigh the pros and cons of every action. He should also weigh the power of the action at hand, his own strength, his enemy's strength, and the power of the friends of both the parties. Similarly, he has to know the proper time and right place for executing an action successfully against the enemy. He should devote sufficient attention in selecting the right persons to serve the government. Merit alone is the criteria to assign various jobs to the employees.

The ruler should not be a tyrant or a terrorist. He must be benign and compassionate.

The aforesaid features that constitute the leadership deserve universal acceptance.[16]

Next, let us pass on to point out the significance of the cabinet in the governance of the state.

The cabinet

The qualities and activities of the ministers are elaborately dealt with in 10 chapters.[17] The minister should possess natural acuteness and wide learning. He should excel in having firmness while discharging duties, protecting the citizens, having erudition in the political and ethical treatises with the rational thinking and perseverance. When he embarks on a mission, he must be capable of making an excellent choice of means which include army and revenue, proper time, the manner of execution and the rare ventures to be undertaken. He must be capable of making divisions among the rival groups, to maintain the goodwill of the allies and to restore friendship with those who have severed from him. Even though the ruler is ignorant, it is the duty of the minister to offer him sound advice to correct him. He must be a good speaker. The power of speech, undaunted attitude and fearlessness are the possession of the minister who could not be conquered by any one in any intrigue. He should be resolute and manifest purity in action.

The minister has also occasions to be endowed with the role of an envoy. Hence a whole chapter is devoted to deal with the requirements of an ambassador. He must have a good heridity, affection and the sterling qualities that please the head of the state. He must be a knowledgeable person of his affairs. He must be endowed with the power of speech,

marked by forcible expression and strong impression. He should have a bearing personality. He must be undaunted and prepared to give up even his life for the sake of his country.

The relationship of the ruler and the cabinet is also indicated in *Tirukkural*. The ministers or the government officers should not move with the ruler very closely or abstain from him very widely. They should behave just like the people who warm themselvers at the fire, i.e., they should be neither too far nor too near, so that they could get the warm treatment.[18]

The next element is the territory for which the author has devoted one chapter.[19]

The Territory

Tiruvalluvar aims at the formation of a welfare state. So, he envisages the factors to be positively present and also mentions the detestable things to be rooted out. According to him, the land should be fertile yielding rich harvest and possessing the virtuous and the rich people living together. It should be devoid of excessive hunger, irremovable diseases and destructive forces. In order to exterminate hunger, there is a chapter in this great work dealing with the significance of ploughing,[20] and to extinguish disease one chapter on medicine[21] and to eradicate the enemies there are two chapters on the efficiency and excellence of defence forces.[22]

Let us examine the remaining essentials of an ideal state.

The remaining elements

Fortification is one among the essentials of a state.[23] A country should be strongly fortified just to repulse the invaders and aggressors. Wealth is also considered to be a great strength, which should be accumulated through proper means.[24] The King should levy taxes with mercy and love. The unclaimed wealth, revenue acquired through customs and other kinds of taxes and the booties are the wealth enriching the treasury. Sound finance is a mighty force to the nation and hence it is ranked with fortification. Tiruvalluvar encourages to accumulate wealth, because there is no sharper weapon than it, to quell down the arrogance and pride of the enemies.

Having given sufficient attention to revenue, the moral philosopher is also very keen on the budget of the government.

It is often said that the Ex-finance Minister of the central cabinet, Dr.C.D. Deshmuk while presenting the budget in the parliament, used to quote the following Tirukkuṟaḷ.[25]

ākā ṟaḷaviṭṭi tāyiṉum kēṭillai
pōkā rakaḷāk kaṭai

It means that there is no harm even though the income source is very short, if the limit of expenditure does not exceed. This should be the watchword for the persons engaged in the administration of the country.

The text also deals with the qualification of the army men. The valour, courage, honour, loyalty, trustworthiness and duty-consciousness are the requisites of the army men. It is essential to point out that the warrior is really valorous, if he showed mercy and offered first aid to the disabled soliders of the rival camp.[26] This sort of humanism even in the war front bears testimony to the compassionate character of the Tamils of the period of Tiruvalluvar.

There are 17 chapters dealing with allies.[27] Here in, the political philosopher defines friendship both in positive and negative terms. The merits of sincere friends and the folly of evil companies are categorically stated. Internal enemity is to be feared and rooted out. The noble and great persons should not be offended, instead they shoud be respected and regarded.

In the welfare state as visualised by Tiruvaḷḷuvar, there is no place for prostitution, consuming intoxicating drinks and gambling.

In the last 13 chapters in *Poruṭpāl,* the merits and demerits of a citizen are vivdly portrayed.[28] Since the ministers and other officials are hailing from the citizens., the moral philosopher has given due importance to this section. It is significaant to state that he clearly mentions about social equality. According to him everybody is born equal but they differ according to the difference in their activities.[29]

Nobility, self repect, greatness of character, sensitiveness to shame, truthfulness, etc., are the chief characteristics of an ideal citizen.

Ploughing is given a pride of place. Since cultivation remains to be the back bone of India, the glorification of ploughing holds good for ever.[30] There is a reference to absentee-landlordism in the chapter under reference, and it is to be removed according to the author. The various processes involving agrculture are also mentioned.

In the welfare state, Tiruvalluvar feels that there should be no place for poverty and mendicancy. They are to be wiped out at any cost. The chapter on meaness discloses the various types of low people. The extremely mean-minded people are those, who would not even shake their hands (thinking that the clinging morsel would go to some one), but would give only to those, who would break their jaws with clenched fists, thus indicating the resolute mind of Tiruvalluvar to eradicate the social and economic upheavals, even by force.[31]

Conclusion

To conclude, what *Tirukkuṟaḷ* has said about the essentials of a state are still applicable to a larger extent to the modern political set up of India. Even the new ideas and fresh thoughts, due to the changes and developments taken place during the passage of time, would be drawn by the implied language of the text. Nevertheless, it is enough if we consider that in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* there are ample and adequate ideas applicable to modern India.

Attesting the national and also the international status of the Tamil classic, many Indologists and scholars have expressed their views in unequivocal terms. It is again to be remembered that *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is the only secular literature that has been translated in more languages both Indian and foreign. In this regard, a recent publication, worth comendable has furnished the maximum materials to support the proposition that *Tirukkuṟaḷ* richly deserves to be accepted as the National Literature of India.[32] However, the present author would like *to quote a portion of the memorable lecture of the internationally reputed philosopher and Ex-President of India, Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, while unveiling the statue of Tiruvalluvar at Mylapore in June, 1966, not because it has not been included in the above mentioned book, but because it serves our purpose.*

"Tiruvaḷḷuvar has spoken to us as a man who has spirtualised himself..... If you remember his sayings and precepts and practise them, this country will be much greater than what it is today, and you will be

able to give something of value to other countries also. There is no doubt about it. . . . . People belonging to different religions had claimed in this work the echoes of the deepest faith of their religions".[33]

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HUMAN VALUES IN THE SUTTA-PIṬAKA AND TIRUKKURAḺ

Introduction

The society of a given civilization and culture has identified and advocated certain noble traits and qualities that manifested in one's thought, word and deed to be human values. These values are highly essential for the promotion and preservation of common welfare and harmonious living. The ethical works of any nation enforce the strict adherence of values, which separate human kind from animal kind. These values permeate almost all kinds of literary genres in Indian languages. Though Indian literature contains enough materials on human values, it is only the modern social scientists who have concentrated much on the definition, classification and function of values.

Definition of values

According to Joseph Fichter *(Vide, his book Sociology)* values may be defined as those criteria according to which a group or society judges the importance of persons, patterns, goals and other socio-cultural objects. They form the standard principles to estimate and evaluate the nature of an ideal person, institution, objective etc. A particular quality or aspect has been considered to be a value, only after it is accepted and shared by the majority of the people. So, it is evident that social approval is a pre-requisite in the determination of values. The aforesaid definition has been attested by another sociologist James W. Vander Zander *(Sociology: A Systematic Approach)* in the following passage: "Value is the criterion or conception used in evaluating things (including objects, ideas, acts, feelings and events) as to their relative desirability or merit." This definition throws some light on the purpose of values which are closely associated with social norms that form the standard behaviour commonly shared and practised.

The study of values has been branched off from the main stream of ethics. Some forty years ago, when Dutta and Chatterjee prepared a text book on Indian Philosophy, they indicated in the introduction that

the study of values was called axiology which was then only introduced in the realm of philosophy. Virtue is connected with religion, while value is connected with sociology. Both of them are interrelated.

Classifiction of Values

For convenience values are broadly classified into two divisions: Core values or normatives values, and the secondary values. The former includes the soical values, economic values and political values, while the remaining values form the second group.

However, the Indian tradition has subsumed all the human values under four divisions, viz. *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*. These are collectively called the *purusharthas*. *Dharma* indicates the ethical norms to be effectively implemented for the betterment of the individual and society. The components of an ideal life constitute the contents of *dharma (aṟam)*. *Artha* denotes the political and economic values, while *kāma* refers to the hedonistic aspects. These three viz., *dharma, artha* and *kāma* contribute to the betterment of earthly existence. The ultimate value consiting of the spiritual norms leads one to the eternal existence, which is called *mokṣa*, literally meaning liberation from the entanglement of transmigration. All the four groups collectively contribute to human perfection. For the attainment of emotional perfection hedonistic values *(kāma)* are needed. For the fulfilment of physical perfection, economic and political values *(artha)* are essential. For the attainment of psychical or mental perfection, the ethical values *(dharma)* are required. For spiritual perfection, the religious values *(moksa)* are indispensable. Therefore, for human perfection the study and practice of values are essential.

Functions of Values

1. The soical worth of an individual is judged through the means of values that he closely follows.

2. The person becomes aware of his position in the society through the same means.

3. Since values are derived from the approved behaviours of the society, they induce people to think and act properly. They encourage them to walk on the righteous path.

4. They regulate the society. They serve as means of self-restraint.

5. They indicate the prescribed norms to be followed and the qualities to be eschewed.

6. Ultimately, these values are the powerful factors for the manifestation and maintenance of social integrity.

With this background, let us proceed to briefly deal with some of the essential human values as adumberated in the Pali text *Sutta-piṭaka* (500 B.C.) and the monumental Tamil treatise *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (50 B.C. to 50 A.D.).

COMMON VALUES IN PALI AND TAMIL

1. Purity of Thought

Among the numerous values enumerated in the ethical works of Indian literature, purity of thought can be regarded as the primary value. Our words and deeds have their source in our thoughts. So, the value of speech and the worth of deeds depend upon the purity of our thought. Gauthama Buddha, the great Indian social scientist has made a penetrative study into the various areas of consciousness, which is held responsible for the process of thinking. One may talk pleasantly, but if one's mind is impure, one will be reviled as a hypocrite. Mind is to man what the root is to the plant. If the root is defective, then the plant becomes defective. If the mind is bad, then the man also becomes bad. Hence, the Buddha advocated that the purity of thought is the basis of all virtues. *Dhammapada,* being a part of *Suttapiṭaka,* containing the quintessence of Buddha's teachings declares in the most emphatic terms, *saccittam pariyodapanam* meaning, 'get your mind purified'. In the *Vattupama sutta* of the same *Piṭaka* it is stressd that a virtuous man is he whose mind is completely devoid of any dust of evil or impurity. In conformity with the concept of the Buddha, Tiruvaḷḷuvar proclaims: 'Spotless be thou in mind. This only merits virtue's name; all else, mere pomp of idle sound, no real worth can claim.' The learned translator, Dr. G.U. Pope considers that the value of virtue consists in the purityof mind. The Tamil Siddha tradition specifically mentions that there is no need for chanting mantras, if one's mind is pure and perfect. According to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, even the very thought of coveting another man's property is worse than the act of stealing. He further mentions in positive terms that the mental health brings goodness to all living beings (457). As such, purity of thought is the fundamental value, to be possessed by all.

2. **Purity of Speech** (Truthfulness)

The Buddha has classified the evils arising from one's speech into four groups, viz., falsehood, tale-bearing, harsh words and frivolous talk. Falsehood is frequently referred to in the Pali texts as *musavāda. Suttanipada (657),* a part of *Sutta piṭaka* mentions that he who utters falsehood is an imbecile, possessing an axe in his tongue, and when he lies he cuts his own tongue. *Dhammapada* enlists truthfulness to be one among the fivefold virtues *(pañca sīlas).* It assures one the abode of heaven, if one speaks truth, abandons anger and gives the needy even if one has a little (224). In the text, *sacam bhane* deserves special mention. It means 'Speak the truth'.

In the language of the Buddha, we have both prohibitions and prescriptions. He often advocated negative virtues and used to impose prohibitions in order to give force to his preachings. Avoidance of falsehood is a negative virtue and uttering truth is a positive virtue, which are complementary to each other.

In *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* a full chapter has been reserved to deal with the significance of veracity. Tiruvaḷḷuvar clearly mentions that a person, who all through his life utters only truth, does not need to do any other virtuous acts. So, he places veracity above all other virtues. He calls it *vāymai* which literally means 'purity of speech'. It is to be noted that in the Tamil tradition, purity of heart (thought) is known as *uṇmai* and the purity of body (i.e. action) is called *meymai.* All these three words indicate the purity of heart, word and deed and this concept is also noticed in the *Dhammapada* (231-4,378). It is pertiment to note that Dhammapada has been the first Indian text to be translated into the foreign language, Chinese in the 100 B.C.

The society gives prominence to a person always practising truth, and hence it is regarded as a great value. Even in modern times, Gandhiji, the Father of our Nation encountered God in the form of Truth.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar has also prescribed the context when one has to utter a lie. If it is meant for an immaculate benefit, then it will be treated on a par with truth (292). The same idea is also found in the Mahayana Buddhist texts, *Dasabhūmika sutra* (23) and *Prajñāpāramita* (448.12).

3. Purity of Action

If one's mind and word are pure, it follows that one's action is also pure, since these three occur in a sequel. According to the Buddha, the bodily evils are threefold, viz; killing, stealing and debaucherous dealings. Many portions in the *Piṭaka* mention that the virtues *(Silas)* consist in the avoidance of the said evils, ultimately purifying one's actions. In his boundless compassion, the Buddha preached nonviolence. In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (1.75), a part of *Sutta Pitaka,* he has clearly stated that since life is more valuable and precious to everyone, it should not be disturbed. In order to guarantee protection for one's possession, it is stressed that nobody should take another man's property, without his consent. Buddhaghosa, the great commentator of the *Pitaka* has identified the different kinds of malpractices to be avoided. The dynamic and compassionate Buddha has transformed the notorious thief Angulimālā into an ardent devotee who followed his footsteps.

In *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* there is a chapter on *Kaḷḷāmai* which literally means absence of stealing. But, it has been rightly translated by Dr. G.U. Pope as 'the absence of fraud'.

The third evil is lust which is known in Pali as *miccācāra,* meaning the illegitimate and illegal course. The husband and wife should be united through mutual understanding and affection. They should not deceive each other. In the *Piṭaka,* the contenment with one's own wife is extolled as *sahadārena santuṭṭi.* Chastity is highly esteemed to be a potential virtue for a woman. Coveting another's wife and going to prostitutes are considered to be great sins, condemned both in the *Piṭaka* and in *Tirukkuṟaḷ.* The possession of decorum is an important requisite for a perfect life.

Purity of action is also known as *viṉaittūymai* in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (chapter (66). In this chapter, he actually deals with sincerity and seriousness with which good actions are to be performed. In *Dhammapada,* the chapter entitled *Pāpa Vaggo* (IX) discusses in detail the avoidance of sinful deeds and performing good deeds. However, purity of action makes a man high in the eyes of the society and hence, it has its own value.

4. Forbearance

Forbearance indicates the land-like patience in the face of difficulties and disasters. One should bear slander and also harsh words. Forgiving and forgetting the folly of others with a view to correcting them is a noble quality according to *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (152). Forbearance is compared to gold (155) and hence it goes without saying that it has a sterling value. It is essential for a harmonious and happy life. It also paves the way for spiritual success. Endurance forms one of the requisites to become a Bodhisattva. *Dhammapada* declares that patience consisting in long suffering is the highest austerity (184). In *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* the chapter on the possession of patience (16) underlines the greatness of this quality. Tiruvaḷḷuvar advises the affected man to be patient and by returning good for evil to the enemy, one could conquer his heart (158).

In the Yoga system, endurance and equanimity go together. It connotes the balanced outlook both in prosperity and adversity. In the *Gita,* it is stated that there is no happiness for one who has no patience.

5. Impartiality

The relationship of man to man is threefold, viz., friendship, enmity and being neutral. In passing a remark, or administering justice, one should not swerve from the path of righeousness, and this matured state is the basis of impartiality. In *Singalovata Suttānta of Sutta Piṭaka* the Buddha includes partiality to be one among the four evil tendencies inducing one to engage in bad actions, and mentions that the opulence of an impartial person will increase day by day like the crescent moon.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar has stated that the wealth of an unbiased man will fortify his race forever (112). He warns that if one sides the wrong tract, ruin is imminent and inevitable (116). He advises that one should be even like a balance rod before weighing things (118). This quality is a must for the merchants in the transactions of their business, considering other's interests as their own(120).

6. Kindness

The Buddha was the embodiment of compassion. Among his many precepts, found in the *Piṭaka sabba bhūtānukampi and bahujanahitānukakmpi* are the most significant. They denote his extreme kindness embracing the whole of sentient beings. In the *Jātaka* stories,

there are many references to his readiness to give even the flesh of his body to the vulture, chasing to prey on a dove which sought shelter at the feet of the Buddha. Unlike the Hindu gods, he never injured or cursed even the worst enemies. It was his firm conviction that through kindness and compassion, the wicked also would be transformed into the good.

In *Tirukkuṟaḷ* there is a chapter each on kindness (8) and grace (25). One should develop love to all beings. Life without kindness is just like a sapless tree in barren soil (8.8). Those who do not possess love, will be selfish and claim everything as their own, while kind people will come forward to part even with their bones to others(8.2). The perfection of kindness results in the formation of grace which is a very noble virtue.

7. Giving

Kindness manifests in the act of giving to the deserving. In the *Mahāvastu,* [B.C.150] *a Pali* Buddhist text, it is found that a great donor is one who liberally distributes like the sandal, cloud, medicinal tree, divine *karpaga* tree and *cintāmaṇi,* the mythical gem, giving what one desires (2.36:12). The analogy of the raining cloud, that does not expect anything in return, to a philanthropist, is also found in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (211). The moral philosopher compares the wealth of a generous man to the water tank in a village, the tree with fruits in the centre of a habitat and the medicinal tree whose root, bark, leaves and other parts cure illness (215,216,217).

A man should realize his obligation to his neighbours and society and should share something with others to redress their grievances.

8. Good company

Like the rain water that gets the colour of the land with which it is associated, man is also influenced by his contact with others. In the *Singalovata Suttānta,* the Buddha has classified four kinds of good company,viz.

1. One who checks and censures the activities of his friend
2. One who never departs from him both in pleasurable and painful conditions
3. One who gives valuable advice
4. One who repents and regrets the folly of his friend

The Buddha preached that one should cling to the above types of friends like a child clasping its mother.

Dhammapada instructs that one should follow a wise man who reproaches him for his mistakes and consider him a revealer of hidden treasures (76). *Paṇḍitavaggo* (Chap. 6) in this text and "Seeking the help of great men" (Chap. 45) and "Friendship" (Chap.79) in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* expatiate on the value of keeping good company.

9. Learning

Learning is an excellent possession. It has been regarded as a great asset to be attained by everyone. There is a portion in the *Dīga Nikāya of Sutta Piṭaka* explaining the methods of teaching and different types of teachers. According to the Buddha, ignorance is the first among the ten fetters to be broken by an aspirant to get enlightenment. The same text also enlists the various branches of learning.

The Tamil philosopher has also laid equal stress on education. There are two chapters in his book, one on learning (40), and the other on non-learning or ignorance (41). According to him, only the learned have eyes, while others have only sores in their foreheads (393). One gets knowledge to that extent of one's learning, just as the sandy well springs forth water to the extent of digging (396). The beauty of the person who has no penetrating knowledge is like a puppet, decked with ornaments (407). Learning alone differentiates human being from the beast (410).

Dhammapada extols the greatness of a learned man, who is honoured not only in his native land, but in all regions (303). The same idea has been emphatically stated in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (397).

10. Wealth

Practically speaking, wealth is the real value that endows one with a position in the society. Though the Buddha talked much about spiritual and ethical values, he did not forget to give due importance to material values.

In *Dhammapada,* he categorically stated that men who have not practised self-restraint and who have not earned wealth in youth pine away like old cranes in a pond that has no fish and also lie like worn-out bows sighing after the past (156,157)

Tirukkuṟaḷ says that the poor have nothing to get in this world (247). The Pali text accepts wealth acquired only through proper means (84). The Tamil text says that one should abandon the opulence gained by giving up love and grace (755). Further, it mentions the empirical truth that an impoverished man will be despised by one and all, while a rich man will be adored by everyone (752). Wealth adds value and standing even to a'man of nought' (751).

Conclusion

Great thinkers, moral philosophers and renowned poets envisioned an ideal society with perfection and prosperity. They have inculcated human values, noble ideas and ethical thoughts which revolutionized the society to a larger extent. Buddha in the north and Tiruvalluvar in the south commanded reverence and respect among the massess and elite who derived inspiration from their teachings. While advocating the social norms, virtues and values, Tiruvaḷḷuvar has been undoubtedly influenced by Buddha, as evidenced from the parallels found in the Tirukkuṟaḷ and Buddhist treatises. Some of the salient human values, shared by the two traditions are highlighted in this article. They are of perennial use for the improvement and betterment of humanity at large.

THE AGE OF TOLKĀPPIYAM

Among the ancient Tamil works of Caṅkam period, *Tolkāppiyam* is generally admitted to be the seniormost available treatise, dealing descriptively with phonology, morpho-phonemics, morphology and syntax which focus on the structure of the Tamil language, and also discusses in detail the literary concepts of subjective and objective themes known as *akam* and *puram,* rhetorics, canons of versification etc., which generate a beacon of light especially on the literary - cum - social history of the ancient Tamils. It is just to regard the whole work as encyclopaedic in character, since it throws a flood of light on grammar, poetics, polity, warfare, socioethics, erotics, biology, astronomy, religion, philosophy and the like. The life and times of the author of such a great and immortal masterpiece are often unsettled, as the treatise poses many problems of interpoloations, additions, deletions, readings etc., to the researchers who have never converged in their opinions instead they stoutly claimed their individual findings to be conclusive and genuine.

Hence, the necessity arises to revise their theories and to re-examine the possibility of finding out the historicity and plausible chronology of the author based on some fresh materials hitherto unnoticed or not fully analysed by the bygone researchers.

Traditional View

At the outset, we have to record that there are two extreme views, one of which pushes forth *Tolkappiyam* to 5000 B.C.or even before, mainly basing on the strength of the fabulous account found in the commentary of *Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal,* while the other drags it down to 500 A.D. chiefly claiming the influence of some Sanskrit works of a later period on some of the portions of Tolkappiyam. The yawning gulf between the two views of the Indian minds reveals the fact that in the name of reserch, the people tolerated anything that can be stated without any reservation, without a sense of justification and without a proper scientific spirit. It is deplorable to notice the fanatic and fantastic notions reigned over the realm of research.

Let us give due reverance and importance to the traditions and myths in the pursuit of truth, but we are not prepared to admit and accept them in toto, without making a thorough enquiry separating the grain of fact from the chaff of fables. It is always sick with some scholars who often hasten to conclude the common aspects found in the two great Indian languages viz., Tamil and Sanskrit to exclusively belong to the latter. Borrowings are to be accepted with some boundary, but it is unjust and improper to agree with the view that it should have always been an one-way traffic. Hence,subscribing to the views of extremists is neither backward nor forward but actually awkward.

The Prelude - What does it convey?

Tolkāppiyam has a prelude or prologue called *Pāyiram* which runs in the name of *Panampāraṉ*, who is considered by tradition preserved in the commentary of Tol to be a classmate of the author of *Tolkāppiyam*. In *Kuṟuntokai*, one of the Eight anthologies of Cankam epoch, a poem has the authoriship of *Panampāraṉ*[1]. In the name of this author a grammatical work, *Panampāram* by name is also understood through the commentary of *Naṉṉūl* (13th century A.D.) by *Mayilainātar*[2]. But it is not preserved and is one among the various wellknown works that disappeared due to the carelessness of the people. Anyhow, it is possible to suggest that the *Pāyiram* of *Tolkappiyam* should belong to an early period in which the Caṅkam anthology *Kuṟuntokai* was composed. The similarity of the language of the *Pāyiram* and *Tolkāppiyam* speaks to their contemporary nature.

The prelude furnishes the biography of the author in a nutshell form, clearly indicating *Tolkāppiyar's* deep and wide scholarship in various disciplines and his endless endeavour of collecting and selecting the materials of both ancient and recent times in literary usages and current dialects of the Tamil country bordered between the *Venkata* Hills in the North and the *Kumari* Hills in the South (the remaining two sides surrounded by the seas). It further extols his eruditioin in the Aindra school of Sanskrit Grammar (this school is generally supposed to be pre-Pāninian), and his spiritual attainments contributing to his many-sided greatness. It exhibits the truth that the word *Tolkappiyan* denotes both the author and his treatise.

According to a legend narrated by the learned commentator *Naccinārkkiṉiyar*, a versatile genius in the *Caṅkam* lore, it is inferred

that the precepter *Akattiyar* and the disciple *Tolkāppiyar* were at sixes and sevens[3]. In order to avench his personal grievances the former instigated one of his dear and near students, *Ataṅkōṭṭācān* by name to play the role of a stumbling block by raising crucial and critical questions and stirring creative problems to censor and chekup the approval of the august assembly of the learned academicians, while *Tolkappiyar* staged his magnum opus, the monumental and marvellous grammatical work to win their acceptance. It is said that the adepts assembled in the debating auditorium were patronised by the Pandya monarch, *Nilantarutiruviṟpāṇṭiyaṉ* also known as *Mākīrtti* as noticed in the commentary of Tol. It is crystal clear from the passage of the prelude that *Tolkāppiyar* smashed down diligently the riddles and squabbles put forth by *Ataṅkōttācān* (vide, 'ataṅkōṭṭācāṟku ariltapa-t-terinu) and surmounted the hurdles, ultimately commanding their respect and unanimous approval, and perhaps for this reason his treatise possessing the intellectual vigour and vitality withstood the ravages of time, and hence suggesting that his preceptor's grammatical work run in the name of *Akattiyam* shoud have dwindled into oblivion.

The gap between the Text and its Commentaries

It is also probable that the envious and competitive spirit evinced by the two great schools of grammarians terminated in the complete disapperance of the one, and continued negligence of the other upto some point of time. At one stage, the instructors wellversed in the traditions of *Tol* grammar (especially the third part of the work, *Poruḷatikāram)* were not available and so, the necessity of the composition of *Iṟayaṉār Kaḷaviyal* arose, as per the account found in the commentary of the latter.[4] It is an avowed fact that the ancient commentator of *Tolkāppiyam, Iḷampūranar* was separated by many centuries from the author. Tol prescribes the various ways and methods of writing commentaries and perhaps the very ancient commentaries on Tol following the principles found in it should have existed at least in oral tradition among the teachers and the taught, and *Iḷampūraṇar* (11th Century A.D.) most probably represents the early oral transmission of *Tolkāppiyam* lore. However the wide gap, between the periods of the author and the commentators who never hesitated to read their own views in the text and attempted to get sanction for the later usages from Tol, is held responsible for the obscurity and ambiguity in elucidating and interpreting the actual contents of the aphorisms. Nevertheless, one can

not belittle the siginificance and substantial contributions of the commentators *Iḷampūraṇar, Perāciriyar, Naccinārkkiṉiyar* and others in the enrichment and elaboration of the knowledge of *Tolkāppiyam.* Their commentaries function as telescopes to get a closer vision of the text. Their intimate and discriminating knowledge in *Tolkāppiyam* and Sangam classics enabled them effectively to conduct a comparative study of the language, literary usages and theories, modes of life etc., thus providing with sufficient and efficient materials to propose the relative antiquity of these works.

The present study on the historical perspective of *Tolkappiyam* is mainly based on some linguistic observations, the rhetorical and prosodial features, religious cum philosophical elements etc., as contemplaed in the text and conceived in the writings anterior and positerior to *Tolkāppiyam* both in Tamil and Sanskrit, considering the probability of identifying the contemporary ones. The study from the various standpoints aims at arriving at an acceptable conclusion as to the age of *Tolkāppiyam.* Let us consider the source materials one by one.

Linguistic observations

The earliest extant Tamil written records are the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions found in the Southern districts of Tamilnadu and they are unanimously considered by the eminent epigraphists to belong to a period 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. The epigraphs pertaining to a later period are not treated here for a comparative study. A comparative analysis of the language of the inscriptions and *Tolkāppiyam* is highly useful to understand the linguistic innovations and alteration, marking distinctly the intervals in the historical march of the language.

Initial palatals

In the entire corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions about 75 lexical items are identified, and hence they can not be taken as a minimal representative of the early Tamil Vocabulary. Since they are Buddhistic and Jainistic in character, the impact and influence of Pali and Prakrit are to be noticed in them. Yet, they possess interesting native words sufficiently.

The noteworthy feature of them is gleaned in the occurrence of the palatals *ca, cai* and *ya* in the initial position as against the prescription in *Tolkāppiyam.* According to Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *Caḻiyaṉ, Carikaṉ,*

Cantaritaṉ, Cattaṉ, Yakkuvan, Yakkacitti (a female ascetic) etc., are denoting some persons of the laity and monastic order. Airāvatam Mahadevan, the well known exponent of the above mentioned epigraphs furnishes some more words such as Caṭikaṉ, Cantantai, Cayaṉ, Caiyaḷaṉ etc., This picture of the Tamil language resembles the one of the *Cankam* poetry which provides the researcher with copious examples of the initial ocurrence of *c, cai* and *ya.*

Tolkappiyam deliberately stated that */y/* would occur only with /ā/ in the initial position, and he himself employed such words as Yānai, Yān, Yāṇṭu, Yā, Yāvai etc., and no where the loss of /y/ is found in the entire language of *Tolkāppiyam* as against the lexical items in the Sangam anthology that possess forms deprived of initial /y/ such as āṭu āru, ār, āttirai etc[5]. Tol prescribes the initial occurrence of ñ with ā, ē, and o only, as opposed to innovations taken in the language of *Cankam* classics illustrating the initial ña and ñi too.

Sound Change

Some scholars are of the opinion that the word *tēyam* is the Tamilised form of Sanskrit *deśa.* It seems that the word is dervied from the root /tē/ a locative case-sign found in *Tol. Collatikāram.* From this tē, the elongated form teem should have emerged out. Medial -ē- underwent a sound change i.e., e + y. (It is herartening to suggest that *yāḻ* should have come out from ēḻ, since the Tamil musical instrument was meant to play the seven-fold melodies). Elsewhere Tol mentions that /y/ becomes /e/ as in *yām* → em, Yāṉ → en[6]. Anyhow, one of the two kinds of sound chage i.e., e → y and y → e may be due to hyper-urbanisation. In the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, we have the word Yāṟṟūr occurring twice, and the initial loss of /y/ is wanting. This tendency exhibits their close proximity to the period of *Tolkāppiyam.*

Tol denotes another sound change where the final -i becomes -y[7]. While he explains the dipthong /ai/ in two ways i.e. a+i → ai and a+y → ai, it is evident that i and y alternate in the final position. It is certain from the above changes that /y/ is more a vowel than a consonant and it is articulated like a front vowel as per the rule in *Piṟappiayl.*[8]

In the language of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions we have words with both *i* and *y* mingled together. Perhaps the authors of these inscriptions should have meant the cluster of /iy/ by the aphorism in

Tolkāppiyam, "ikaram yakaram iṟuti viravum".[9] Or it should be due to the scribe's error. But in the period of these epigraphs even in the medial postion /i/ changed into /y/ eg. (ceita → ceyta). This may be considered *as a later development.*

Absence of the palatalization of k into c

In the view of Dr. T. Burrow, loss of initial c/s happened earlier to the palatalization of initial /k/ which took place when it is followd by any one of the front vowels.[10] In *Tolkappiyam* examples for the former are limited while the second change is totally absent.[11] One may quote the *uri-c-col/cīrtti/* was derived from Sanskrit *kīrtti, It is to be borne in mind that Tolkāppiyar enlisted only native words in the chapter uri-y-iyal which according to some scholars contains the enumeration of roots (plus some suffixes in some items) of local origin.* In order to supply an evidence to the palatalization of k → c, one should not hasten to identify this local word *cīrtti* with Sanksrit *kīrtti.* The same word occurs elsewhere in *Tolkāppiyam*[12] (-Cīrtti maṉṉumaṅkalam) and in Puṟanāṉūṟu[13] (-aruñ-cīrtti). Even in the early Buddhist Tamil epic Manimekalai (500 A.D), we witness the same word, being the personal name of the Chola queen.[14] Hence, *it is not unresonable to suggest that Cira, cīr should have been the root for the word Cīrtti. On the analogy cīr → cīrtti, nēr becomes nērtti.*

Causal Forms

Causal verbs are very rare in the language of *Tolkappiyam.* A solitary occurrence is *'kēṭpikkum'.* But, the *Tamil - Brahmi inscriptions possess the paradigms of the causal verb/koṭṭkuppitta/occuring about ten times and / aṟuppittal/ and /ceyyvitta/ each occuring twice. It is reasonable to derive from this observation that the causal verbs gained currency after the advent of Tolkāppiyam.*

Loans

Tolkāppiyar permits the incorportation of Sanskrit words, only after polished to suit the genius of the Tamil Phonology. Also he mentions translation from other languages as one of the four varieties of *Vaḻinūl* (lit: the adapted works). The three parts of *Tol* viz. *eḻuttatikāram,* (book on phonology and morphophonemics), *Collatikāram* (book on morphology and syntax) and *Poruḷatikāram* (poetics and prosody) disclose the fact that the Sanskrit culture was blended to certain extent

with the Tamil culture. Hence it is natural that the words and thoughts should have mutually influenced these two languages. When we compare the nature of loans in the language of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and in *Tolkāppiyam,* the difference may be easily comprehended. Since the authors of most of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are considered to be Buddhists and Jains speaking Pali and Prakrit respectively, they have occasionally missed to adhere to the rules of Tamilization, as evidenced from such words as *dhammam, Sālakan, Sutan* etc., (this tendency was continued even in the Pallava and Chola inscriptions of the later period)- Nevertheless, the Tamilized forms occur in customs in the ancient epigraphs.

e.g. kaṇinantaṉ, kōcipaṉ, kaṇinākaṉ, tavirai < SKT. Sthavira Kācipaṉ, Ceṅkāyapaṉ.

Some of the above names denote the apostles of Buddhism and Jainism, revealing the *fact* that these religions were gradually spreading in the south by the time of the said epigraphs.

Tolkāppiyam also possess some Sanskrit words such as *antam, ētu, mārāyam*[15] etc., but they seem to be of a different nature, since they represent some of the grammatical, political and cultural types. There are references even to Vedic sacrifices and to the avocations of the four-fold social groups. Yet the impact of Non-Vedic schools is not visibly seen in any part of the text. Anyhow, *if we count the percentage of loan words both in Tolkāppiyam and in the above inscriptions, it is definite that the latter contain more alien words, thus leading to strengthen the hypothesis that the former should belong to somewhat an earlier period.*

Syntax

In conformity with the rules of the syntactical structure where the attributes and titles precede the personal names or head words as promulgated in *Tol.Col.* 41,42 etc., the following instances are found in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

In the Mankulam inscriptions

	Attribute	Head
1.	Kaṇi	nantaṉ
2.	Paṇavaṉkaṭalaṉ	vaḻuti
3.	Iḷañ	caḻiyaṉ

4.	neṭuñ	caḻiyaṉ
5.	veḷḷaṭai	
	nikamattu k-kāviti kāḻitika	antai

The last illustration corresponds to some extent to what *Cēṉāvaraiyar* has given in his commentry e.g. *Kāviti kaṇṇantai.*

In the Koṅkarpuḷiyaṅkuḷam inscriptions

1.	upācaṉ	paracu
2.	upācaṉ toṇṭi	ilavaṉ
3.	pākaṉūr pērācāṉ	piṭṭaṉ
4.	matirai antai	visuvaṉ

In the Alakarmalai inscriptions

1.	veṇ	kōsipaṉ
2.	matirai-p-poṉkolavaṉ	ātaṉ
3.	koluvaṇikaṉ iḷañ	cantaṉ
4.	erukkāṭṭūrilakkuṭumpikaṉ	pōlālaiyaṉ
5.	yāṟṟūr	ceṅkāyapaṉ

Problem of violation of rules

Tolkāppiyar categorically mentioned that words ending with-m (-they belong to aḵṟiṇai or inferior category) should take the augment /attu/ before taking the case -signs.[16] In conformity with this rule, the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions possess an occurence, *'nikamattōr'*. The same tendency is found in the language of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Cankam* anthology with some exceptions. Before the soical case-sign /oṭu/ the coming of the inflectional increment /attu/ was optional acording to another rule in *Tolkāppiyam.*[17] It is exemplified in its own usages. e.g. *akaramoṭu, kālamotu.*[18] In *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu cīṟṟamoṭu,* in *Tirumurukāṟṟup-paṭai kāmamotu* etc., are found. Yet, the absence of the compulsory morpheme /attu/ before-m ending words to take case-signs especially dative case-sign is against the rule in *Tolkāppiyam.* It is surprising to witness such violations even in the very text of *Tolkāppiyam.* They are the following:-

1. *aivakai aṭiyum āciriyakkuriya* (poruḷ. 359)
2. *Vēḻakuritte vitantu kaḻiṟeṉṟal* (poruḷ. 579)

Such usages are also seen in the langugage of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Maṇimēkalai.*

Does the violation in *Tolkāppiyam* imply interpolation or the authour's unawarness of his own rule? The answer is not far to seek. He has not transgressed the prescription either in *Eluttatikāram* or in *Collatikāram,* but only in the *Porulatikāram* that too in the chapters on prosody and the traditional usages. To meet with the metrical exegencies in the construction of the above quoted aphorisms in akaval metre, there is no other go except to forgo the rule. If he followed the morpho-phonemic rule strictly, he wouuld have marred the metre of āciriya-p-pa in which form he composed all his aphorisms. So, the author seems to be in a dilemma as to abandon either the morpho-phonemic rule or the prosodial rule. Naturally he prepared the first, giving prominence to poetry. *Tolkāppiyar* himself set an example to get extricated from the clutches of hard and fast rules [-which of course are essential to keep the neatness of the structure of the language], just to convey the thoughts as easily and elegantly as possible to serve the very purpose of the language. For want of space, some more volitional violations of grammatical usages are not treated here.

The theory of Rasa and the concept of Meyppāṭu

Some of the modern scholars attempted to read the influence of *Nāṭya śāstra* in the chapter on *Meyppāṭṭiyal* and concluded that *Tolkāppiyam* was written after *Nāṭya śāstra* which according to Dr. P.V. Kane and Dr. S.K.De belonged to the begining of the Christian Era. So far a clear and complete comparative study of the contents of *Meyappāṭṭiyal* and the relevent chapters in *Nāṭya śāstra* has not been undertaken and hence any conclusion made on some partial, trivial, accidental similarities requires revision and a thorough checkup.

First and formost one should bear in mind that the rules in the *Nāṭya śāstra* are chiefly intended for the dramatic art and stage craft, while the prescriptions in *Meyppāttiyal* are essentially meant for the composition of verses of subjective and objective themes, depicting the manifold sentiments of the various types of characters, viz, *talaivan, talaivi, tōli, tōlan, cevili* and others. *Tolkāppiayr* clearly stated that Meyppāṭu is one of the constituent members of *ceyyuḷ* (poetry), and never utterted that it belongs to the province of Drama.

Meyppāṭu means the physical expression of emotions and in a secondary sense means the literary taste. The theory of Rasa in the *Nāṭya śāstra* and the concept of *Meyppāṭu* in *Tolkāppiyam* may seem at the

surface level to mean one and the same. *But a close study of the two reveals the remarkable difference not only in the way of enumeration but also in the elucidation of the emotions.*

The general contents of the two portions

The chapters VI, VII, VIII and IX in the *Nātya śāstra* descriptively deal with the sentiments and states, their subdivisions, the *bhāvas* (emotional and other states) *vibhāvas* (determinants), *sthāyi bhāvas* (dominant states), *anubhāvas* (consequents) and *viyabhicāribhāvas* (transitory states) along with the representation of the states, the gestures of minor limbs, hands etc., on the stage.

The chapter *Meyppāṭṭiyal* in *Tolkāppiyam* begins with a statement that the thirty two *meyppāṭus* that are manifest in the field of sport are reduced into sixteen which again are compressed into eight, each of which is the outcome of four bases. *Another set of 32 meyppāṭus pertaining to Akattiṇai and Puṟattiṇai and those common for both tiṇais, and those occuring in pre-marital and post-marital periods are original and peculiar only to the Tamil School. Further the statements in the same chapter about the required qualities to be accomplished by the hero and heroine, along with the detestable qualities to be shunned by them are not to be seen in Nātya śāstra.*

Differences in the contents of the two texts

Some more significant aspects that differentiate the views of Tolkāppiyar and Bharatamuni, the author of N.S. are presented here.

The names denoting the eightfold meyppāṭu are purely Tamil. They are in order the following: *nakai* (laughter), *aḻukai* (weeping), *iḷivaral* (odious), *maruṭkai* (wonder), *accam* (fear), *perumitam* (majesty), *vekuḷi* (anger) and *uvakai* (joy).[19]

In the Nātya śāstra, the eight sentiments (rasa) recognised in drama are as follows: 1. erotic (śṛṅgāra) 2. comic (hāsya) 3. pathetic (karuṇā) 4. furious (raudra), 5. heroic(vīra) 6. terrible (bhayanaka) 7. odious (bibhatsa) and 8. marvellous (adbhuta).[20]

Scholars like Dr. P.S.S. Sastri equated them in the following order[21]:

Tamil	**Sanskrit**
a̱lukai	*karuṇā*
iḷivaral	*bibhatsa*
maruṭkai	*adbhuta*
accam	*bhayānaka*
perumitam	*vīra*
vekuḷi	*raudra*
uvakai	*śṛṅgāra*

The identification of *karuṇā* with *a̱lukai,,* *vīra* with *perumitam* and *śṛṅkāra* with *uvakai* seems to be improper, for they bear different connotations and shades of meaning representing the two traditions of Tamil and Sanskrit literary concepts, though a partial comparison may be attempted. *Perāciriyar,* one of the commentators of *Tolkāppiyam* classified a̱lukai (i.e.avalam) into *karuṇā* and *cōkam. From this, it is to be noted that it was not exclusively equated with karuṇā.*

Even the remaining pairs of five sentiments also do not completely go hand in hand.[22] Further, it is found in the *Nātya śāstra* that the sources of the eight rasa are the four original rasas which are the comic arising from the erotic, the pathetic from the furious, the marvellous from the heroic and the terrible from the odious. *Such a view is not found in Meyppāṭṭiyal.*

In the *Nātya śāstra,* it is mentioned that the erotic sentiment is light green, the comic sentiment white, the pathetic-sentiment ash-coloured, the furious sentiment red, the heroic sentiment light orange, the terrible sentiment black, the odious sentiment blue and the marvellous sentiment yellow.[23]

Such a classification assigning colours to the rasas are not found in Meyppāṭṭiyal.

In the N.S., the presiding deities to the eightfold sentiments are mentioned. Visnu is the god of the erotic, Pramathas of the comic, Rudra of the furious, Yama of the pathetic, Siva (Mahākāla) of the odious, Yama (kāla) of the terrible, Indra of the heroic and Brahma of the marvellous sentiments.[24]

This sort of god-based concept of rasa is also unknown to Tolkāppiyam.

In the N. S. it is mentioned that the furious (*raudra*) sentiment has as its basis the dominant states of anger. It owes its origin to *Rākṣasas, Dānavas* and haughty men, and is caused by fights.[25] *Such a superhuman origin is not found in Tolkāppiyam where all the sentiments are found to be concerned only with the human beings.*

The characteristic features of each sentiment and the manner of their representation in the stage that are vividly portrayed in the *Nātya śāstra* are not found in *Tolkappiyam.*[26]

In the N. S. it is stated that hāsya is caused by Determinants (*vibhāva*) such as mimicry of other's actions, incoherent talk, obstrusiveness, foolishness and the like.[27]

Tol. states that nakai is the result of mockery, childishness, ignorance and credulity.[28]

In the N. S. it is mentioned that *hāsya* is created by Determinants such as showing unseemly dress or ornament, impudence, greediness, quarrel, defective limb, use of irrelevent words, mentioning of different faults and similar other things.[29]

Though such a detailed list of Determinants is not found in *Meyppāṭṭiyal,* the aphorism of *Ceyiṟṟiyaṉār* quoted by *Iḷampūranar* in his commentrary mentions that the faltering steps of the lame person, the stupid words of the ignorant, the sad words of the pathetic, the babblings of the lunatic, the belittling utterings of the relatives, the blooming words of the young ones, the arrogant utterance of the weak, the submissive words of the strong, the beauty praised even by enemy, the education of the illiterate, *the Tamil spoken by the Aryas* etc., are the Determinants of *nakai* (-laughter)[30]

In the N. S. it is found that the pathetic sentiment (*Karuṇā*) grows from Determinants such as affliction under a curse, separation from dear ones, loss of wealth, death, captivity, flight (from one's own place), accidents or any other misfortune.[31] The same is also narrated in a diffetent language in a subsequent passage.

In *Tol,*[32] it is stated that contemptible treatment, loss, change for the worse and poverty are the sources for *aḻukai* (weeping). According to *Ceyiṟṟiyaṉar, karuṇai* is called avalam by the learned[33]:

"kavalai kūrnta karuṇaiyatu peyarē
avalam en̲pa arintōr"

But in Tol neither *karuṇai* nor *avalam* is seen; *a̲lukai* alone is found.

According to N. S. the odious (*bībhatsa*) sentiment is created by Determinants like hearing of unpleasant, offensive, impure and harmful things or seeing them or discussing them. The odious sentiment arises in many ways from disgusting sight, tastes, smell,touch and sound which cause uneasiness.[34]

In Tol, it is mentioned that ripe old age, disease, pain and low status are the sources of iḷivaral.[35]

According to N S.[36] the Marvellous (adbhuta) sentiment has as its basis the dominant state of astonishment. It is created by Determinants such as sight of heavenly beings or events, attainment of desired objects, entrance into a superior mansion, temple, audience hall, a seven-storied palace and seeing illusory and magical acts etc... Further it is also found that the Marvellous sentiment is that which arises from words, characters, deed and personal beauty.[37]

In Tol, it is stated that maruṭkai takes its origin from newness, greatness, littleness and creation.[38]

In the N S.[39] it is mentioned that the Terrible sentiment (*bhayānaka*) is created by Determinants like hideous noise, sight of ghosts, panic and anxiety due to (untimely cry of) jackles and owls., etc. Further it is found that Fear is caused by the Determinants such as offending one's superiors and the kind, roaming in a forest, seeing an elephant and a snake, staying in an empty house, rebuke (from one's superiors), a dark rainy night, hearing the hooting of owls and the cry of animals that go out at night and the like.[40]

In *Tol.*[41] it is found that the evil spirits, wild animals, thieves and one's own ruler are the sources of *accam* (fear).

In the N S.[42] it is stated that the Heroic sentiment (vīra) is created by Determinants such as presence of mind, perseverance, diplomacy, discipline, military strenght, agressiveness, reputation of might, influence and the like. The same text also mentions in a subsequent portion that the same sentiment arises from energy, perseverance, optimism, absence

of surprise, and presence of mind etc.,[43] *This portion seems to be a later addition, since some of the Determinants are repeated again.*

In Tol. it is said that Perumitam arises from the sources of scholarship, bravery, fame and liberality.[44]

The N. S. presents that the Furious sentiment (Raudrȧ) is created by Determinants such as anger, rape, abuse, insult, untrue allegation, exorcizing, threatening, revengefulness, jealousy and the like.[45] Its actions are beating, breaking, crushing, cutting, piercing, taking up arms, hurling of missiles, fighting, drawing of blood and similar other deeds.[46]

In Tol. it is stated that the painful cutting of the limbs, destruction of family, pillage and murder are the origin of vekuḷi.[47]

In the N. S.[48] it is mentioned that the Erotic sentiment (Śrṅgāra) proceeds from the dominant state of love and it has as its basis a bright attire; for whatever in this world is white, pure, bright and beautiful is appreciated in terms of the Dominant state of love (śrṅgāra). It[49] has two bases: union (sambhoga) and separation (vipralambha). Of these two, the erotic sentiment in union arises from Determinants like the pleasures of the season, the enjoyment of garlands, unguents, ornaments, (the company of) beloved persons, objects (of senses) splendid mansions, going to a garden and enjoying (oneself) there, seeing the (beloved one), hearing (his or her words), playing and dallying (with him or her), while the erotic sentiment based on separation relates to a condition of retaining optimism arising out of yearning and anxiety.

In Tol[50] such a long list of Determinants is not given. It is found that wealth, experience of pleasures, sexual union and sport are the sources of Uvakai freed from misery.

It is essential to note that Tolkāppiyar presented uniformly only four bases for the apperarance of each meyppāṭu, whereas the author of Nātya śāstra has given an exhaustive list of determinants for the origin of each sentiment (rasa). From the above comparative study of the *Nātya śāstra* and the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* in Tol. *it is evident that the two texts represented different literary traditions, though some flimsy and trivial similarities may be seen. Hence, it is proper to conclude that Tol is not influenced by N. S.*

The Rhetorical aspects

The earliest reference to the theory of rhetorics in Tamil is to the seen in *Tol. uvamaiyiyal,* while in Sanskrit it is found in Bharata's Nātya śāstra. Before comparing the relevant contents in these two texts, it is essential to note that centuries before these two works, sufficient materials in a budding form should have existed in these two languages. Tol. clearly mentions at least in ten aphorisms in the chapter on Uvamaiyiyal that he has presented the rhetorical concepts from the age-long tradition prevailed in his days. A poem in *Patirruppattu* (200 B.C. to 100 B.C.) by way of stating that either the wise or the illiterate thinks that only the *Chera* king *Peruñceral Irumporai* becomes comparison to others, while others could not become a comparison to the former conveying the idea that the object of comparison should excel all others in character. The passage under reference is given below:

> "pirarkkuni va:yin allatu ninakkup
> piraruvamam ākā oruperu vēntē" (Patirru. 73:2.3)

Ulōccanār, a Caṅkam poet of Jain faith, extols the Chola monarch Rācacūyam Vetta Perunarkilli in the same manner as seen above. He admires the Chola as one who becomes comparison to others (i.e. his equals) and other monarchs could not become a comparison to the Chola. The portion in Puranānūru runs thus:

> "pirarkku uvamam tānallatu
> tanakku uvamam pirarillena" (377:10-11)

The artisans in Madurai wellversed in the art of painting, sculpture etc., were experts in explaining things of every nature by showing suitable comparison. Thus we find a reference in Maturaikkāñci:

> "evvakaic ceytiyum uvamam kātti
> nunnitin unarnta nulainta nōkkir
> kannul vinaiñar" (516-518)

In Tirukkural, God is depicted as one who has no comparison: *"tanakkuuvamai illātān"* (7)

In these ancient Tamil classics the words *uvamam* and *uvamai* indirectly indicate the existence of some Tamil grammatical works on the subject. It is essential to mention that the Cankam classics are rich in similes and metaphors, leave alone the other forms of figures of speech.

Sanskrit scholars are of the opinion that the study of rhetorics is not mentioned either among the orthodox disciplines styled as Vedangas or in the Vedic Samhitas, Brahmaṇas or the ancient Upaniṣads. Though the word upamā occurs in the Ṛgveda it is used in the sense of example and has no rhetorical value. The earliest Sanskrit grammarian Pānini incidentally discusses for the first time the conception of comparison while dealing with some affixes including case and feminine suffixes, krt taddhita and samāsānta terminations, in the making of compounds and in accent.[51] In Tamil from the ancient period onwards, usually the fifth case-sigh and not other affixes as in Sanskrit is used in the sense of comparison and at times in the sense of contrast also.

Yaska vs Tolkappiyar

A close study of *Yaska's Nirukta* (300 B.C.) and *Tolkappiyar's uvamaiyiyal* could reveal the independent growth of the concept of *uvamai* in Sanskrit and Tamil, though some seeming similarity may be inferred. *Nirukta* contains five-fold classification of similes, viz., 1. *karmopamā* 2. *bhūtopamā* 3. *rūpopamā* 4. *siddhopamā* and 5. *Iuptopamā* also known as *arthopamā.*[52] The last one is deemed to be an equavalent to the *Rūpaka* of later theories, and it is interesting to note that *Tolkāppiyam* also has one version of comparison which in later period was separately named as Rūpaka, as per the earliest available commentary of the text.[53] To illustrate this sort of simile (i.e. *rūpaka*) a clasical example from *Puṟanāṉūṟu* is cited in the commentary.[54] Among the remaining varieties of simile, *karmopamā* and *rūpopamā* are very similar to viṉai or *toḻil* and *uru* in *Tolkāppiyam.* According to Dr. S.K. De, in bhūtopamā the upamitā becomes the upamāna in character, while in siddhopamā the standard of comparison is well established and known to surpass every other object in a particular quality or act.[55] *These two varieties would not be taken to fully correspond to the remaining two viz., payaṉ and mey inTol.*

In *Nirukta,* only 12 varieties of particles of comparison are treated while in *Tolkāppiyam* 36 types (plus 12 governed by the world piṟa in the *Cūttiram* 282, in *Poruḷ*) are found and the author has assigned eight separate varieties from the total of 36 particles to each of the four kinds of comparison. *It is really a well-defined grammar, since it attempts to describe that the particular kind of comparison should take the particular particle of comparison.*[56] *Tolkāppiyar is really democratic in defining*

grammar, since he allows the rare occurrence of one particle in a different kind of comparsion, giving due regard to the minor usages that fall apart his definition.[57] Though he made an exhaustive, extensive and intensive survey of the literary and oral usages of Tamil language, he expected some exceptions to the rules framed by him and hence provision for them is made in his treatise.

Hence, it is just to suggest that the development in the domain of rhetorics (as seen from the two texts under referencee) *at least in the early phase of its evolution in Tamil and Sanskrit seems to be independent, and the seemingly trivial similarity noticed between these two may be accidental or due to mutual influence.* From this common trend, one can not propose the proximity of the period of the two texts under reference.

The Definition of Uvamai

Grammarians attempted to formulate a concise definition of *Upamā* (i.e. compariosn). Two early definitions are available from Sanskrit sources, one from Yaska's quotation and another from the *Mahābhāsya* of *Patanjali. Yaska* quotes from *Gargya* who envisaged that *upamā* occurs when an object which is dissimilar is reckoned through similarity with an object having similar attributes and generally the standard of comparison shoud be superior in merit and better known than the object of comparison; but the reverse case is also accepted.[58] *Though such a definition is not found in Tolkāppiyam, the author agrees in that that the standard of comparison should surpass all other things in character, i.e. it should be supreme. But, unlike Gargya he never admitted the reverse order.*

Another definition is made by Patanjali who is supposed to be a native of Chidambaram and he mentions that a *māna* or measure is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown and upamā is approximate to the māna determines the thing not absolutely but approximately, e.g., when we say a gavaya is like a cow. But, the later rhetoricians like the author of Citramimāmsa were reluctant to accept the example adduced by Patanjali as an instance of poetic upamā, since the characteristic charmingness essential in a poetic figure is absent in a such a plain and barren statement.[59] However, Patanjali's connotation of the word *māna*-measure is in complete agreement with the perennial Tamil tradition. In the list of nine initial phonemes that commence the

words denoting measure and weight, Tol mentions mā, and according to the text and commentary the word */mā/* denoted in some contexts a measure and in other contexts a weight.[60] Examples to these are many not only in the Cankam classics but in the inscriptions of the Imperial Cholas. Hence māna in the sense of measure need not be exclusively considered to be Sanskrit, and *since Patanjali being a South Indian, gives such a meaning it is possible to infer that he should have expressed the Tamil concept.*

Tolkappiyar apparently commences the chapter on Uvamaiyal with the enumeration of the four kinds of simile, and the absence of a definition in the chapter suggests the formative stage of rhetorics in the historical march of the Tamil language. Even the early commentator Iḷampūrṇar in his introductory remarks to the chapter under reference mentions only the benefit accruing from the study of Uvamai and does not present any definition. According to him[61] one derives two-fold benefits from the study of comparison. They are:

1. Unknown things become known.
2. As an embellishment, it gives pleasue to the listeners.

He illustrates the first by adducing the same example given by *Patanjali* thus: *"āppōlum āmā eṉa uṇarttiyavaḷi, ataṉaik kāṭṭakattuk kaṇṭāṉ muṉkēṭṭa oppumai paṟṟi iḵtu āmā eṉṟu aṟiyum"*. He explains the second thus: *"tāmaraipōl vāḷmukattut taiyallir eṉṟavaḷi alaṅkāramakik kēṭṭarākku iṉpam payakkum"*. The first illustration is not only found in the *Mahābhāsya* of *Patanjali* but in the *Nyāyasutra* of *Aksapāda* (150 A.D.) who defines that comparison is the knowledge of a thing through its similarity to another thing previously well known.[62] He gives the same example thus:

"A man hearing from a forester that a bos gavaeus is like a cow resorts to a forest where he seems an animal like a cow. Having recollected what he heard he institutes a comparsion, by which he arrives at the conclusion that the animal which he sees is bos gaaeus. This is knowledge derived through comparison."

Even in Manimekalai, the ancient Tamil Buddhist epic (500 A.D.) the portion that deals with the Vedic *Naiyāyika* system presents the same definition and illustration closely following *Nātya Śāstra.* The portion under reference is this:

"uvamam āvatu oppumai aḷavai
kavayamā āppolumeṉak karutaḷ" (XXVII 41-2)

It is natural that the Naiyāyikas being the pioneers in the field of epistemology confined themselves in defining comparsion as a source of valid knowledge, neglecting its aesthetic value or rhetorical merit, *Prasastapāda* (500 A.D.), the commentator of *Vaiśeṣika* sūtra and *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa* (600-700 A.D.) the official interpreter of *Jaimini's Mimāmsa Śutra* readily accepted *upamāna* as one of the means of vaild knowledge.[63] This state of affairs indicates the growing significance of comparison not only in the sphere of rhetorics but in the area of epistemology. *It is possible from the above Tamil quotation to derive the word uvamai from the Tamil word oppumai.*

Coming to the third definition available from *Bharata's Nātya śāstra.* It runs thus: "When in a poetical composition anything is compared on the basis of similarity it is an instance of simile. It relates to quality and form".[64] *None of the three definitions of upamāna is found in Tolkāppiyam.* Even the type of comparison of quality has no wider implication in *Tolkāppiyam.* It mentions uru i.e. colour and this quality of a thing is perhaps extended to other qualities in the subsequent period and hence in the later rhetorical works the name /uru/ has been replaced by the word /paṇpu/or/kuṇam/.[65]

Importance of simile

Iḷampūraṇar is of the opinion that the simile is peculiar and predominant in *Akam* poems only, thereby suggesting that the love themes usually are decorated by the application of rhetorical embellishment.[66] Perhaps from the bulky body of Akam poems shining with charming similes in abundance he should have derived this conclusion. But even in Puṟam poems, there are captivating and colourful similes. In the introductory aphorism of *Ceyyuḷiyal* that enumerates the various limbs of poetry, *Uvamai* is left out. The reason for the omission is beyond the cognition of the present author. Again, it is worthy of attention that in the initial chapter of *Porulatikāram,* i.e. *Akattiṇaiyiyal, Tolkappiyar* has made a two-fold classification of simile viz. *uḷḷurai uvamam* (i.e. symbolic simile) and *ēṉai uvamam* (i.e. simple simile), and also in the chapter on *Poruḷiyal* he mentions some more varieties of simile of the *uḷḷurai* type.[67] Though he is essentially a grammarian, he has created beautiful similes in his text in order to elucidate certain concepts of subjective and objective

themes. In explaining one of the thomes of *Vañci-t-tiṇai,* he compares an individual warrior who with his sole valour vehemently withstands the oncoming opponents, to a stone-built barrier that arrests the upsurging ferocious flood.[68] In another context that deals with the hero who after the accomplishment of his duty did not halt on his return journey, the author compares his valiant horse, that helped him in need like his mind and that ran swiftly, to a flying bird.[69] Here the fast-running of the horse is compared to the swift flying of the bird and thus the comparison comes under the division of action (i.e. *viṉai uvamam).* All these go to prove the significant role of simile in the sphere of poetics by the time of *Tolkāppiyam.*

Uvamaiyiyal Vs Nātya śāstra

In fixing the age of *Tolkāppiyam,* a comparative study of *uvamaiyiyal* and the portions in *Nātya Śāstra* will be immensely useful. At the outset, let us endeavour to underline tha salient features of the two texts in dealing with the rhetorics.

1. *Tolkāppiyam mentions only one figure of speech,* viz., *uvamai* (-simile) and *hence the chapter that deals with it is named after it* (i.e. *uvamaiyiyal).* But, *Nātya sāstra enumerates four kinds of figure of speech* viz., 1. *upamā,* 2. *rūpaka* (metaphor), 3. *dīpaka* and 4. *yamaka.*[70] Even if one takes that *Tol. Cūttiram* 280 that describes one version of uvamai really refers to *rūpaka* (as viewed by the later rhetoricians as per the commentary of *Iḷampūraṇar*), *the remaining two more additions in Nātyasāstra seem to be a growth long after the period of Toklkāppiyam*

2. *Nātyasāstra*[71] counts the objects of comparison to be of four varieties. i.e. The comparison may be of one with one, or of one with many or many with one or of many with many. The examples given in the text to these types are the following:-

i. Your face is like the moon.
(One compared with one)

ii. Stars shine like the moon.
(Many compared with one)

iii. Having an eye like that of a hawk, a peacock and vulture
(One compared with many)

and iv. Elephants are like clouds.
(Many compared with many)

Among the four, the third one is known in *Tolkappiyam* Sutra 308, and it is named as *"tatumārruvamam". Anyhow, the afore-seen classification is not found in Tolkāppiyam.* However, one aphorism in *Tolkāppiyam* indicates the rhetorical tradition that permits whole and part (*mutalum cinaiyum*) may be compared with the same member or with one another.[72] As per the commenary of this aphorism, *four varieties of comparison which are not like the four types in Nātya sāstra are available. They are:*

i. Whole for whole e.g. The Maraa tree is like Balarama.

ii. Part for whole e.g. The boy is like the lotus-flower.

iii. Part for part e.g. The face is like the lotus-flower.

iv. whole for part e.g. Small eye is like fire.

In *Cūttiram 295,* there is a mention of five sorts of simile-like (i.e. *uvamappōli)* construction. According to *Ilampuranar,* they are the following:

i. It has no parallel or comparision (as in *Tirukkural, 7)*

ii. This is the only comparision to this.

iii. If we collect the selecte parts of many objects, they may serve as comparison to this.

iv. If the charm in various objects comes to one place, then it is proper comparison to this.

and v. Nonconcomitant objects also are compared. e.g. If the veracious hero utters lie, then it is just like a fire appearing in a cool moon (*-Kalitokai*).

This method of comparison is not found in Nātya sāstra

3. Further, *Nātyaśāstra* enumerates with examples five kinds of simile, viz., 1. *prasamsā* (praise), 2. *nindā* (censure), 3. *Kalpitā* (conceit), 4. *sadśri* (uniqueness) and 5. *Kimcitsadśri* (partial likeness).[73] After presenting this, the text further states that those not described here are to be gathered from the available poetical works and from the popular speech. But in *Tolkāppiyam* though such a classification is not found, it

mentions the bases or substance of comparison to be of five varieties viz., excellence, goodness, love, strength and also the inferior object.[74]

It is essential to note that Tol prescribed the conditions and contexts where the tradtional characters the hero, heroine, lady-companion, maid-mother and others express themselves in rhetorical language. It is clear that Tolkāppiyar precisely expounded his theory of rhetorics deep-rooted in the long tradition of the Tamil life and literature.[75] *There are some more aspects in Tol that are absent in the Nāṭya śāstra.*[76]

Hence, the comparative analysis of the contents of *uvamaiyiyal* in *Tolkāppiyam* and the portions in *Nāṭya śāstra* that deal with the theory of rhetorics reveals the fact that *the two texts possess individual methodology and distinct character in presenting the rhetorical concepts and in all probability Tolkappiyam exhibits an ancient trend, while Nāṭya śāstra projects a later phase in the evolution of rhetories. So it is proper to infer that Tolkāppiyam is sufficiently older than the Nāṭya śāstra.*

Sāntarasa

According to one version of *Nāṭya śāstra, Sānta* is counted as a *rasa* as against the old tradition which maintained only eight-fold rasas.[77] Coming to *Tolkāppiyam,* the author emphatically and categorically stated that there are only eight *meypāṭus.*[78] The absence of *Sānta* rasa in Tol. leads to the conclusion that it should be anterior to *Nāṭya śāstra.*

Gāndharva Veda

Some scholars read in the phrase, *"icaiyoṭu civaṉiya narampiṉ maṟaiya"* in Tol, eḻuttu Sutra 33, the existence of *gandharva veda* during the period of *Tolkāppiyar.* But it is to be borne in mind that the Kalinga king Khāravela (200 B.C.) is extolled as *"Gandharva Vedabudhah"* in his Hathigumpha inscription. His contact with Tamil Nadu is conceded by the renowned historians. From this epigrphical reference one may deduce that the study of *Gandharva Veda* was prevalent at least some centuries before Kharavela. *Since the Caṅkam classics are replete with knowlege of music and allied subjects, "naraminmaṟai" in Tolkāppiyam naturally denotes the native Tamil text. So, it is unjust to place Tolkappiyam after the peiod of the Kalinga king Khāravela.*

Some Prosodial Features

The biggest chapter in the whole of *Tolkāppiyam* is *Ceyyuḷiyal* containing 235 aphorisms dealing with the canons of versification. Even in the remaining chapters of Tol special rules to the poetic usage are codified and this shows the significant status occupied by the different forms of poetry. The luminous and voluminous nature of this individual chapter entitled *Ceyyuḷiyal* naturally lead in the subsequent periods to the formation of *Yāppatikāram,* a separate book on prosody to be treated on a par with *Eluttatikāram, Collatikāram* and *Poruḷatikāram*. Likewise the single chapter in *Tolkāppiyam* viz., *uvamaiyiyal* developed in a later period into a big treatise known as *Aṇiyatikāram.*

In *Ceyyuḷiyal, Tolkāppiyar* has recorded a perennial tradition of Tamil prosody in addition to the innovations that took place in his own days or just before him. In formulating and presenting the prosodial rules, he has quoted the by-gone authors in many contexts. The following portions in *Ceyyuḷiyal* are worth-mentioning:

1. Nallicaip pulavar ceyyul uṟuppeṉa
   vallitiṟ kūṟi vakutturaittaṉare
   - The opening aphorism in Cey.
2. Yāppeṉa moḻipa yāppaṟi pulavar. 383
3. Nārpēr ellai akattavar vaḻaṅkum
   yāppiṉ vaḻiyatu eṉmaṉār pulavar. 384
4. Poḻippeṉa moḻital pulavar āṟē. 403
5. Nūlṅavil pulavar nuvaṉṟarain taṉarē. 457

Such quotative types of aphorisms indicating the pre-existance of many a prosidial text before *Tolkāppiyam* cannot be ruthlessly set aside by a historical researcher. *Ceyyuḷiyal* provides with a wealth of information as regards to the constituent members of a poem, types and subtypes of a poem, literary genres etc., It is possible only if the author has already traversed through the groves of a vast body of literary cum grammatical works that existed well in advance to the advent of *Tolkāppiyam.*

Unlike the medieval prosodial works that enumerated the four-fold verses in the order of *Veṉpā, Aciriyam, Kalippā* and *Vañciuppā*

perhaps due to the influence of *varnāśrama dharma,* since these four types of verses in the medieval and later periods respectively represented the four caste distinctions of the socity commencing from *antaṇar* and ending with *vēḷāḷar, Tolkappiyam* presented the same four types in the order of *āciriyam, vañci, veṇpā* and *kaḷippā,* most probably suggesting that the communal divisions of Vedic faith did not pervade in the domain of prosody, and thus leading one to propose its relative antiquity.

Due to the non-availability of proper ancient literary pieces written in *Veṇpā*, *Kalippā* and *Paripatal* metres that were studied by *Tolkāppiyar* to formulate the rules regarding to their structure, some of the modern thinkers hasten to conclude that only after a close study of *Kalittokai* and *Paripatal* in the eight Anthologies and *Veṇpā* works in *Kiḻkkaṇakku, Tolkāppiyar* has finalished his *ceyyuḷiyal. This hasty decision seems to go against the principles of comparative and histrocial research, since most of the poems in these collections are not in conformity with many a rule not only in ceyyuḷiyal, but in the remaining chapters of Tolkāppiyam. Those, who have thoroughly analysed and identifed the striking contrasts between the language of the Caṅkam anthologies pertaining to the phonological, morphological and syntactical aspects and the grammar of Tolkāppiyam, may be easily convinced that since some of the prosodial features of Tolkāppiyam are at variance with the format and content of many Caṅkam poems, it is meant for an earlier body of literature.* It is improper to suggest that there did not exist any work in *Veṇpā* metre long before *Tirukkuṟaḷ* or *Nalaṭiyār* in *Kiḻkkaṇakku,* since the perfection and beauty in the said metre attained in these works speak to the pre-existence of works in venpā metre many centuries before them. *All these metres are native and not foreign i.e. taken from Sanskrit.*

It is regretable to note that proper illustrations to the literary genres viz., *pici, aṅkatam, paṇṇatti, mutumoḻi, mantiram* etc., and *vaṇṇam, vaṉappu* etc., in *Tolkāppiyam* are not available from the accessible Sangam classics, and the stray scanty examples shown by the learned commentators are in most places not only inadequate but inappropriate and only they are cited for illustration's sake and not to justify the correct contents of the sūtras.

Tolkāppiyam prescribes Kalippā and Paripāṭal to be the proper forms of metre to accomodate love-thems[79]. As against this rule, religious themes form the substance of many poems in *Paripātal. Akaval* metre is

liberally used in the *Cankam* classics to delineate love themes, with the solitary exception of *Kalittokai,* even where one can find many transgressions and new developments of prosodial features, reflecting the changes in the sphere of prosody after *Tolkāppiyam.* Since[80] more attention in *Tolkāppiyam ceyyuḷiyal* is focussed on *Kalippā,* its varieties and its homogeneous and kindred forms *Veṇpā, Paripāṭal, Aṅkatam, Kaikkiḷai* etc., *it is possible to suggest that this melodious type of poetry should have been the progenitor to all the other types of verses. This hypothesis holds good if one agrees with the liguistic view that only from the emotional and musical expressions, even the primitive language itself was evolved. Also it contains the conversational language of the public thus representing the living langugage of the people. This again tells upon the realistic, archaic and natural form of poetry.*

Some may think that due to the presence of the Sanskrit word *ampōtaraṅkam* to denote one of the limbs of a particualr kind of *kalippā, ceyyuḷiyal* can not claim a very high antiquity. It is to be borne in mind that before the occurrence of the said word, *Tolkāppiyar* has denoted the same by the pure Tamil word *eṇ* and its semantic significance noted by *Iḷampūraṇar* proves beyond doubt that it is a native idiom.[81] However, in one or two places, the Sanskrit word is found, perhaps due to the insertion of the medieval prosodial grammarians. Even in Sanskrit prosody, the word *ampotaraṅkam* has nothing to do with metrics and it remains a puzzle how this word crept into the province of Tamil prosody.

A general survey of the contents of *ceyyuḷiyal* in *Tolkāppiyam* and the existing *Cankam* poems reveals the fact that *Tolkāppiyam* preceeds the latter at least by some centuries.

Social aspects - Some foreign elements

It is just to note that some aphorisms in *Tolkāppiyam* vividly portray the diffusion of the Aryan and Dravidan cultures. The amalgamation of their cultures is not of the type of chemical combination but only physical combination enabling the researchers to identify and isolate the distinct aspects of both of them. *Tolkāppiyar's* knowledge of ancient Sanskrit texts is indisputable. In apportioning the duties and avcations to each and every strata of the society, one could not say that Tolkāppiyar was completely ignorant of the Vedic *Kalpasūtras* whcih fall under three divisions viz., *Strauta, Gṛhya* and *Dharmasūtras* - respectively dealing with the rites of Vedic sacrifices, household duties,

social obligations, law etc., of the Aryans. *On a par with these ethical conducts, Tolkāppiyar prescribed the native codes and deeds based on the tradition and customs of the ancient Tamils. The geographical classification of the landscape, the subjective and objective activities and themes subsumed under the category of karupporuḷ reflecting the remarkable culture and civilization of the Tamils are indeed local and not borrowed from the Aryans.* Neverthless, by the time of *Tolkāppiyar* the Aryans influenced the Tamils in almost all walks of life. So, he mentioned the sixfold avocations of the Brahmins viz., learning, teaching, performance of sacrifice for one's own self and for others, giving and receiving.[82] An ancient poem in *Patiṟṟuppattu* specifically refers to these sixfod professions of the *Antaṇar* (usually denoting the Brahmins) and records that the Chera monarch closely adhering to *their advice* reigned over the country.[83]

Next to the priestly class comes the royal race followed in order by the merchant community and working class with the particular professions. The deliberate and distinct usages like *mēlōr, kīḻōr, iḻintor, oppōṉ, uyarntōṉ* etc., occurring in *Tolkāppiyam* directly or indirectly denote the social and economic inequalities that prevailed in the period of *Tolkāppiyar.*[84] The social and cultural commingling of various professional and national groups ultimately gave birth to hybrid varieties termed as *anulomas* and *pratilomas* - the Sanskrit terms denoting the mixed stratas of the society.

Sūtar

In the category of *Pāṭāṇtiṇai,*[85] eulogizing of the *Cūtar* (SKT. Sūta) to arouse in the dawn the slumbering kings (in the bed chamber) who were actually contemplating to accomplish their motives and to achieve laurels in a righteous way, is included. It is to be noted that *cūtar* did not originally belong to Tamilnadu. This class of *cūtar* under reference was entirely different from the *Purānic Sūtas* who were actually sages of profound scholarship used to narrate the myths and legends of a particular shrine to the hermits in the *Naimisāraṇya* forest. The sources to know about the details of the *sūtars* are found only in the Sanskrit texts. In the *Kalpasūtra of Gautama* (IV - 15), *Bodhayana* (I.9.9) and *Vásiṣṭa* (XVIII.6) it is stated that a *suta* denotes a pratiloma born to a Brahmin mother and royal father. According to *Manudharma śāstra*

(X.47) he was a charioteer to the king. In the *Vaikānasa smārtha sūtra,* it is mentioned that he had to remind the king of his daily duties, and at times he took the role of a cook. Mahābhārata mentions that the *sūtas* were servants in the royal courts.[86] *In the opinion of Winternitz, "the sūtas were the representatives of the old heroic poetry who lived in the courts of the princes and sang to extol them. They also went forth to the battle-fields to sing the heroic deeds of the warriors from their own observation... They also acted as charioteers of the warriors in their compaigns and took part in their martial life.*[87]

Dr. S.N. Dasgupta and Dr. S.K. De[88] *opined that the sūtas were not mentioned anywhere in the Sanskrit literature as extolling the achievements and greateness of the renowned monarchs.* But it is to be noted that *Kalidasa* in his Raguvamsa (sarga 5, sloka 65) clearly mentioned that the primary duty of the Bandhi (also known as *sūta*) was to sing *Suprapādam* in mellifluous and well-chosen words in the bed-chamber of the monarchs. On the basis of this reference one should not rush to conclude that *Tolkāppiyar*, who also assigned the same duty to the *sūtar* in *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* lived centuries after the great poet *Kalidasa* (who is supposed to belong to 100 B.C.; according to some 500 A.D.) *Further, Tol. did not call the sūtas as bandhis as made by Kalidasa. Attention is to be drawn to the reference in the Caṅkam poetry Maturaikkāñci and Cilappatikāram where Cūtas were grouped along with similar stratas of people viz., mākatar and vaitāḷikar.*[89] According to *Manusmrti* (10.11), *Māgatha* was born to a *sūta* for a vaiśya woman. *Mahābhārata* points out that both *Sūta* and *Magatha* joined together used to glorify the monarchs in melodious din. *Amarasimha* in his lexicon (*kośa*) explained that *vaitāḷika* was one with the aid of manyfold cymbals (i.e. vivita *tāḷa)* accustomed to eulogize the royal glory in order to arouse them from slumber in the dawn. So, one should not hasten to bring the aforesaid Tamil works that denote *vaitāḷika* to a period after *Amarasimha* (500 A.D.), since the Pali and Prakrit sources of early centuries before Christ also refer to these court bards.[90]

Anyhow, the absence of *Māgathas* and *Vaitāḷikas* in *Tolkāppiyam* suggests its reletive antiquity to the *Caṅkam* poetry *Maturaikkāñci* that refers to the two stratas of hybrid people under reference in addition to the mentioning of sūtas who were the only hybrid class mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam.*

Vedic systems of wedding

The opening aphorism in *Tol, Kaḷaviyal* bears testimony on the author's intimate knowledge of Vedic culture. According to *Tol,* in the fivefold aspects of love interwoven with enjoyment, opulence and ethics, the union of the lovers in the premarital period (i.e. *kaḷavu*) resembles (partially) the nature of the gandharva form of marriage (*-yāḻōr kūṭṭam literally meaning* the union of the couple playing on the harp delighting in the melody) enlisted one among the eight kinds of Vedic weddings. *Tolkāppiyar* refers to these marriages in the line, *"mar̲aiyor teyattu man̲r̲al eṭṭu (maraiyōr',* the Vedic people, *teyattu-Āryavardha* or the texts). What are the eightfold weddings of the Vedic people?[91] According to an old aphorism quoted in the commentaries of *Tolkappiyam* and *Ir̲aiyan̲ar - kaḷaviyal,* they are the following:

1. *ar̲anilai* (also known as piramam < SKT. Brahma).
2. *oppu* (also styled as piracāpattiyam < SKT. prajāpatya. In Cilappatikāram it is named ayalmaṇam).
3. *poruḷkōḷ* (i.e. āriṭam < SKT. ārśa).
4. *teyvam* (SKT. Daiva).
5. *yāḻōrkūṭṭam* (SKT Gandharva).
6. *arumporuḷ vin̲ai nilai* (i.e., ācuram <SKT. āśura also known as manusha).
7. *irākkatam* (SKT. rākṣasa, also known as kṣātra) and
8. *pēynilai* (SKT. paisācha).

The ancient Tamil grammarians have not reproduced the eightfold types of marriage as they are in Sanskrit, but rendered them in Tamil idioms without marring the semantic content of the original.

In the order of enumeration of the weddings as found in the Sanskrit texts, next to *Brahma* occur *Daiva, Prajapatya* and *Ārśa.* The rest remained all the same in both the lists. Again, in defining these weddings the Tamil sources agree to a great extent to the accounts found in the Vedic Kalpasutras except in explaining Āśura form of marriage. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishanan "In the *Āśura* form of marriage the husband buys the bride for a price. It is a marriage by purchase. It assumes

that the woman has a value, and cannot be got for nothing".[92] Dr. Ramgopal, following the great philosopher quoted elaborately from the *Kalpasutras* and endorses the above statement.[93] This explanation is latent in the Tamil equivalent of *Āśura,* viz., *"Arumporuḷ viṉainilai"* in the aphorism quoted by the Tamil commentators, and it is to be noted here that the custom of paying money to the bride is an old tradition known as *paricam* or *mulaivilai* as found in *kōvai* literature and Tamil folklore and it continues to be prevalent even at present among the Tamils living in rural areas. Nevertheless, the Tamil commentators explained the *Āśura* form of wedding as one to be celebrated only after the hero came out with flying colours in the competitions set for the purpose proving his prowess or by shooting a revolving hog. Of course the first test was not known to the Aryans and it was very familiar with the pastoral people of the Tamil country. Anyhow, the commentators ably subsumed similar customs whether they were Aryan or Tamilian in character, under one category taking its spirit carefully. The annotator of *Iṟaiyaṉār kaḷaviayal,* in addition to the above explanation has also included the Sanskrit definition of *Āśura.*

Vedic Weddings Six or Eight?

Originally there were only six-fold systems of Vedic marriage, as mentioned in the *Āpastamba* and *Vasishṭa Dharmasūtras.*[94] Only the *Asvalayana* Strauta *sūtra, Vaikānasa Grhyasūtra, Baudhayana and Gautama Dharmasutras* included in the list the additional two forms of marriage viz., *prajapatya* and *paisacha.*[95] *Manudharma* also mentions all the eight kinds of Vedic marriage. Hence it seems to be a collossal anachronism to place the relevant sutra in *Tolkāppiyam,* which overtly mentioned all the eight forms of Vedic marriage,[96] in a period prior to the above mentioned *Kalpasūtras* most of which attained their final form during 500 B.C.

War camp-restriction to accompany with women

Avoidance of taking the heroines (wives of the heroes) to the war camp was promulgated in *Tol.poruḷ,* 173. If the battle continued for a long time, naturally the heroes (*-talaivar* i.e., husbands) should be desirous to answer the call of sensual passion and hence, *Tolkāppiyar* permitted them to have the company of harlots even in the war camp (Tol.poruḷ. 174). The cottage of the concubines near the battle field were known as *"ēṉātippāṭi"* as mentioned in *Kalittokai.* It seems that

Tolkāppiyar never liked the distraction of warriors turning towards women, neglecting their duties in the battle field. (The defeat of the American soldiers in the Vietnam War is said due to this sort of negligence, distraction and indulgence). In this context, it is appropriate to remember that the hero of *Neṭunalvātai' Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ* was exemplary to the warrior's code of conduct as enunciated in Tolkappiyam.

In Patiṟṟuppattu[97] the poetess *Naccellaiyār* ridiculed the indulgent and debaucherous menarch *Āṭukōṭpāṭṭuccēralātaṉ* residing in the war tent amidst the beautiful dancing damsels, reminding him of the wouldbe sarcasm from the opponent's camp. The implication of her statement reveals the fact that the company even with outer women was discorded and despised by the time of *Patiṟṟuppattu.*

Hence, it is clear that the social condition depicted in *Patirruppattu* should be posterior to that of *Tolkāppiyam* suggesting the relative antiquity of the latter.

Voyage with women

The historical accounts available from western and eastern sources, leave alone the numismatic findings and literary evidences strongly support the view that the ancient Tamils were seafaring people having commercial and cultural contacts with the civilised countries of the world. In *Tolkāppiyam* and *Cankam* anthology references to navigation are not wanting. It is peculiar to note that the Tamils of Tol period undertook voyages to foreign countries leaving their wives at home (poruḷ, sūtra 37). It seems that the social law of that ancient period prohibited the company of women in two significant contexts, viz., 1. war-camp and 2. voyage, perhaps due to avoid them from the impending danger which would occur at any time in these circumstances.

Anyhow this habit should have changed in the subsequent periods, as gleaned from the far-fetched reference to the shipwrecked women in the Buddhist epic *Manimekalai* (500 A.D.)[98] This social change indirectly tells upon the high antiquity of *Tolkāppiyam.*

The Sati or Self-immolation

Despite the geographical and linguistic barriers, the Indians from the Himalayas to Cape Comerin shared among themselves many common customs and manners. The authors who lived in different regions never

failed to record them in their writings and hence we come across the description of the same habits not only in Sanskrit and Prakrit works but also in Tamil and other Dravidian literature. Such common customs and concepts are considered to be Pan-Indian-a term first coined by the famous Indologist MaxMuller. One of them is the practice of Sati or self-immolation of the woman who used to enter willingly into her husband's funeral pyre. Though this seems to be cruel, from the point of view of a dedicated and devoted wife it was considered to be solemn and sacred. However, the close relatives and the learned on seeing such a horrible scene, due to excess sympathy should try to save the women from self-immolation thinking her family status and obligations to children and others. Usually due to the strong will of mind, the woman would prefer death than to lead a solitary life. This practice is recorded in *Tolkāppiyam* as one of the aspects of *Kāñcittiṇai* in the following lines:

"nallōl kaṇavaṉoṭu naḷiyaḻal pukiic
colliṭai iṭṭa mālai nilaiyum: (Tol. poruḷ. 77)

In *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (245), there is a touching eloquence made by a Pandya queen who admonished the learned who tried to avoid her from falling into the funeral fire of her husband and finally she expressed that the lotus floating pond and the pyre of her husband are all the same to her. Manimekalai, the Buddhist Tamil epic also contains references to this custom.

Coming to the Sanskrit side, it seems that this custom was not found in the early literature. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan observes:

"Regarding the practice of Sati, or self-immolation, there is no direct reference to it in Vedic literature, Gṛhya Sūtras.... are silent about it. The Mahabharata mentions two instances of sati. 1. Mādri immolated hereslf on the funeral pyre of her husband Pāṇḍu. 2. The wives of Vasudeva burnt themselves with the body of their lord..... The widows of the Kuru family duly performed the śraddha cermonies, after the cremation of the dead bodes of their husbands. During the early centuries of the Christian era, when the Sakas and the Hūṇas invaded the country and created havoc, the princely families resorted to this practice to save the honour of their women..... Bāṇa in his Kādambarī declares that this is a path followed by the illiterate, is a manifestation of infatuation, a course of ignorance, an act of foolhardiness... Madhātithi commentator on Manu condemns sati as an act of suicide, not of Dharma."[99]

Dr. Ramgopal endorsing the above view expressed that only the Visnu Dharma sūtra, a late work (300 B.C. to 100 B.C.) mentions the custom of sati and also says on the death of her husband a woman should either observe chastity or ascend his funeral pyre.[100] *It is his opinion that this practice was not observed by the Aryans in the remote past.*[101]

This custom was also widely prevalent not only among the ancient Yadavas in the North and Tamils in the South, but also among the valiant Rajaputra women. Only in the last century, *sati* was condemned as a social evil and legally prohibited due to the reformatory measures taken by Rajaram Mohan Roy and Lord William Benting.

Anyhow, from the historical point of view it is clear that *during the period of Tolkappiyam and Puṟanāṉūṟu this practice of sati was highly regarded as a symbol of chastity. Since Mahabharata also bears testmony to the same practice it is not far away from truth to consider Tolkappiyaṁ to be very near in age at least to the early redactions of the great epic.*

The concept of Trivarga

The concept of *Purshārtha* (i.e. the aims to be attained by a person), is national and found in the literature of all Indian languages. However, the *Kalpasutras* lay equal stress on the three ends of life, viz., Dharma, Artha and Kama, but are absolutely silent on *moksha.*[102] *Amarsimha* in his *Kośa* refers to the concept of *Caturvarga* (adding the fourth end i.e. *Moksha)*[103] In *Tolkappiyam* we have two references to the existence of *muppāl* or *Trivarga.*[104] In one context, he enumerates the three ends in the order of *iṉpam* (*kama*), *poruḷ (artha)* and *aṟam (dharma)* and in another place he states *"aṟamutalākiya mummutaṟ poruḷ"* (i.e. the three primary objects commencing from *Aṟam* (dharma). The absence of *Caturvarga* enables one to suggest that *Tolkāppiyam* should belong to a period when the fourth aim *Moksha* was not given prominence. It is clear that the religious and philosophical *speculations* were in their formative stage during the age of *Tolkappiyam* which is really down to the earth.

Religious and Philosophical aspects

Again with regard to religion and philosophy, *Tolkappiyam* is both indigenous and alien. Some of the orthodox systems of Vedic origin are to be traced in *Tolkāppiyam.* The basic elements of Yoga system are found in the text and its commentary.[105] Though the concept of

impermanence seemed to be Pan-Indian belonging to the national stock of Indian philosophy, it gained its unique and individual status only in *Tolkāppiyam* which subsumes all sorts of transcience due to the demise of a father, mother, wife, husband and warrior along with the decadence of youthfulness, wealth, body etc., under the nomenclature, *Kāñci.*[106] The ethical sentiments arising from the observation of impermance inspired the witnessing people to tread upon the virtuous path *Vāyuraivaḻttu, Ceviarivurū* etc., mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam* are the sources responsible for the development of Tamil ethical works. They are to be contrasted with the codes of *Dharmasāstras.* The occassional references to the caste system and social customs in *Tolkāppiyam* disclose the fact that the people in the North and the poeple in the South lived in hormony and mutal understanding. Any how, the religious and philosophical conditions as gleaned in *Tolkappiyam* are like the crescent moon and not like the full moon.

Absence of Bhuddhism

The voice of Buddha is not echoed in the aphorisms of *Tolkappiyam.* On the basis of the absence of the Buddhist impact on *Tolkappiyam,* erudite scholars like *Maraimalai Atikal* and Prof. K. Subramaniya Pillai proclamed that *Tolkappiyam* should have been composed before the advent of Buddhism. We have to modify the statement of the scholars in this way; i.e. Since Buddhism was first disseminated into South India and Ceylon through the missionaries despatched by the Emperor Asoka (300 B.C.), it is just to suggest that *Tolkappiyam* was compsed in an earlier period. We have already seen that the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (300 B.C. to 300 A.D.) exhibited the existence of some Buddhist monks in the South. The first two *Māṅkuḷam* inscriptions refer to the abodes dedicated to the Buddist apostle *Kaṇinantaṉ* by *Kaṭalaṉ Vaḻuti,* the officer *Iḷancaṭikaṉ,* the brother-in-law of the Pandya king *Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ.* It is probable that Jainism precedes Buddhism in the onward march to Tamilnadu. In *Marapiyal,* the last chapter in *Tolkappiyam* a six - fold classification of organic beings on the basis of the number of sensations and feelings has been elaborated.[108] Prof. S.Vaiyapuri Pillai was the first to suggest that this classification of sentient beings in *Tolkappiyam* was due to the influence of Jainism. But he did not seek the original Prakrit sources to confirm his view. It seems that both the sects of Jainism viz., Svetambara and Digambara maintained the above classification of souls. *Kundakundacharya* (50 B.C. to 50 A.D.) and *Umasvamin* of the Svetambara clan, the contemporary

of the former (both belonging to South India) vividly classified the aforesaid six types of beings in their respective treatises viz., *Pañcāstikāya* (verses 110, 112, 114-7) and *Tatvārthasūtra* (II-25).[109] *If we give due weight to the valid and solid evidence seen in the foregoing pages to the antiquity of Tolkāppiyam, then naturally we are driven to the conclusion that the portion on the classification of living beings should be considered as an interpolation which requires a careful study.* In the *Marapiyal,* which happens to be the final chapter in *Tolkāppiyam* some aphorisms (the contents of which were not found in the list of the themes enumerated in the introductory aphorism, as that sort of enumeration was customary with *Tolkappiyar* in *Ceyyuliyal* and other chapters) should be treated as the contribution of the following generations. One has to wonder that the said chapter upruptly ends with tantrayukti - aphorism without an aphorism of *Puṟanaṭai.* So, some important sūtras should have left out of the text. Due to the negligence and sometimes due to over enthusiasm, the original suffered a lot. *Iḷampūraṇar was the first research-oriented commentator to point out such an omission of some aphorism in the text.*[110] It is natural that great works like *Tolkappiyam, Ramayana, Mahā Bhārata* etc., have underwent changes through the ages. Hence textual criticism is essential to finalise the genuine form of the original.

It is to be remembered that it is impropable to place *Tolkappiyam* in 500 A.D. as opined by Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, as that was the heyday of the *Pallavas,* and *Tolkappiyam* did not mention them even casually, but clearly mentioned the ancient three Tamil monarchs with their individual insignia.[111]

Conclusion

As a result of the study on the historicity of the prologue, comparative analysis of the language structure of *Tolkappiyam* and the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, some observations on *Meyppāttiyal, Uvamaiyiyal* and *Ceyyuliyal* and the social and religious conditions as gleaned in *Tolkappiyam,* it is proper to conclude that the major portion of Tolkappiyam, (say 90% or even more) should have been composed not later than 500 B.C. The sporadic elements, the additions, the readings etc., need intensive study to settle the matter with a definite conclusion and these topical discussions are not treated here, since they are reserved for another occasion.

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2. The aphorisms 51, 52 in *Nannūl Pāyiram* are authored by *Panampāran*- Vide, *Nannūl, Mayilainātar urai* (Dr. U.V.S. Edition), p.15

3. *Tolkāppiyam Eluttatikāram (Kalakam* Edition), p.10

4. *Iraiyanār* akapporul (*Kalakam* Edition), pp 6-7

5. S.N. Kandaswamy, *Paripātalin Kālam,* p.96

6. *Tolkāppiyam, Eluttu,* Sūtras 188, 192

7. Ibid, Sutra, 58

8. Ibid, Sutra 99, also 84

9. Ibid, Sutra 58

10. *Collected papers on Dravidian Linguistics* (A.U. Publication). pp.176-177

11. One may quote words like cevi to be derived from kevi; it should not be so. For further discussion, see the present author's book, *Tolkappiyattelivu,* pp.42-43

12. *Tol porul,* sutra 88:90

13. *Puranānūru,* 15:18

14. *Manimekalai,* 19:55

15. *Tol. Col.* Sutra 4; *Porul,* Sutras 65, 77

16. *Tol Eluttu,* Sutra 185

17. Ibid, 132

18. Ibid, 46; Tol. Col. Sutra 198

19. Tol. Porul. Sutra 247

20. The Nātya Śāstra (translated by Dr. Manmohan Ghosh), Chapter VI, 15.p.102

21. Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram, Pari III (Translated by Dr. P.S. Subramanya Sastri)
22. The Nātya Śāstra, Chapter VI, 38, p. 107
23. Ibid, Chapter IV, 42-43, pp 107-108
24. Ibid, Chapter, VI, 44-45, p. 108
25. Ibid, Chapter,VI, 63, p.112
26. Ibid, Chapters VI & VII
27. Ibid, Chapter VII, 9, p.121
28. Tol. Poruḷ Sutra 248
29. N.S. Chapter VI. p.110
30. Tol. Poruḷ., Iḷampūraṇar, p. 363
31. N.S. Chapter VI, p. 112
32. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutra 249
33. Ibid, Iḷam, p.364
34. N.S. Chapter VI, 72-73, p.115
35. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutra 250
36. N.S. Chapter VI, 74-75, p.116
37. Ibid.
38. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutra 251
39. N.S. Chapter VI 68,69, pp. 114-115
40. Ibid, Chapter VII, 21, p.124
41. Tol. Poruḷ. 252
42. N.S. Chapter VI. 66,67, p.114
43. Ibid.
44. Tol. Porul. 253
45. N.S. Chapter VI.63, 64, pp.112-113

46. Ibid.

47. Tol. Poruḷ. 254

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51. *History of Sanskrit Poetics,* (Dr. S.K.De),p.5

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53. Tol. Porul. Iḷam. p.401

54. Tol. Poruḷ. Iḷam. p.401

55. *History of Sanskrit Poetics,* pp.3-4

56. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutras 283, 285-7

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60. Tol. E̲luttu, Sutras 170, 480

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62. *A History of Indian Logic* (Prof. S.C. Vidyabhusana), p.56

63. *Indian Philosophy,* Vol. II. (Dr. S. Radhakrishnan), p.182, p.393

64. The Nātya Śāstra, XVII, 44, p.309

65. *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* and other works.

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67. Ibid, Sutras 49-52, 238-240

68. Ibid, Sutra 65

69. Ibid, Sutra 192

70. N.S. XVII, 43, p.308

71. Ibid, XVII, 45-49, p.309
72. Tol. Poruḷ Sutra 277
73. N.S. XVII, 50, p.309
74. Tol Porul, Sutras 275, 276
75. Ibid, Sutras 273, 275, 277, 288, 290, 295, 296, 301, 306
76. Ibid, Sutras 273, 278, 279, 281, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 306, 307, 309
77. Dr. V. Raghavan, *The Number of Rasas*, p.15
78. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutra 247
79. Ibid, Sutras 56, 426
80. Ibid, Sutras 423-464 etc.
81. Ibid, Sutras 428, 444, 448, 449
82. Ibid, Sutra 74
83. Patiṟṟuppattu, 24
84. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutras 28, 31, 33, 36, 142; Col. 445-7
85. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutra 60
86. Karṇaparva XXXII 46, 47
87. *History of Sanskrit Literature,* Vol.III (Winternitz)
88. *History of Sanskrit Literature,* Vol.I p.xiii.
89. *Maturaikkāñci,* 670-1; *Cilappatikāram,* V.48-56, XXVII 74-76
90. *History and Doctrines of the Ajivakas,* p.8, p.35
91. Tol. Poruḷ, Iḷam, p.160; Iṟaiyaṉār akapporuḷ (Kaḻakam) 25-27
92. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society,* pp. 165-6
93. Dr. Ramgopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasutras*, p.206
94. Ibid, p. 165, p.205

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96. Tol. Poruḷ, Sutra 89

97. Patiṟṟuppattu, 51 : 19-24

98. Manimēkalai, XI: 7-8

99. *Religion and Society,* p.180

100. *India of Vedic Kalpasutras,* p.445

101. *India of Vedic Kalpasutras,* p.445

102. Ibid p. viii, p.482

103. *Trivargo dharmakamarthai: caturvargo samokshai:* (canto 2, Varga 7, Sloka 58)

104. Tol. porul, Sutras 89, 411

105. Ibid, Sutra 74

106. Ibid, Sutra 77

107. Maturaikkāñci, 475-578

108. Tol. Porul , Sutras 571-578

109. *History of Indian Philosophy* (Umesha Mishra) Vol.I pp.310-311

110. Tol. prouḷ, Sutra 45

111. Ibid, Sutras 63, 384

THE RHETORICAL TRADITION IN TOLKĀPPIYAM

The roots of modern literary criticism are to be traced in the poetical and rhetorical treatises written in Tamil, Sanskrit and other Indian languages. *Tolkāppiyam* being the earliest extant Tamil text (500 B.C.) preserved a very unique literary tradition and poetical convention in the third book, known as *Poruḷatikāram*. The word *Porul* literally means *artha*. But actually it denotes the subject matter or themes and techniques of poetry. Tolkāppiyar has exquisitely expounded the relevant theories of *akam* and *puṟam* poetry, depicting the entire gamut of empirical life.

Rhetorical Tradition

Tolkāppiyar has devoted a whole chapter with 38 aphorisms of various dimensions under the caption *'Uvamai-y-iyal'* to delineate the rhetorical tradition, moulded by the ancient aestheticians and creative writers. Atleast in six aphorisms, he refers to his predecessors, i.e., *pūravācāryas,* not by name but by some general terms such as *'eṉpa'* and *'moḻipa'* which respectively mean "thus they mentioned" and "so said". It shows his reverence and recognition to the past authors on the subject. It does not mean that all what he expounded in the chapter, uvamai-y-iyal belonged to the past. Before writing the manual on rhetorical aspects, he should have made an extensive survey of various types of similes occurring in classical poems, most of which were anterior and some of them were contemporaneous to him. All the rhetorical features which were current and also contemplated during the lifetimes of Tolkappiyar are properly presented in *Uvamai-y-iyal.* This chapter has been richly commented by two great scholars, viz., Iḷampūranar (1100 A.D.) and Pēraciriyar (1200 A.D.). There is a long gap between Tolkappiyar and these commentators. There should have been a commentarial tradition, long before Iḷampūranar, since he has clearly noted in his commentary his predecessors in a general way. Without the ancient commentaries, the text would not be easily understood.

Etymology of Uvamam

With regard to the title of the chapter, in the edition of Iḷampūraṇar, *'Uvamai-y-iyal'* is found, whereas in that of Peraciriyar, *'Uvama-v-iyal'* is given. Which one of the two was originally given by the author is unsettled. However, the words *uvamai* and *uvamam* are semantically same. They are invariably used in the edition of Iḷampūranar. In it, *Uvamai* occurs in five places, while *Uvamam* is used in eleven places. But in the edition of Pērāciriyar, the form *'uvamam'* alone occurs. The root for these words is *'uva'* which is a Tamil word, derived from *oppu,* meaning to resemble or to be equal. the Suffiix-*mai* has changed into -*mam.* Thus, the forms *uvamai* and *uvamam* are found. It is also to be understood that the final -*ai* has a tendency to change into - *am,* as seen in the pairs *paṉai / paṉam, āvirai / āviram, vēṭṭai/ vēṭṭam* etc., Thus we can also explain the change of *uvamai* as *uvamam.* However, not only in *Tolkappiyam* but also in the Sangam poems the form *'uvamam'* has a higher frequency and hence, the proper title should have been *'uvama-v-iyal'.*

Cāttaṉār, the author of *Manimekalai* throws some light on the etymology of *uvamai* when he defined anology, one of the sources of knowledge in the following passage.

"uvamam āvatu oppumai aḷavai"[1]

According to him, *uvamam* alterṇates with *oppumai. Oppu* is one of the particles of comparison, enumerated by Tolkappiyar and also frequently used in the classics. The word *'oppumai'* in the sense of similarity seems to be the source for the word *uvamai,* since the interior change of the back vowels i.e. *o - u* is a special feature in South Dravidian. Thus, in all probability, *oppumai* should have become *uvamai.* Iḷampūraṇar has also used the word *oppumai* to denote *uvamai.*

In the Tamil tradition the object of comparison and the object compared are respectively known as *uvamam* and *puruḷ.* But in the Sanskrit *Alamkāra Śāstras,* they are denoted respectively by the words *Upamāna* and *Upameya,* which are not found either in *Tolkāppiyam* or in the ancient Sangam classics and early Tamil epics. The prefix of these Sanskrit words is *upa* which means nearness, resembling etc. The root word of *māna* is *mā* which means measure, as noted by Patanjali in his *Mahābhāṣya.* According to him, a *māna* or measure is that which is used in ascertaining

a thing unknown and upamā is approximate to the māna, determines the thing not absolutely but approximately, e.g. when we see a gavaya which is like a cow.[2] This analogy is also found in the later works such as *Nyāya Sūtra* (150 A.D.) and *Manimekalai* (500 A.D.) It is pertinent to note that Patañjali's connotation of the word *māna* - measure seems to echo the tradition which was current in Tamil during his time. Tolkappiyar has enumerated a list of nine initial phonemes including *mā* which commence the words denoting measure and weight.[3] The ancient Sangam Poems and the later Chola inscriptions provide sufficient examples to the fact that the word *mā* denoted a measure. *Since Patanjali has been considered to be a native of Chidambaram and his acquaintance in Tamil has also been attested by scholars, it is quite possible to suggest that he should have reflected the Tamil tradition in giving the meaning to the word māna.*

Definition and Function

The chapter *Uvama- viyal* begins with the enumeration of fourfold similes, without any definition of comparison, suggesting the formative stage of rhetorical discourse. Only Iḷampūraṇar, the earliest known commentator has briefly given the definition in the introductory portion of his commentary on the said chapter. The passage runs thus:

> "*oruputai* oppumai *parri* uvamai *unarttiṉamaiyāl*
> *perra* peyar"[4]

The portion *'oruputai oppumai'* conveys the real sense of comparison. It means 'partial comparison'. Always the comparison is being made on the basis of partial commonness, found between the two objects. The commentator has also well defined the functions of *uvamai* which are two-fold, as follows[5]

1. To reveal the unknown things through the known (*pulaṉ allātaṉa pulaṉ ātal)*
2. As a poetical embllishment to effect pleasure on the audience: (alaṅkāramāki-k-kēṭṭārkku iṉpam payattal)

He illustrates the first function by quoting the stock example thus:

> "If a man, who is instructed that a bos gavaeus is like a cow, comes across a forest, witnessing an animal resembling a cow,

identifies it as a bos gavaeus on the basis of comparison, already informed".

The above example is already given by Patanjali (150 B.C.) and then quoted by Akṣapāda (150 A.D.) in *Nyāya sūtra* and Cāttaṉār (500 A.D.) in *Manimekalai*[6]. However the later rhetoricians including the author of *Citramīmāmsa* hesitated to admit the aforesaid illustration in the province of poetry, stating that the characteristic charmingness which is essential in a poetic figure is totally absent in such a plain and barren statement[7]. Thus, it becomes evident that comparison as a source of knowledge was given prominence not by the rhetoricians, but by the logicians. The *Sāmkhyas, Nyāya-Vaiśesika* exponents and also *Mīmāmsakas* accepted *upamāna* as a *pramāṇa.*

Among the commentators, Perāciriyar contended that elucidation of object to be compared should be the main purpose of the object of comparison.[8] He treated the simile as part and parcel of poetry. It is inseparably connected with it. Like *meyppāṭu* which conveys the various sentiments through bodily gestures and physical movements, *Uvamai* also expresses clearly the sense of the object. He never subscribed to the theory of rhetorics. Hence, he considered that one could differentiate between a person and his ornaments, but not so with poetry and *uvamai,* which contributes primarily to the sense-aspect.

The second function of comparison is again illustrated by Iḷampūraṇar as given hereunder:

"tāmaraipōl vālmukattu-t-taiyalīr eṉravaḻi
alankāramāki-k-kēṭṭarkku iṉpam payakkum"

In a poem, the description of a damsel whose shining face is compared to the blooming lotus flower gives the aesthetic joy to the audience. Only this aspect of simile is spectacularly significant in poetry and it has been evolved as an essential and excellent figure of speech, contributing to the beauty of poetry. The authors of *Alaṅkāra Śāstras* paid much attention to this rhetorical aspect of comparison which they called *Upamānālaṅkāra* in Sanskrit and *Uvamai aṇi* in Tamil.

Major Divisions of Simile

Though simile (*uvamai*) is commonly used both in *Akam* and *Puṟam* poetry, it is dominantly found in the *Akam* poems. Apart from

Uvama-v-viyal, which is the seventh chapter in *Poruḷatikāram,* Tolkāppiyar has also spoken on the subject in the first chapter, *Akattiṇai-y-iyal* in which he has made a two fold major divisions of similes, viz., *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* (symbolic simile) and *ēṉai uvamam* (other simile). In the fifth chapter, *poruḷiyal,* he has dealt with five types of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam,* which are essentially found in the poems on love themes, since they constitute the polished expressions of the characters, taking roles in love-affairs. Having in mind these major divisions of comparisions, Peraciriyar has interpreted the aphorisms in *Uvama-v-iyal.*

The author's genius

Tolkāppiyar was basically a grammarian. But his creative genius is evidenced from the original similes that he has produced to explain certain concepts of subjective and objective themes. In elucidating one of the heroic themes in *Vañci tinai,* he has compared an undaunted warrior who singularly and vehemently withstood the oncoming opponents to a stone-built barrier which arrested the upsurging ferocious flood[9]. During the fast return of a hero, who was separated from his sweet heart, to fight for his country in the far off battle-filed, he compares the fastness of the valiant horse that helped him in the war-front to the fast movement of his mind and to the fast flying bird[10]. The Sangam poems are studded with charming similes and beautiful metaphors, leave alone the other forms of literary embellishments.

Commentarial Tradition

According to Iḷampūraṇar, all the 38 aphorisms of *uvamai-y-iyal* dealt with similes, other than symbolic similes, since the latter types have already been discussed in detail in the previous chapters, as noted already. However, Perāciriyar is of the opinion that aphorisms No.23 to 33 in *uvama-v-iyal* are devoted to supplement the left-out details of *ulluṟai uvamam.* Anyhow, both the commentators are immensely helpful to grasp the significance of the contents of the chapter under reference. It is proper to record that *bhāṣyakāras* are as important as *sūtrakāras* to the elaboration and enrichment of the discipline.

Standard of Comparison

Tolkāppiyar clearly mentions that the object of comparison (*Uvamam*) should excel all other things in character. It shall always be

supreme to the object compared *(poruḷ* or *upameya)*. Iḷampūraṇar strengthened the view of the author by quoting the classical poems in which such kinds of comparison are found in customs. His examples are given below:[11]

1. "Among the many which possess strength, the strength of lion is superior and hence it becomes the object of comparison to the valient monarch, Karikāl Chola.

2. Among the many which possess reddish colour, the redness of lotus is supreme. Hence, it becomes the object of comparison to the beautiful feet.

3. The valour of the sons of Kongu women is unique. So, it becomes a comparison to the rambling tigers in the forest.

In the third instance, though the tiger is superior in strength, in a sense the bravery of the Kongu Warriors has been proverbial, there is no defect in making the latter to be the object of comparison. Similarly, another illustration in which the lowborn cobler is compared to a Chola prince. When one considers the context, he will be easily convinced that the comparison is convincing. The fast fighting of a Chola prince with a wrestler Mallaṉ is compared to the fastness of the needle with thread in making a cot by a socially suppressed cobler whose fastness is attributed to three reasons, as shown below:

1. There is festival in his village, suggesting that he has to attend it as early as possible.

2. His wife has given birth to a child, prompting his early return to look after them.

3. It is the rainy evening and hence he has to reach his residence in due time.

Here, the comparison is not between the persons, but between the fast movement of the cobler's needle and quick fighting of the Chola prince. Thus Iḷampūraṇar establishes that among the fastness of all, that of the needle is held supreme and hence the comparison.

Perāciriyar has given some additional examples, supplementing Iḷampūraṇar's elucidation. They are as follows.[12]

1. "The vast and vide area is just like the expance of the sea". It is for common sense that sea is greater than earth. So, the object of comparison being sea is really supreme.

2. 'Gold body'

This statement is to be expanded thus: Gold like body. The particle of comparison is understood. This type of construction is known as *"Uvama-t-tokai"*. In the Sanskrit grammar it is not certain whether it deals with such compunds, i.e. *samāsa.* The colour of the body is compared to that of gold, since the due of the yellow metal is supreme.

He has given another set of examples in which even the irrational and inferior objects become high, as in the statements, "my elephant" (*eṉ yāṉai*) and "my eye ball" (*eṉ pāvai*). Since these are terms of endearment, such objects become high. "My elephant" actually connotes "my-elephant-like hero or son", while "my eye ball" means "my lady-love". In the first instance, the gigantic personality, majestic gait and also strength constitute the common features between the elephant and the hero. In the second instance, since the eye without its ball is useless, the importance of the eye-ball is self-explanatory. It gives vision, guides a person. To the hero, the heroine becomes as important as the eye-ball. All these aspects make the comparison meaningful.

Next, let us proceed to discuss the various bases for the germination of similes as envisaged by Tolkāppiyar.

Bases for Similes

The bases being the source for the similes are chiefly fourfold. They are: 1. excellence, 2. beauty, 3. love and 4. valour. Ilampuranar has presented apt examples to all them[13]. First of all, let us consider that type of simile, arising out of excellence, which is given hereunder:-

"Like the appearance of the three great monarchs, who possess large armies with the resounding war-drums, in the royal court".

The Tamil monarchs were always divided and normally used to fight with each other for some reasons. So, their presence in a friendly atmosphere really counts much and hence to be treated as an instance of

excellence. It becomes an apt simile to the combined performance of classical dance to the accompaniment of music, both vocal and instrumental.

Beauty naturally forms one of the foundations for the creation of simile. The copious illustration to this kind is take from *Puranāṉūṟu:*

The beauty of the expanded city is compared to an enchanting painting. In this type of simile the base, being the shared feature between the object of comparison and the object compared, is the fascinating beauty.

The third base is love. The example to explain this aspect is given below:

"There is one man who is like my eye".

The heroine, speaking to her lady companion feels proud of her lover who is as important as her eyes. The eye is an essential part in the whole of human organism. It serves as an instrument to see things, to enjoy and also lament. Even if other limbs are affected, it is eye that casts tears. So, the hero is the friend and guide to her, besides sharing her joy and sorrow. Hence the base, being the vital feeling of love forms the valid source for the formation of simile.

The fourth base is strength. The illustration, given already for a different purpose may be reproduced here. The valour of the mighty monarch Karikala is compared to the strength of the dreadful lion. Lion is the king of animals, while Karikāla is the emperor of the Chola country. So, strength forms the fundamental base for the creation of comparison.

After the enumeration of the fourfold bases, Tolkāppiyar proceeds to present as an exceptional case, the fifth type of base. Accordingly, even the inferior object may be comapared, wherever it is appropriate[14]. Since he has already pointed out that the standard of the object of comparison should always be supreme, it is implied that the object compared (*Upameya*) is not supreme to that level. Perāciriyar has plainly stated that it is inferior. So, if the comparison is made in the reverse order, then naturally the inferior object also becomes a base for comparison.

The aforesaid ideas, concerning the foundational base for creating simile have their counterparts eventhough partially in the writings of

Gargya, as quoted by Yaska[15]. Gargya has given a lucid definition on *Upamā,* which occurs when an object, which is dissimilar is reckoned through similarity with an object having similar attributes. Then he has prescribed that the standards of comparison should be superrior in merit and better known than the object of comparison: but the reverse case is also accepted. Though such a definition of *Upamā* is not found in Tolkāppiyam, the author admits the supreme excellence of the object of comparison and the object compared. The reverse order is inferred in one aphorism. *Such commonness may either be attributed to the influence of one over the other, or to the autonomous and accidental growth of the individual and independent tradition. It is also possible to suggest that the common features may belong to the national stock of Indian rhetorical tradition, also known as Pan-Indian, from which the two ancient classical languages should have derived them.*

Next in order, it is proper to deal with some aspects of the conventions of comparison, as gleaned in the aphorisms of *Tolkāppiyam.*

Conventions of Comparison

Standardisation of creating the various types of comparison has already been made before the advent of Tolkāppiyar. Though he has made some innovative regulations to add lustre to the discipline of rhetorics, he never lagged behind in preserving and promoting the literary conventions governing the creation of different kinds of comparisons. The rules to this effect are scattered in *Uvama-v-iyal.* Let us examine them serially to have a clear picture of such conventions.

Four Types of Comparison

In one aphorism, Tolkāppiyar has stated that the whole (*mutal*) and part (*ciṉai*) may be compared with the same member or other. Iḷampūraṇar has brought out the proper import of the aphorism under reference. Applying the method of permutation and combination, four varieties of comparison are generated. They are the following.[16]

1. Whole for Whole

The *Marā* tree is like *Vāliyōṉ* (-Balarama), who adorns his ear with a single ring.

Balarama is white in colour. The *Marā* tree with its blossomed white flowers bears the appearance of Balarama. So, the comparison is

between whole and whole. Colour and appearance constitute the commonness, shared by *uvamam* (*-upamāna*) and *poruḷ* (*-upameya*).

Peraciriyar has adduced a different example from *Puṟanāṉūṟu.*

"The youthful elephant stands like a hill"

The bearing personality, complete strength and resistance constitute the common background between the object of comparison and the object compared (i.e. hill and elephant).

2. Part for Part

In this variety, a particular part of an object becomes comparison to a specific part of another object.

E.g. The ruddy feet is like the red lotus flower.

The commonness between the two consists not only in the colour, but also in the beauty and charmingness. The feet and flower are parts, involved in this type.

3. Part for Whole

In this type, the whole object is compared to a part of an object.

E.g. The boy, who stands under the shade of
an umbrella, is just like a lotus flower
concealed beneath the leaves in a lake.

The tenderness and beauty form the common feature between the part (lotus) and the whole (boy)

4. Whole for Part

In this kind of comparison, the particular part of an object is compared to the whole object.

E.g. The small eye of the pig is like the fire.

In this example, fire is whole and eye is a part. Perhaps, dut to fiery look of the pig, the comparison is made.

Thus, the four varieties of comparison are identified and analysed on the basis of the materials, embalmed in Sangam Poems.

If one goes through Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra,* he can encounter with similar varieties of fourfold similes. According to Bharata, the comparison may be of one with one, or of one with many, or many with one or many with many. *Though the aforesaid four types do not totally agree with these latter four, there is some kind of commonness without any external influence.* The examples given in *Nātyaśāstra* are the following.[17]

1. One with One

E.g. Your face is like moon.

In this comparison a single object becomes comparison to another single object.

2. Many with One

E.g. Stars shine like the moon.

Stars are many. They are compared to one object, moon.

3. One with Many

E.g. The eye is like that of a hawk, a peacock and vulture.

The eye of many birds become comparison to the one eye. (of a person)

4. Many with Many

E.g., Elephants are like clouds.

In this illustration both *uvamam (upamāna)* and *porul (upameya)* are many.

This sort of classification is unique in the Sanskrit rhetorical tradition, as noted in *Nātyaśāstra. But in the Tamil rhetorical tradition, part and whole instead of one and many dominates the realm of comparison.*

However, Perāciriyar has attempted to bring to limelight some more types of comparison, taking privilege in the usage of excessive words of the aphorism which isolated the fourfold types, as seen already. Let us present them orderly.[18]

1. The breadth of the counsel of Cera Monarch is compared to the space.

In this simile both the objects viz., *upamāna* and *upameya* are not to be classified under any one of the aforesaid fourfold categories. So, it is to be treated differently.

2. The shoulder of the lady love resembles closely the bamboo in the hill.

This rhetorical statement is made by a love-striken youth. He admires the arresting beauty of every part of his lady love. It is the literary convention to make comparison between the shoulder and bamboo. It is only partial. In fantacy, he says that though her shoulder looks nearly like the bending bamboo, it is not the mountain where the latter shoots up. Similarly he admires her eyes which are very close to the flower, but asserts that they are not in the pool. He finds a difference between the actual flower and the flower-like eye on the basis of the place where they exist. So also, he differentiates the shoulder and bamboo just because they do not coexist in the hill, though they stand comparison to each other.

Perāciriyar also quoted some more types of comparison in which the *uvamam* and *poruḷ* belonged to different categories *(-tiṇais)*[19]. For instance, the hero is compared to an elephant. In this comparison, the elephant of irrational category becomes comparison to the human being of rational category. It is also admitted since it is in full harmony with the literary convention of the Sangam period.

In another camparison, the condition of a male is compared to the position of a female[20]. Like a dumb male, who in the night sees a cow fallen in a nearby well, is unable to express its plight to others, the heroine is unable to reveal the intense sorrow of the lady companion who toils always for the welfare of the former in getting her united with the hero, who has gone far away (to amass wealth). There is some relaxation in this comparison. Perhaps, before the period of Tolkāppiyar only the sentiment of a male should have been equated with that of similar male. But in course of time, the heterogeneous sexes were also compared, if they shared the common sentiments. *That was a fresh feature in the domain of rhetorics.*

In a different instance, a single object of irrational category becomes comparison to many of the same category[21].

E.g. The white and sharp teeth are like the crescent moon.

In another poem the number confusion of rational category is noticed.

E.g. The warriors are like Muruga.

Thus, the minute and exceptional details pertinent to comparison are gathered by the commentators, exhibiting their keen observation and critical skill.

In the interpretation of one aphorism, Pēraciriyar has clarified the aesthetic relevance in the application of comparison with adequate and apt illustrations[22]. It is the intention of Tolkāppiyar that the audience should enjoy poetry, especially on witnessing the appropriateness of *uvamam (upamāna)* and *poruḷ (upameya)*. Barren comparison without any aesthetic appeal is of no use. If the tresses of a damsel is compared to the expanding tail of a peacock, it is really interesting and also delightful. Such a comparison gains validity since it has bcome literary convention over the periods. But, if any one ventures to introduce a new simile by comparing the black hair of a girl to that of a crow then it is neither tolerable nor admissible.

Peraciriyar presents another set of examples pertaining to a hero[23]. If one says that he pounced upon his foe like a tiger it sounds well, exhibiting his strength, courage and heroism. But with a view to finding out a new simile if one says that the hero pounced over his foe like a cat, it is neither rhetoric nor aesthetic, since the object of comparison i.e. cat in all respects is inferior and hence unable to become equal to the hero. Such comparison should be shunned at all cost.

Another convention with regard to the application of simile is also noted in the text[24]. Normally, *uvamam* (-upamāna) and *porul (-upameya)* should have common features. There should be agreement and commonness between the two. They are governed by equal status.

But in some circumstances objects of excessively superior or inferior nature are also involved. If they are grounded on excellence or speciality, being one of the fourfold bases, such exceptional creations are also approved by Tolkāppiyar in conformity with the sanction of traditional authority[25]. If they are against the convention, they are to be avoided. Copious illustrations are found in the commentaries. They are given hereunder.[26]

Depicting the individual limbs of a demsel is a general feature in the ancient Tamil poems. Even the euphemistic parts are not left out. For

instance, the secret part (*alkul*) of a lady is compared to the ever expanding desire. Similarly, the waist of a lady is always imagined to be very subtle and also imperceptible and hence it is equated with the subtle counsel of wise men. In these examples, the concrete is compared to the abstract. Since they are founded on excellence, they are admitted.

In one illustration, the tresses and the forehead of a lady are respectively compared to the sea and rising halfmoon. Though the objects of comparison, viz., sea and half moon are respectively larger and bigger than the object compared, viz., tresses and forehead, they are accepted, since they gained currency in the classical poems. Comparisons, arising out of fanciful imaginations are also allowed due to the sanction of tradition. These examples are given by Perāciriyar.

1. The washed water of the sandal paste applied to the lady's breast ran (like a river) in the street caused the elephants to slip in the mud.
2. The gruel distilled from the cooked rice spread like a river everyhwere in the street. Since the he-elephants majestically walked there, it becomes muddy and the chariot that moved in the same way made the white mansions miry and dusty.

The following is highly imaginative creation in which comparisons are made beyond the normal level.[27]

"The summit of the space becomes the umbrella and its stalk, the Meru mountain, while the galaxy of stars are the pearls adorning the umbrella".

Such rhetorical statements reveal the prosperity of the country and hence were approved by literary convention.

A poem in *Nālaṭiyār* deals with true friendship[28]. It recommends to have friendship with people who are kind, grateful, loyal and faithful like a dog. Though dog is inferior, its sense of gratitude and loyalty are proverbial. Hence, the comparison stands supreme.

Similes and Sentiments

Tolkāppiyar continues to present some more conventions of creating comparisons. The similes, which are based on greatness and soundness, would appear through the eightfold sentiments (*-meyppāṭu*), viz., laughter or comic (*nakai*), weaping or pathetic (*aḻukai*),

unpleasantness or *odious* sentiment (*iḷivaral*), wonder or marvel (marutkai), *fear or terror (accam)*, majesty (perumitam), anger or fury (*vekuḷi*) and happiness (*uvakai*). Thus, there are eight kinds of similes which are exhaustively illustrated by Peraciriyar mostly from Sangam Poems[29].

1. Simile of Comic sentiment

The harlot, who has clandestine contact with the hero indentifies his legal young son who bears his father's look, playing in a lonely place, feels proud and joy. Seeing her in the company of the boy the heroine, being the mother of the boy, ironically addresses the harlot that she too is a mother to the boy. The heroine laughed at the harlot, who did not know what to do, got confused and her face became different. To her ridiculous position, the heroine brought a comparison of a thief who was caught redhanded. This sort of comparison is called *nakai uvamam,* i.e. simile of comic nature.

2. Simile of Pathetic sentiment

The lamentation of a woman, separated by her partner, is campared to the grief of a mariner whose ship was drowned. Both the *uvamam (upamāna)* and *poruḷ (upameya)* shared the common sentiment of pathos and hence the comparison is known as pathetic simile *(avala uvamam).*

3. Simile of Odious Sentiment

The royal hero, seated in a palanquin comes in a procession, surrounded by his retinue. The damsel, already fallen in love with him, is kept in her house. She likes to have a glimpse of her lover, being the hero. There is a conflict in her heart between her inborn coyness and intense love. The latter feeling tempts her to open the front door to see her lover, while the former quality stops her from doing so. Her pitable condition is compared to the unpleasant attitude of a previously rich man who was reduced to penury and whose mind is vacillating to approach the house of a wealthy man for help or food. Such comparisons are made on odious sentiments *(ilivaral uvamam).*

4. Simile of Marvellous Sentiment

Certain similes are created to reveal the marvellous sentiment. The commentator has quoted a proper simile from *Kalittokai* to illustrate this type.

The hero in the pre-maritial period did not return in due time to confirm the open wedding with the heroine. To console her, the lady companion speaks in an optimistic tone in the following manner:

> "If any falsity and cruelty occurred in the
> compassionate and affectionate hero, it is just
> like burning of the flower of Kuvaḷai, standing
> in full waters".

It is highly improbable that a flower plant, rooted in the lake gets burnt. If it does, then it becomes on object of wonder *(arbhuta)*. Similarly, the hero is full of compassion and love towards the heroine. If he falsifies, then it becomes an object of astonishment. In both the cases, marvellous feature forms the common ground for the comparison. So, it is known as simile of marvellous sentiment *(maruṭkai uvamam)*.

5. Simile of Terrible sentiment

Some similes are also created to reveal the fearful or terrible sentiment. In *Nālaṭiyār,* an apt example is found. Thinking that there is sandal inside the covered pot, one opens it. But to his fear, he finds a snake. This kind of comparison is normally used to indicate an unexpected thing or occurrence. Thus, the simile is known as *acca uvamam,* i.e. simile of fearful sentiment.

6. Simile of Majestic Sentiment

Some similes convey the majestic sentiment which is generated from anyone of the four bases, viz., learning, prowess, fame and philanthropy. Normally prowess is the dominant base to project the majestic sentiment. A typical example is culled out from *Kalittokai:*

> "The majestic elephant, that killed the tiger
> with its sharp edged long tusk, resembles
> Tirumāl (-Krishna) who rooted out the
> wrestlers (sent by Kamsa) with their own
> clubs".

This type of simile is called *perumita uvamam,* i.e. simile of majestic sentiment.

7. Simile of Furious sentiment

Certain similes are made to portrary the sentiment of anger in full. Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ, an undaunted Chola monarch enraged like the God of death cast his eye on the territory of enemies to conquer it.

The anger of Yama, the God of death can not be suppressed until it catches the due person according to the time schedule. So also, the fury of the king would not be easily quenched, unless he realised his target.

Thus, the simile based on furious feelings is called *vekuḷi uvamam*

8. Simile of Happiness

Some similes are meant to communicate the sentiment of happiness. The lady companion brings good tidings about the hero to the heroine. She consoles her by stating that like the bards, rewarded by the patron, the heroine can rejoice on the return of her partner from far off place after a long time, amassing wealth to openly celebrate the wedding.

Happiness forms the foundation for the comparison. Hence, this type of simile is known as *uvakai uvamam.*

Similes, based on sentiments mark the specific feature of the Tamil literary tradition. The notable differences in the eightfold *meyppāṭus* of Tolkāppiyam and their counter parts in *Nāṭya Śāstra* are brought out in a separate article[30].

Let us pass on to deal with some more conventions governing the creation of literary similes.

Additional Traditions

Resolving the unresolved is made possible through one type of rhetorical expressions. Classical example is cited from *Kalittokai*[31].

The hero in pre-marital period used to admire each and every limb of the heroine. The forehead, face, shoulder and eye are the most enticing parts, captivating his heart. Similarly her gait and words are equally enchanting. He indulged in finding out comparison to all of them. The usual comparisons to the aforesaid objects are as follows:

1. Crescent moon to the forehead
2. Full moon to the face

3. Bamboo to the shoulder
4. Blue lily flower to the eye
5. Peacock to her gait and
6. Parrot to her prattle

However, the hero chooses some fresh technique which does not project one-to-one correspondence between the object of comparison and object compared. In a manner of uncertainty he indulges in eulogising the beauty of his lady love in the following way.

> "Your forehead is astonishingly diminished. But it is not the crescent. Your face is bereft of any blemish. But it is not the moon (which has spot). Your shoulder resembles very close to the bamboo. But it is not the place of its origin (i.e. mountain). Your eye resembles the nature of flower, but it is not the place of its origin (i.e. pool).
>
> Your gait is very soft, but it is not that of a peacock.
>
> Your prattle is limping, but it is not that of a parrot.

In such rhetorical expressions, the comparisons are there, but not in a regular and typical fashion The negative language elevates the beauty of the damsel. However, such embellished expressions are to be subsumed under any of the types of simile.

In a poem of *Kāṉalvari,* the hero admires the enchanting beauty of his lady love in glowing poetical language. He sees her face, shaped by Kāma, the God of love, by painting the fish in her eye, bow in her brow and the dark cloud in her tresses. Finally, he wonders whether such of her face is the moon[32].

In the description, the limbs viz., eye., brow, tresses and face are conveniently compared respectively to fish, bow, cloud and moon. Such a direct and regular comparison is not found. But, in order to avoid the dead similes, the poet has introduced a fresh technique of eulogising her beauty, without omitting the objects of comparison. Such expressions reveal the creative genius and aesthetic involvement of the poet. Even in such fresh creations, there is no complete change of convention, since the

correspondence between the object of comparison and the object compared is totally in agreement with the literary tradition, without any deviation.

One more regulation with regard to the formation of simile is worth mentioning. If a pair of comparison (i.e. *iraṭṭai-k-kiḷavi)* finds a place in a poem, naturally it should be followed by a couple of objects compared (*-upameya*)[33]. Iḷampūraṇar quotes from *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (410) to drive home the significance of the aphorism under reference. In the couplet of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the animal and people are respectively compared to the illiterate and literate. In other words, it is meant that only those who are educated are eligible to be called 'people' and the rest resembled the animals.

Another convention of comparison varies from the normal type[34]. Paari was a great chieftain and philanthropist. He patronised all the bards and songsters. Kapilar, the greatest among Sangam celebrities was his court poet. He found a fresh device to extol his glory. He knew well that Maari (-rain) was also equally munificient by unfailing downpour. So, he could have said that Paari was like Maari. But it should have been an artless barren statement. So, his poetical expression assumed the following form:

> "The veracious poets used to panegyrize the glory of Paari in various ways. Nevertheless, there is not only Paari, but also Maari (-rain) to protect the world".

It is one type of comparison, though the regular correspondence between the *uvamam* (-rain) and *poruḷ* (-chieftain) is not found.

So far we have seen the exceptional and deviated types of similes which got the approval of tradition. But, Tolkāppiyar has also made prohibitions to some kinds of comparison, as noted in the last aphorism *of Uvamai-y-iyal.* Iḷampūraṇar has given the stock example as follows.[35]

The white conch is compared to the white moon which is again compared to *Tāḻaimaṭal* which is white in colour. Such type of piling up the similes does not add lustre to the poem. The later rhetoricians called them *'uvamai-ānandam'* i.e. defective similes which are to be avoided.

Perāciriyar presents a different illustration to highlight the same point. It is as follows:

"The moon-like shining face resembles the fresh
blossoming lotus flower?"

Here again, moon becomes a comparison to the face which again is compared to the lotus. Similar constructions are not encouraged by the conventional rhetoricians, since they do not generate aesthetic joy in the minds of the readers.

Next, let us focus on the calssification of similes, as systematized by Tolkappiyar.

Classification of Similes

The fist aphorism in *uvama-v-iyal* emphatically mentions that there are basically only four divisons of simile, viz., 1. *Viṉai uvamam*-Comparison of action, 2. *Payaṉ uvamam* -Comparison of effect or result, 3. *Mey uvamam*-Comparison of shape and 4. *Uru uvamam* - Comparison of Colour[36]. According to Iḷampūraṇar, these types of simile are perceptible to the eyes. He implied that there are imperceptible comparisons which are apprehensible to other sense organs viz., ear, tongue, nose and body and to the internal organ mind. Further, he elucidates each of the fourfold perceptible similes, as shown below.

1. The action in the comparison indicates lengenthening, contraction, 'expansion', piling, etc. They are only samples. All kinds of actions come under this title.
2. Effect or result denotes both the beneficial and its opposite.
3. The Shape includes circle, square, triangle, etc.
4. Colour denotes whiteness, golden, blue, red etc.

With regard to the imperceptible comparisons, he has explained that different sounds, tastes, smells and contacts as well as pleasurable and painful effects are congnized. The following are the illustrations.[37]

1. Comparison of Action

E.g. The hero pounced on his foe like a tiger.

In this simile, the pouncing alone is the common feature between *uvamam* and *porul.* So, one should not consider their personality. The skin, tail, leg etc., pertaining to the shape of the tiger along with its

colour and effect do not become a comparison to him. Hence, the basic principle, that comparison is always partial is operative even in this illustration.

2. Comparison of Effect

E.g. The liberality of the philanthropic chieftain Paari is like of the rain.

In this simile, the objects that are grown due to the rain and the presentations, given by the chieftain are compared. The other aspects viz., colour and shape of the two are not taken into account.

3. Comparison of Shape

E.g. Her waist resembes *tuṭi,* which is a small drum in the shape of an hourglass. This simile will be intelligible and enjoyable only to those who has seen the shape of a small wardrum and understood the Tamil tradition of conceiving the waist of a damsel to be very subtle. In the said drum, the upper and lower parts project a broad look, while its middle looks thinner. So also, the breast and the pudendum of a lady are described to be broad, while the middle waist is said to be very subtle.

The ideal convention of such descriptions is well found in the Tamil poems of all periods.

4. Compartion of Colour

E.g. a. Her body is like the sprout (of the mango tree).

b. Her body is like gold

In the first simile, the colour of the mango sprout becomes comparison to that of the lady's body. In the next example, her beautiful colour is compared to that of gold.

It is essential to note that during the period of Tolkāppiyar, there was only colour comparison, as evidenced from uru uvamam. But in due course, colour as a quality of an object was extended to denote other qualities.

Perāciriyar makes division between two types of quality on the basis of perception and physical feeling. The former type is known as shape (*vaṭivam*), while the later as colour *(uru*). However, these two types fused together, getting a common name, *'paṇpu'* or *'kuṇam'* (-*guṇa*) in the later works on rhetorics, Thus, the fourfold classification of comparisons were reduced to three, viz., action, effect and quality.

In the Sanskrit tradition, Yaska's *Nirukta* (300 B.C.) preserved a five-fold classification of similes, viz., 1. *Karmopamā* 2. *bhūtopamā* 3. *rūpopamā* 4. *siddhopama* and 5. *luptopamā,* which is otherwise called *arthopamā*[38]. Among them, the first and third correspond to *viṉai* and *uru* types of simile in *Tolkāppiyam.* The last variety is considered to be an equivalent to the *Rūpaka* of the later *Alaṁkāra Śāstras.* Though Tolkappiyar did not mention *rūpaka,* there is one aphorism in *uvama-v-iyal* interpreted by the commentators to denote *rūpaka,* which was also considered to be one of the varieties of simile. *With regard to the remaining two., viz., bhutopamā and siddhopamā, they can not be equivated with Payaṉ and Mey in Tolkāppiyam.*

However, the trivial and naive commonness in regard to the classification of similes found between *Nirukta* and *Tolkāppiyam* may be accidental, since there is no regularity of correspondence between them.

Iḷampūraṇar has elucidated the other types of similes involving the sense organs and mind. He has given the following exmples[39].

1. Her words are as sweet as the singing of nightingle (-cognised by ear)
2. It is as bitter as neem (-cognised by tongue)
3. Her mouth smells like *āmpal* flower (-cognised by nose)
4. It burns as fire (-cognised by the body)
5. The embracement of my sweet heart is like taking one's own food in his own house (*Kuṟaḷ.* 1107) (-cognised by mind)

These types of similes form one category, as contemplated by the commentator.

Perāciriyar has also pointed out that apart from the fourfold divisions of comparisons, as enunciated by Tolkāppiyar, there are some more which are based on measure and taste, cool and hot, good and bad, small and great which however are to be subsumed under the four major groups[40].

In the second aphorism of *Uvama-v-iyal,* Tolkāppiyar has also noted that the object of comparison (*-upamāna*) may either occur in any of the four, viz., action, effect, shape and colour or in more than one of them.

E.g. The sharp and white teeth resemble the crescent moon.

In this example, the shape and colour constitute the common feature between *uvamam* and *poruḷ.*

In addition, Iḷampūraṇar has pointed out such usages as 'honey like language' and identified that the sweetness of honey felt by the tongue is compared to the pleasantness of the language, enjoyed by the ear. Such occurrences are also to be recognised.

Tolkappiyar has stressed the essential agreement or similarity between *uvamam (-upamāna)* and poruḷ (*-upameya*), in whatever types of similes they occurred. Thereby, he implied that it was defective if the two occurred dissimilarly[41].

There are at least four members involved in the creation of a simile. They are as follows:

1. The object of comparison, known as *uvamam* in Tol. and *upamāna* in Sanskrit.

2. The object compared, i.e. *poruḷ* in Tol. and *upameya* in Sanskrit.

3. The common feature between the two to make the comparison viable, and

4. The particle of comparison

Among them, the first three have already been dealt with in due places. With regard to the fourth, i.e. particles of comparison, Tolkappiyar has enlisted thirty six particles in one aphorism (10) and also governed the remaining such of them by the phrase, *'aṉṉavai piṟavum'* which included the following according to Iḷampūraṇar.

nōkka, nēra, aṉai, aṟṟu, iṉ, ēntu, ēr, cīr, keḻu, cettu, ēṟppa, āra, etc.,

Besides, Perāciriyar has given the following list of particles, some of them are not mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar.

"tuṇaippa, malaiya, amara, cettu, ēra, ērppa and *ke<u>l</u>uva"* . He has also noted that *e<u>n</u>a* also occurs as a particle of comparison. Among them, */i<u>n</u>/* is not originally a particle of comparison, but it is a marker of fifth case. Neverthless, it functions as a sign of comparison and sometimes contrast also, as known not only from the aphorism in *Collatikāram* dealing with fifth case, but also from the usage found in the Tamil classics.

It is essntial to note that Yaska in his Nirukta has noted only twelve particles of comparison, whereas in Tolkāppiyam text and commentary about fifty five particles are mentioned[42]. It points out the enhanced merit and extensive as well as increased usage of the similes as preserved in the Tamil rhetorical tradition.

Iḷampūraṇar has observed that in the original list of thirty six particles, *o<u>nr</u>a, e<u>nr</u>a, mā<u>rr</u>a, po<u>r</u>pa, nāṭa* and *naṭuṅka* are left out. Thus, one gets only thirty particles. Two of the rest i.e. *nōkka* and *nēra* obtained by the special rule, are added with them to make the number thirty two, to equally distribute to each of the fourfold divisions of simile. Even for the remaining particles, the commentators have produced suitable literary occurrences to illustrate. However, Perāciriyar has quoted an aphorism, *"uvama-c-collē varampu ikanta<u>n</u>avē"*, meaning that the particles of comparison surpassed the limit of enumeration[43]. *Though in the present grammatical texts, no such aphorism is found, it should have been in some lost work on the subject.* It is significant, because it informs the innumerable signs of comparison indicating the difficulty of accommodating them under each of the fourfold divisions. *The particles with their paradigms are also allowed.* Then, the particles may be in root form, an infinitive, relative participle, conjunctive form, finite verb etc. Let us present the four kinds of comparison with the allotted signs of comparison[44].

I Comparison of Action *(Vi<u>n</u>ai-p-pāluvamam)*

The particles, due to this division, are as follows:

a<u>n</u>na, ānku, mā<u>n</u>a, i<u>r</u>appa, e<u>n</u>na, u<u>r</u>a<u>l</u>a, takaiya and *nōkka.*

Suitable illustrations are given in the commentary. Let us see some examples:

1. *"Ko<u>nr</u>a<u>n</u>na i<u>n</u>nā ceyi<u>n</u>um"* (Kuraḷ. 109)
   (Even if one inflicts pain, like killing)

Killing is an action (*vinai*). It becomes a comparison to the infliction of pain (*vinai*). So the actions viz., killing and inflicting involved in the comparison. The link word or particle in this case is *"anna"*.

"palarpukal ñāyiru katal kantāṅku" (Muruku)

Like the rising Sun praised by all in the sea (Muruga appears in his mount peacock).

Here in this simile, the dazzling beauty of Lord Muruga, mounted on His peacock is compared to the brilliant rise of the Sun on the Eastern surface of the sea.

In this comparison, the particle */āṅku/* is found.

Tolkāppiyar had framed the general rule, based on his survey of the ancient Tamil poems with regard to the usage of the particles of comparison. He was very democratic in legislating such rules, since some exceptions to the common rule were given due importance. So, after mentioning */anna/* in the list of particles belonging to the comparison of action, he has noted that it would equally occur in the rest three divisions. Iḷampūraṇar has illustrated all of them, as shown below.

1. *māri anna vaṇkai (Puram, 133)*
   The philanthropic hand resembles the rain.
   (comparison of effect)

2. *pari-y-araik kamukin pāḷaiyam pacuṅkāy*
   karuvirunt tanna kaṇkuṭu ceritulai
   (Perumpāṇ. 7-8)

In this poem, the tender nut of areca tree with big trunk is compared to one of the parts of the musical insturment, *yaal,* because of the common feature, found in their form. (comparison of shape)

3. *Cevvān anna mēni* (Akam, *kaṭavuḷ)*
   The body resembles the crimson sky
   (comparison of colour)

II Comparison of Effect

Under this category, an equal destribution of eight particles is made. They are the following:

eḷḷa, viḻaiya, pulla, poruva,
kaḷḷa, matippa, vella, vīḻa.

Some examples

1. *eḻili vāṉam eḷḷiṉaṉ taruum*
kavikai vaṇkai-k-kaṭumāṉ tōṉṟal

The patron of letters and arts would give liberally like the cloud in the sky.

2. *"maḻai viḻai taṭakkai vāyvāḷ evvi"*

The great hands of Evvi, who bears the sharp sword are like the rains.

The particles are *eḷḷa* and *viḻai* in these examples.

III Comparison of Shape

In this division also, eight particles are enlisted as seen below:

kaṭuppa, ēyppa, maruḷa, puraiya
oṭṭa, oṭunka, otta, nikarppa.

The commentators have given illustrations to the occurrence of all of them. Some of them are as follows:

1. *vēy maruḷ paṇai-t-tōḷ nekiḻa* (akam.1)

The flourishing shoulder which resembles the bamboo becomes flexible.

2. *"kaṇṇoṭu nikarkkum kaḻi-p-pūṅ kuvaḷai"*

Blue water-lily looks like the eyes (of the lady).

IV. Comparison of Colour

This variety also has eight kinds of particles. They are as follows:

Pōla, maṟuppa, oppa, kāytta,
nēra, viyappa, naḷiya, nanta

Some Illustrations

1. *"maṇiniṟam maṟutta malar-p-pūṅ kāyā*
The kāyā flowers are like the sapphire.

2. *"oṇceṅkāntaḷ okkum niṉṉiṟam"*
"Your colour resembles that of red-kāntaḷ".

There are examples to other particles also.

It is essential to note that examples to the usage of naḷiya and nanta are not given by the two commentators. It is clear that by that time, these words of comparison had gone out of existnece. Since the Sangam poems too do not provide examples to them, it is to be understood that Tolkāppiyar belongs to a period, prior to the Sangam poetry, when the examples were available for him in a very ancient body of literature to evolve his rules of comparison and in a subsequent period these poems were lost.

Tolkāppiyar has been definite that the aforesaid particles would occur in the concerned comparions in conformity with the tradition[45].

Types of Similes

1. Uruvakam (metaphor)

If one goes through the aphorisms of *Uvamaiy-y-iyal,* one can easily identify some types of similes, identified by Tolkāppiyar. One of them is the inverted simile or metaphor[46]. In this kind of comparison, the object of comparison is made a comparison to the object compared. This type of comparison is labelled as *rūpaka* in the later Sanskrit tradition. Perāciriyar disagreed with such labelling and understood that it should be one variety of *Uvamai.* He has presented an illustration from *Cirupāṇāṟrupaṭai* in which the tip of the breast becomes a comparison to the bud of Koṅkam tree, and face to the blossomed lotus. He has quoted such phrases as *mulai-k-koṅkam* and *mukat tāmarai* which are nothing but inverted similes, as per the syntactical structure, mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam.*

According to Iḷampūraṇar, one school of rhetoricians termed *Rūpaka* (i.e. *uruvakam)* as a separeate figure of speech which has been treated as a form of simile (*Uvamai*) by Tolkāppiyar. Chronologically speaking *rūpaka* was first mentioned only in Bharata's *Nātya Śāstra.* Since Tolkāppiyar proceeded the author of *Nātya Śāstra* by many centuries, it is possible to suggest that during his period, *rūpaka* was not developed or treated as a separate figure of speech. However, the classical example, submitted by Iḷampūraṇar to illustrate this kind of rhetorical expression

from *Puranāṉūṟu* (369) discloses the fact that by the times of this Sangam anthology, the poets fascinatingly created wornderful metaphors which are purely original and hence native. In this poem, there is a fantastic description of the battle-field. The black elephant with its tusk is figured as the black cloud. The shining swords, held aloft by the undaunted warrious in the battle-filed become the lightning (of the sky). The resounding of war-drums becomes the roaring of the clouds. The horse with swift movements becomes the blowing wind. The arrows, discharged from the ferocious bows become the rain drops in the battle field. The chariot become the plough.

This graphic picture reveals the poet's creative genius and faculty of producing associative imagination, resulting in a chain of metaphorical expressions which are the source for the development of *rūpaka* in a later period. Such rhetorical creations are found in abundance in many other classical poems of Sangam period.

However, Iḷampūraṇar properly identified metaphor to be nothing but one version of simile. There are some more varieties of simile, noted in *Uvamai-y-iyal.* Let us consider them briefly.

2. Tatumāṟu Uvamam (perplexed simile)

"Tatumāṟu varal" is the reading upheld by Iḷampūraṇar[47]. According to him, it is understood that in the creation of similes, the poets sometimes got preplexed to find out the right type of comparison and hence they used to pile up different objects in a sequence to make the meaningful analogy, presented in the form of dubious expressions. A copious example is quoted from the *Tirukkuṟaḷ (1085):*

The hero raises doubt with regard to the purpose of the powerful eye-sight of the lady-love. He is uncertain whether it is either the messenger of Death *(kūṟṟu),* or eye. Or, does it resemble the eye of a deer? In this type of simile, the objects of comparison are presented, perhaps to project three different features of the eye-sight of the heroine. Parimēlazhagar endorses the view of Iḷampūraṇar in labelling such comparisons as *'Aiyanilai uvamam',* and elucidates the significance of each of them. Since the powerful sight inflicts love-pain to the extent of ending his life, he doubts it to be the Demon of Death. Nevertheless, in the next moments, the same sight turns to be mild in measuring his physical features, he rightly thinks that it should be eye and not the Demon of Death. There

is some sort of fearing aspect, and hence he doubts whether it is the eye of deer which sends confused and fear-cost looks. Finally, the hero concludes that the look of his lady-love possesses all these three features.

Hence, this type of comparison is called perplexed or dubious simile. Another example is given by Iḷampūraṇar from *Kalittokai*[48]. In this poem, again the hero doubts whether the lady-love is a dazzling doll, created by an expert craftsman, or one, made up of all the limbs and parts, individually chosen from different beauitful women or whether the Demon of Death has assumed the form of lady at its own will due to wreck some vengeance against the hero.

However, Tolkāppiyar admits and approves such types and also mentions that they should not be thrown out overboard.

3. Cuṭṭikkūrā Uvamam

This type of comparison has been interpreted differently by the commentators. Iḷampūraṇar has understood by this kind of rhetorical expression that it is devoid of the demonstrative sign of comparison[49]. He quotes a couplet from the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* to illustrate his point(90).

Aṉiccam (-a delicate flower) fades as soon as it is scented. The guest fades as soon he is looked indifferently by the host.

In the above expression, the flower *aniccam* and the sensitive and self-respectful guest are taken for comparison. But, it lacks the words "like that" *(atu pōla),* or 'similarly' and hence, the simile should be labelled as one, bereft of demonstrative sign. It is also known as *"eṭuttukkāṭṭu uvamai"* by Parimelazhagar.

Perāciriyar takes the aphorism under reference in a different sense. He elucidates that poetical expression like 'coral-mouth' *(pavaḻa vāy)* is *cutti-kkūrā uvamam,* i.e., a compound of comparison, (devoid of the sign *pōla)*. In continuation, he has stated that expression like "coral like mouth" is the demonstrated form of comparison (i.e. *Cuṭṭikkūṟia uvamam)*. Redness is the common quality, associated with the object of comparison i.e. coral and the object, compared i.e. mouth. It is to be borne in mind that this ancient type of comparison came to be called *'tokai uvamam'* by the later Tamil rhetoricians.

4. Vēṟupaṭavanta Uvamam

Under this category, Tolkāppiyar has given legislation to subsume all the left-out types of comparison[50]. They should be accomodated suitably, i.e. in accordance with the norms of rhetorics. Again, the commentators vied with each other to drive home the miscellaneous items under this denomination.

Iḷampūraṇar has adduced an example from a poem of forgotten literature. In this poem, the sun is personified as a prince of prowess and wealth and its expanding rays are personified as army, besieging the dark flower-grove. Such personifications are many in Sangam poems and great epics like *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai.* The modern literary critics identified such expressions to contain romantic imaginations.

Pērāciriyar explains the aphorism under reference in his own way. He considers that inverted comparisons and the like are to be treated under this category. Further, he explains that some of them belong to the category of simple comparison, while others under the type of symbolic similes, called *uḷḷurai uvamam.*

5. Orī-k-kūṟal

It is also the literary tradition, if the object of comparison (*Uvamai*) finds removed from the object compared (*uvamikka-paṭum poruḷ*)[51]. To illustrate this type of creation, Iḷampūraṇar quotes from the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (8).

The poet Kapilar likes to compare his patron to Sun. But, he imagines that in many respects his patron excels the Sun. Hence, he addresses the Sun in the following poetic vein:

Oh Sun who has the great march (on the heaven) !
In what way you can resemble Ceralātaṉ, who
Vanquishes the army of his enemies?
You make the division of day time (which is meant for you)
You show your back to the moon! (and vanishes in the night)
You come alternatively in the south and north!
You conceal yourself in the mountain (where you set)
You shine in the expanded sky, only in the day time,
Spreading your manifold rays of light!

Though the Sun is a comparison to the Cera king, it is removed from comparison due to its limitations, as expressed elegantly in the poem under reference. The implication of distancing the Sun from making a comparison to the patron is not far to seek. Because of his prowess and munificence, he shines always brilliantly in all quarters of the earth and his fame never fades. Such kind of rhetorical creations come under the type of *'orīkkūṟal'*.

6. The Residue

It seems that Tolkāppiyar has taken meticulous care in bringing out all kinds of rhetorical expressions in some way or other under the general caption of comparison *(uvamai)*. In the last aphorism of this chapter, he has reckoned three more types[52]. One of them is called *"niral niṟuttu amaittal"*. Iḷampūraṇar interprets this type to be the occurrence of many similes to a single object. The second kind is known as *'niral nirai'* which means the placement of similes and the objects of comparison respectively in a perfect order of sequence. The third type is called *'Cuṇṇam'* which is elucidated as the initial segregation and final assemblage of the simile and object of comparison. In the last variety, *aṭimaṟi* and *moḻimāṟṟu,* the specific techniques of deriving sense in a poem are also included by Pēr̄aciriyar.

So, it becomes evident that by the period of Tolkāppiyar, the discipline of rhetorics was in its formative stage and he has taken sufficient efforts to legislate the norms to the best of his ability, leaving the unaccounted and unseen aspects for further consideration for which also provision has been made in the text.

Next, let us proceed to deal with the semblance of similies, as noted in *Uvamai-y-iyal.*

Semblance of Similes

Tolkappiyar has noticed some poetical structures which, eventhough do not come directly under simile, are to be treated as semblance of similes i.e. *uvama-p-pōli.* They are of five kinds which are given hereunder[53].

1. There is no comparison to this object
2. This is the comparison to this object

3. If one has chosen the specific parts of various objects, then they would form a comparison to this object.

4. If the beauty, manifested in various objects comes in a particular spot, then it will become comparison to this object and

5. The incompatible object becomes a comparison to this object.

All these types are sufficiently illustrated by Iḷampūraṇar from Sangam poems. For the last type, the portion in Kapilar's poem in *Kalittokai* is presented. The substance of this poem is given below:

"If the hero, famous for his integrity turns to be a liar, it is just like the blue lily in a lake is burnt by fire".

This is a wonderful imagination revealing the honesty and integrity of the hero who will never fail in keeping his words.

One more example is also found in the same poem : "If the truthful hero becomes false in his words, it is just like the appearance of fire in a moon".

Fire and moon are incompatible, in as much as the lily and fire. Such rhetorical expressions highten the beauty of the poetry.

However, Pērāciriyar understood by the aphorism under reference to mean five kinds of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam,* which are enumerated in the next aphorism (300). According to him, the bases for simple simile (*ēṉai uvamam*) are five. So also for implied similes (*uḷḷuṟai uvamam*) also, there are five bases in making such similes or their semblance, action, effect, part, colour and birth which constitute individually or collectively the foundations[54].

Since *uḷḷurai uvamam,* which is peculiar in *Akam* poetry to express in euphemistic and elegant language the delicate love affairs, has been elaborately dealt in *Akattiṇai-iyal* (aphorisms 49-51) and in *Poruḷiyal* (aphorisms 238-240), there is no direct mention of this type of suggestive and symbolic similes in *Uvamai-y-iyal.* Nevertheless, Perāciriyar has taken pains to interpret the aphorisms, *'uvamappōli'* and *'tavalarum ciṟappin'* to mean *uḷḷuṟai uvamam.* However, this type of poetical

creations has more relevance not only to the field of rhetorics but to the field of semantics of polished expressions. Hence, a brief account of this subject is given below.

Suggestive and Symbolic Similes

The technical word *'uḷḷuṟai'* literally means that which is hidden inside. Here, it denotes the inner meaning, especially of an *Akam* poety through the description of flora and fauna which are subsumed under the classification of *Karupporuḷ,* peculiar to a particular geopraphical division. Tolkappiyar has quoted his predecessors who have prescribed the grammar for the creation of inner-sense generating similes[55]. All the *Karupporuḷ* except the deity are eligible to form the backdrop of creating implied sense giving comparisons. Further, he has given a clear definition of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam.* In this type of comparison, the intended meaning is conveyed through the technique of blending implied objects to be compared in order to fittingly correspond to the explicit comparison,drawn (by the poet). Through the explicit comparison, the reader applying his mind easily finds out the implicit sense,artistically conveyed by the poet. Iḷampūraṇar explains that this kind of comparison will not be made on the basis of action, effect, form and colour, but only on the background of *Karuporuḷ,* it is created.

Sangam *akam* poems are saturated with wonderful suggestive and symbolic similes called *'uḷḷuṟai uvamam'.* One example is enough to comprehend the poetical significance of this type of comparison. The following is a passage, taken from the *Kuṟuntokai.*

"Kaḻaṉi māttu viḷaintuku tīmpaḻam
paḻaṉa vāḷai katūum ūran" *(8)*

The situation and context of the disourse are also noted. The harlot retorts to the scandalous talk of the heroine, audible to her lady companions, implicity explaining her innocent and immaculate position with regard to her relationship with the hero. In the given passage, *Karupporuḷ* i.e. the objects of comparison and the objects compared through inference, are the following:

Karupporuḷ			Uḷḷuṟai (implicit simile)
1. *kaḻani*	- field	-	heroine
2. *mā*	- mango tree	-	hero

3. *tīmpaḻam*	- sweet fruit of the tree	-	The love of the hero
4. *paḻaṉam*	- pond	-	harlot's residence
5. *vāḷai*	- sword fish	-	harlot

It requires some elucidation. The mango tree (i.e. hero) that stands on the field does not yield its fruit (love) to the land (heroine) where it stands, but voluntarily goes to the sword-fish (harlot) existing in the pond. The implied sense further reveals the fact that the sword-fish does not ascend the tree by itself to fetch the fruit. So also, the harlot does not go to the hero's residence to win her love all by herself. Just like the mango fruit falls in the mouth of the said fish, the hero's love is fallen on the harlot. Therefore the accusation levelled against the harlot by the legal wife is not valid. All these ideas are packed with the covert and implicit comparison, revealing the cultured expression of the characters, depicted in Sangam akam poems.

In *Poruḷiyal,* Tolkappiyar has enumerated and expounded various kinds of suggestive comparisons. They are chiefly of five types viz., *1. uṭaṉuṟai 2. uvamam 3. cuṭṭu 4. nakai and 5. ciṟappu*[56].

Iḷampūraṇar explains *uṭaṉuṟai* to mean a different thing through the description of a familiar thing associated especially with the lady love. *Uvamam* denotes the comprehension of the object compared, when the object of comparison is presented. *Cuṭṭu* indicates the demonstrative implied sense, derived through the expression of some related sense. *Nakai* literally means laughter. Here, it denotes the suggestive sense through the expression of laughter. *Ciṟappu* generally means speciality. Here, it denotes the special sense when one of the characters mentions that 'this is better than that'. The expressions, governed by the technique *'ciṟappu',* are formed out of anger, simplicity or innocence, indication of jealousy and poverty.

Further, Tolkāppiyar has included *1. maṅkala moḻi, 2. avaiyal moḻi and 3. āṇmai moḻi* under the category of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*[57]. Among them, the first one denotes the auspicious expression in which the bad message is clothed in a delicate and veiled language. The plain statement of death is painful and hence 'death' is indicated by the word 'sleep'. The second type of implied sense denotes the euphemistic usage, suitable in a learned assembly. Aṭiyārkkunallār explains this type from the *Cilappatikāram*

where Ilango beautifully depicts the first union of Kōvalaṉ and Kannagi by stating that the garlands, decorating their body mingled with each other[58]. The third type indicates the terms of endearment. If one praises his son a lion, it does not mean that he has all the physical features of the animal king, but it means that he is as powerful and brave as a lion[59].

All these aspects of implied, suggestive and symbolic expessions, commonly called 'Uḷḷuṟai' are evidently original and native to the Tamil tradition.

Restriction of the Usage of Similes

Tolkāppiyar has also stated the specific ways by which the characters of *Akam* poetry should use the rhetorical language of similes. The literary convention required that the heroine should base his comparison only on the objects known to her, and the lady companion, on the objects available in the territory. The hero's similes should be made in accordance with his intellectual equipment. For other characters like mother and step-mother, there is no such restriction[60]. The extent of free movement, social accessibility and contact with external world are traditionally conditioned by the sex variation. From such prescriptions, it becomes clear that Tolkāppiyar paid much care to preserve the literary and cultural conventions of the classical period to the possible extent.

Conclusion

As a result of the study carried out in the fore-going pages, the following points deserve to be significantly reckoned.

1. Tolkappiyar has handed dọwn a glorious tradition of Tamil rhetorics existed long before him, since he has mentioned his predecessors, specialised in the subject.

2. He has based his study of rhetorics on the rich data collected by him from the literary and grammatical works, which were anterior and also contemporaneous to him.

3. The valuable commentaries of Iḷampūraṇar and Pērāciriyar provided the proper key to unlock the contents of the aphorisms in *Uvamai-y-iyal.*

4. The word *uvamam* seems to be derived from the Tamil root *oppu/ uva,* meaning to resemble and it alternates with the native word *oppumai.*

5. In the Tolkāppiyam tradition of rhetorics, the object of comparison and the object compared are respectively called as *uvamam* and *poruḷ.* Nowhere in the text, the techinical words *upamāna* and *upameya* of the Sanskrit *Alāmkāra* Śāstras are found.

6. Patañjali's interpretation of the word *māna* to mean measure reflects the Tamil semantical tradition.

7. In the Tamil tradition, *uvamai* always meant partial comparison.

8. According to Iḷampūraṇar, the chief funtions of simile consist in the communication of unknown things through the resemblance of known things and in effecting aesthetic enjoyment to the readers.

9. Tolkāppiyar has dealt with *uḷḷurai uvamam* in *Akattiṇai-y-iyal* and *Poruḷiyal* and with the other comparisons in *Uvama-y-iyal.*

10. Pēräciriyar has interpreted some aphorisms in *Uvama-y-iyal* to expound the left-out aspects of *Uḷḷuṟai uvamam.*

11. Tolkāppiyar's genius is witnessed in the creation of some similes to explain some thematic aspects.

12. Tolkāppiyar has prescribed certain rules with regard to the standard of comparison.

13. He has identified fourfold bases for the creation of classical similes.

14. Some commonness found in *Tolkāppiyam* and in the writings of Gargya and Yaska of the Sanskrit tradition is to be treated to belong to the national stock of Indian rhetorical knowledge, otherwise called 'Pan-Indian'.

15. Tolkāppiyar has standardized certain conventions of comparison.

16. The commentators, with the help of existing aphorisms in the text have expounded some fresh traditions, preserved in the classical Tamil poems.

17. Tolkāppiyar with his knowledge in psychology had envisaged that the similes, which are based on greatness and soundess, would appear through the eightfold sentiments, called *meyppāṭu.*

18. He has classified the similes under four heads and also uniformly prescribed eight kinds of the signs of comparsion to each of them.

19. He has treated *uruvakam (rūpaka)* as one kind of simile and it was considered as a separate type only in the later rhetorical works.

20. He has identified at least five different types of similes, not governed by the early aphorisms in *uvamai-y-iyal.*

21. *Uḷḷuṟai uvamam,* which is unique and original to Tamil, is meant essentially to communicate love-affairs in a delicate and implicit language. Some types of the same are used for euphemistic expressions and terms of endearment.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS OF THE IMPACT OF TAMIL ON SANSKRIT AND OTHER INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

Introduction

India is a museum of different languages and distinct cultures. The customs and manners of the Indians vary widely, though in some aspects they converge basically. Linguists usually subsume the languages, prevalent in India into three major divsions viz., 1) The Kollarian-Munda group 2. The Dravidian family and 3. The Indo-Aryan group based on the common thematic and gramatical aspects. One can not deny the fact that the sub-members of these linguistic groups have some note-worthy and unique features to mark their individuality. The ancients are cultural birds. Hence, we come across the pages of World History wintnessing the facinating events of the diffusion of aboriginal and foreign elements.

Unity in Diversity

The cultural and commercial commingling of various nations ultimately leads to the exchange of thoughts and mutual influence of different languages leading to the noble ideal of finding universal brotherhood and one Nation. A comparative study of such languages will certainly eliminate linguistic animosity and promote unity in diversity. It paves the way to the emotional integrity and national solidarity. We have to acept the fact that the study of Sanskrit, one of the richest classical languages of the world has reached its zenith while the horizon of Tamil research, an equally richest classical language is yet to be widened on a par with the studies of other great languages. The comparative study of the aforesaid two languages should not be based on time-serving techniques as Thāyumāṉavar eloquently exposed:

"................... .வடமொழியிலே
வல்லான் ஒருத்தன் வரவும் திராவிடத்திலே
 வந்ததா விவகரிப்பேன்
வல்லதமிழ் அறிஞர்வரின் அங்ஙனே வடமொழியின்
 வசனங்கள் சிறிது புகல்வேன்
வெல்லாமல் எவரையும் மருட்டிவிட வகைதந்த
 வித்தையென் முத்தி தருமோ?"

[If an expert in Sanskrit comes to me. I will expatiate in his very presence that all ideas are found in Dravidian (i.e. Tamil). If an adept in Tamil meets me similarly, I will utter some Sanskrit (Vachanas) quotations just to suppress his superiority. Will this (logical) knowledge without conquering anybody and frightening the so called scholars assure me salvation? No].

It is often said that in the last century when Sankaracharya of Kāñchi Mutt proclaimed that Sanskrit was the mother to all languages ('mātru bhāsha') Chidambaram Saint Ramalingam declared that Tamil was the father to all languages ('pitru bhāsha'). The purpose of quoting these instances is to insist the fact that even great saints and sages raised their banner to secure superiority to their languages. Neverthless, in their writings we witness the mutual influence of the two languages. The comparative study was not unknown to the Sangam poets. Paripadal poet addresses the Vedic scholars and admires the Tamilian concept of love [9:12-26]. The references to the North Indian cities, states and dynasties in the ancient Tamil literature may be taken as valid proof to the amalgamation of Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

In this paper let me limit my scope to point out some aspects of the impact of Tamil on Sanskrit, and other Indo-Aryan languages. It does not mean that I have neglected to concentrate on the influence of Sanskrit in Tamil and other Indian languages. It requires a separate treatment. Hence, I leave it to another occasion.

Influence of Tamil on Sanskrit

It is a historical fact that the new comers to any land should necessarily acquaint themselves with the language, spoken by the sons of the soil. If that is so, nobody can reject the authenticity of the proposition that the Aryan immigrants or invaders to India should have mastered the mother-tongue of the Dravidians, and nurtured their vocabulary by absorbing their idioms. The word *Samskrta* connotes that which is made perfect (by incorporating the essential and vital aspects found in the Dravidian languages). If we look into the alphabetical arrangement of Sanskrit, we notice that the system closely resembles the Dravidian - one commencing from a, aa, i. *ii* etc., and does not resemble the Indo-European system, which begins with alpha, beta, or a b, c, d. Even the varga phonemes of the Sanskrit may be compared with the similar sounds available in all the 23 Dravidian languages spoken all over India, excepting

Tamil, where even though we find them, they do not have distinct written symbols and most of their distribution seems to be complementary. The phonemic nature of the varga sounds in Tamil is yet to be explored. Linguists differ in their opinion as to the existence of varga phonemes in Dravidian languages in their primitive and formative stages. Before coming to a conclusion one has to collect data from various dialects of Tamil speaking world and from them one has to find out the minimal pairs which should be native words, where voiced and voiceless phoemes, aspirated and unaspirated ones are in contrasting distribution. If we have such contrasting sounds, then naturally we may believe that the varga sounds are meaning differentiating units in the utterance of Tamil language.

Linguists are of the opinion that the words where the Sibilants occurring in the initial position are more ancient and from the numerals *Saiyung* (five) and *Sa:rung* (six) of the Central Dravidian, ai (the root form of aintu) and a:ru emerged out in the South Dravidian at some point of time, when the loss of initial palatal or sibilant was taking place. *Hence, we have to deeply think over the sibilants, varga sounds etc., which should have existed in some form or other in the proto-Dravidian and influenced the alphabetical system of Sanskrit.*

Even in the legend of Agasthiya, the supposed originator of Tamil, the Puranic poet Paranjothi stated that he requested Lord Siva to instruct him in the sweet Tamil before his journey to South India, where the Tamilians were all well-versed in the three fold Tamil and among them he could not continue to exist without knowing their language [vide, Tiruviḷaiyātal Puraṇam, 54.11,12]. *Kamban, the emperor among poets emphatically expresses in the Agattiya-paṭalam that Tamil existed even before the advent of Agastiya, who earned his name and fame just because he mastered the ever existing Tamil* (vide, "என்று முள தென்றமிழை இயம்பியிசை கொண்டான்").

Some of the Sangam poets viz. V*ā̱n*mikiya:r, Ya:zhppirahatattaṉ, Gouthamaṉa:r and others are considered to be Sanskrit mother-tonguers who mastered Tamil and composed poems in it. Thirunarayana Ayyangar, a great savant of Tamil attempted to identify the poet Vanmikiyar of Pu̱rana:nu:ru with the author of Valmiki Ramayanam. It is heartening to note that Yāzhpirahatattan, the North Indian king came to Tamil nadu to study the sweet language under the guidance of the great Sangam poet Kapilar. One of the ancient aphorisms which runs under the authorship

of Ceyiṟṟiyaṉa:r clearly denotes the humorous Tamil pronunciation of Aryan people. The line is this:

"ஆரியர் கூறும் தமிழின் கண்ணும்"

This sutra exhibits the fact of the early phase of the immigration of Aryans to South India. *The reference to the South Indian cities and dynasties in Sanskrit literature and the rock edicts of Asoka the Great throw a flood of light on the diffusion of Aryan and Dravidian cultures. Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyi refers to Cōla Nadu (4.1.175). Patanjali, the commentator being a South Indian sometimes considered to be a native of Chidambaram exhibits his knowledge of Tamil while elucidating some grammatical concepts. The Ithihasas clearly refer to the South India.* It is customary with the Tamil scholars to quote the *portion of Valmika Ramayana referring to the Kapāṭapura, the pearl city of Pandiya king devoured by the hungry sea, during the second deluge of the world.*

Rules of Sanskritisation

Among the two great languages of India, Sanskrit was the first to frame rules of assimilating foriegn words (Tamil). Kumarila, the founder of the Bhatta School of Mimamsa philosophy, considered to be a South Indian was the first Sanskrit Grammarian to point out the rules of Sanskriticising the borrowed Dravidian words. The credit goes to the Sanskrit Professor A.B. Keith, who stated:- "Kumarila was a native of South India, who reveals his knowledge of Dravidian languages and recommends that borrowed words should be given Sanskrit terminations; he refers both to literature and to current practices and his ingenuity is very considerable' (A History of Sanskrit Literature, Page 474) "Kumarila permits the incorporation of Dravidian terms, provided that they are given Sanskrit terminations." (Ibid P.25) Mimamsa Kesari Ramaswami Sastri of the Annamalai University in his scholarly introduction to the edition of Tattvabindu observed: *"Many schoars believe Kumarila was a Southerner in view of the fact that he has used in his Tantravarttika many Dravidian words whose semantic relationship to Sanskrit words has been emphasised" (vide Tattvabindu, p.29). Professor A.B. Keith in his aforesaid work mentioned that the retroflex lateral and nasal ḷ & ṇ are borrowed from Dravidian to Sanskrit.* There is no ḷ in Sanskrit. Even in the alphabetical order it is introduced very late. Due to the influence of Dravidan languages Sanskrit has the retroflex phonemes and so instead

of pronouncing Kālidasa, we pronounce as Kāḷidasa. Sten-Konow is also endorsing the same opinion in his Linguistic Survey of India.

Only four or five centuries after Kumarila Bhatta, Buddhamitranar in his Virasōḻiyam attempted to formulate rules of Tamilising the Sanskrit words. Following him Pavanandi [1250 A.D] systematised the rules of Tamilisation. From this one can envisage the earlier influence of Tamil over the Sanskrit language. It does not mean the it was always an one way traffic but the give & take policy prevailed in the two groups of Indian Languages, even from the early days of their contact.

Sankara's Tamil knowledge

Adi Śankara (750 A.D.), the exponent of Uttara Mimamsa or Vedanta was an erudite scholar, able logician and excellent poet. *It is an avowed fact that he was born in Kaladi of Cheranadu and hence his mother tongue was Tamil. His intimate knowledge of his mother language is exquisitely revealed in the devotional out pourings of his poems enshrined in the Saundarya lahari (the waves of Divine Beauty) and in the Sivānanda lahari (the waves of Supreme Divne bliss). In the formerwork, he affectionately calls the first of the four Saiva Apostles, Thirujnānasambandhar, as Dravida Śiśu.* The passage connecting with this reference deserves our attention. Śankara addresses the Divine Mother thus:

"Oh the virgin of the mountain king! the milk-ocean flows out from your breasts like the ocean of arts of the Goddes of Learning (Muses). The Tamil child (Sambandhar) who drank the milk given out of your limitless compassion earned the faculty of composing excellent poems, occupying the predominant position among other poets".

(This is a free rendering of the Sanskrit poem beginning with 'tava stanyam manye' of Śankara)

It is to be borne in mind that Sambandhar was not only a devotional poet, but a great propagandist of Saiva faith, meeting with the miraculous and learned rival forces especially of the Jain and Buddhist camps, defeating them in disputations, established Saivism in South India. So he earned the title *"para samaya ko:ḷari"* (a lion to the animals of heterogeneous religions). Śankara came hardly a century after Sambandha toured the whole of Inida, vanquished the Buddhist and other anti-Vedic exponents in intellectual tournaments and propounded Monism, the

essence of Upanishadic thoughts. In all humility, I hasten to suggest that the missionary activities of Sambandha motivated and stimulated Śankara who had only widened the landscape of his religious activities in similar lines of the Tamil hymnalogist. Any how, it is not far away from truth, to state that Śankara, being Tamilian naturally gained his knowledge of not only the biography of Sambandha, but also the esoteric meaning of his hymns, and so he spoke in unequivocal terms the greatnesss of the Tamil Apostle giving credit to his spiritual and intellectual maturity blossomed at so young an age.

In the *Sivananda Lahari,* the poem that commences with *"margavartita patukaa pacupate rankasya kuurcāyate"* extols the ardent and fervent devotion, the innocent and pious deeds of worship executed by the hunter-saint Kaṉṉappar.

The worship of Kaṉṉappar is distinctly unique one, different from the Agamic rituals of the Sivacharya Śivakocariyār. The Hunter-saint used to bring water in his mouth to consecrate the idol with a holy bath and to bring the taste-tested morsel of pork-food [meat] to be the sacred offerings. This episode of Kannappar was already current before Śankara. Sambandhar solemnly sings the glorious devotion of the hunter saint in these lines:

"வாய்கலச மாக வழிபாடு செய்ும்வேடன் மலராகுநயனம்
காய்கணையினால் இடந்தீசன் அடிகூடு காளத்திமலையே"

To examine his sincerity, the God's eye got sored. All on a sudden, the hunter-devote plucked out his eye and planted the same as a substitute to his affected eye. Agian, the remaining eye of the God got the same condition. Without hesitation, putting his booted leg on the centre of the God's forhead just to locate the position, Kannappar willingly and vehemently attempted to transplant his second eye. To the wonder of all, the Almighty appeared before him with all splendour (along with the Divine Mother) appealingly and affectionately addressed the holy hunter thus: "Please stop. Please stop, My dear son Kannappa", and sanctioned him immortal life of eternal bliss. His devotion becomes marvellous and illustrious, and so the spiritual warrior Manickavasagar rightly compares one's ardent love with that of Kaṉṉappar.

When we brood over these two laharis of Śankara, it is heartening to note that the episode of Sambandhar, favoured by the Divine Mother,

was narrated in the *Soundarya lahari,* whereas the episode of Kannappar, favoured by the Divine Father was immortalised in the *Sivananda lahari.* Anyhow, it is just to think that at least some of the portions of the eleventh Thirumurai viz., Kannappa Devar Tirumaṟam \by Nakkira Devar and the poems in the Devaram should have inspired Adi Sankara and made and indeliable impression on his mind ultimalely led him to immortalise the sacred stories in Sanskrit, the common media of the intelligentia of ancient Inida. It is often said that Ramanuja was inspired by the hymns of Alvars in writing his commentary on Brahmasūtra. It seems that Sankara was also inspired by the hymns of Saiva Saints in writing his bhāṣya on the same text. A detailed study has to be carried out on this issue.

Some anomalies

In taking and translating the Tamil words the Sanskrit writers seemed to have ignored the significance of some Tamilian concepts. Take for instance, Śudraka, the author of Mrccha Katika, without knowing the significance of the Tamil word Kaḷavu-premarital love (as evidenced in the union of Murugan and Va*ll*i) imagined that the god Kumāra (Ceey) was the origninator of Stheya śastra i.e. a treatise on the art of stealing. He has taken the vicious sense of the word kaḷavu and neglected the virtuous sense of the same word which Muruga set himself an example as eulogised in the poem of Paripadal. Similarly the author who translated Periyapuranam into Sanskrit under the caption *'Upamanya bhakta charita'* rendered the name of *Aiyadikal Kādavarkon* as *Panchapadasimha* a clear proof of ignorance of the Sanskrit translator. Folk etymology was strongly working in the mind of the poet of the Sthalapuranam who wrongly translated *Pazhanapuriswarar* as *Prayanapuriswarar*, taking the word from the colloquial *payanapuri.*

Tamil words and concepts in Sanskrit

Coming to the influence of Tamil words in Sanskrit, Dr. Caldwell, Burrow and a host of others established beyond doubt that the vocabulary of Sanskrit was nurtured and nourished by the onflow of Dravidian words. In deciding the propriety of a dubious word, these two scholars set forth certain linguistic principles by which one can ascertain the possibility of the word belonging to Dravidian beyond the pale of controversy. The following statements of Prof. Burrow, the Sanskrit scholar of Oxford University deserve our attention.

1. *"The Dravidian languages are the most important not only numerically and culturally, but also from the point of view of their influence on Sanskrit"*-Vide *Collected papers on Dravidian Linguistics* p.291

2. *"The extent of Dravidian influence on Sanskrit has always been under estimated rather than over estimated"* Ibid p.178

3. *"The adoption of Dravidian words by Sanskrit has already begun by the time of the Rgveda, and continues throughout the later stages of Sanskrit, and is continued in the Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages. The Dravidian words that occur in the Rgveda are specially interesting"* Ibid p.309

In their works, both the aforesaid Dravidiologists indentified hundreds of Dravidian words found in Sanskrit.

The influence of Dravidian is found not only in the Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary but also in the domains of philosophy, religion, ethics, legends etc., Dr. S. Radhakrishnan rightly observes:

1. *"Contact with the highly civilized Dravidians led to the transformation of Vedism into a theistic religion."* vide, the *Hindu View of Life*. p.18

2. *"The Vedic culture, ... becomes transformed in the Epics into the Hindu culture through the influence of the Dravidian"* Ibid p.30

3. *"Image worship which was a striking feature of the Dravidian faith was accepted by Aryans"*, Ibid. pp.30-31

Dr. A.L. Basham ascertains that *the theory of transmigration of souls belongs to the Dravidian and from them it was taken by the Aryans.* Even the Upanishadic thoughts seem to be Dravidian in origin. Dr. Karmarkar proved this theory in his monumental thesis enitled *"The History of Indian Religions"*. He propounds: *"The conception of the proto-Indians regarding Siva was of a very noble character. Hence, there was nothing in Siva which could have been refined by the priestly classes ... The Satarudriya is a non-Aryan document par excellence. In fact, it shows a keen tendency on the part of the Aryans to Aryanize the non Aryan deity Siva"*, Ibid pp. 51, 52

The original version of Mahā Bharatha contained only 25,000 slokas. But the South Indian recension possesses 1,00,000 slokas.

Scholars are of the opinion that the influence of South Indian scholars caused the increase of the contens of the Ithihasa. *Prof. Das Gupta considered the Bagavatha Purana was written by a South Indian as it makes references to the Alwars*-Vide. *A History of Indian Philosophy* (Vol. IV. p.1; Vol. III p.63)

The Pancharātra system of Vaishnavism and the Saiva Siddhanta system are belonging to the Dravidians. Das Gupta, Charles Eliot and Karmarkar are endorsing the above view. They insist the study of Tamil and Telugu works to a better understanding of these religions (H.I.P. VOL.III p. vii, Hinduism and Bhddhism Vol. I. p.XX).

A.D. Pusalkar in his, **"Bhasa-A study"** categorically stated that the poet lived in the pre-Kalidasa period and his dramas were unearthed in Travancore. *So we may think that Basa should have been a South Indian. One of his dramas Balacharitha is to be inferred in the epic Cilappathikaram:*

"ஆயர்பாடியில் எருமன்றத்து மாயவனுடன் தம்முன் ஆடிய
வாலசரிதை நாடகங்களில் வேனெடுங்கட் பிஞ்ஞையோ டாடிய
குரவையாடுதும் யாம் என்றாள் கறவைகன்று, துயர் நீங்குக எனவே,"

It is pleasant to note that the epic poet Ilango belongs to the same Chera country where the Bhasa's Balacharitham was unearthed. The Drama centered round the boy-hood activities of Kaṇṇan, being the Dravidian God of pastoral region. Saint Bharatha is supposed to be a South Indian, since the dance Bharatha Na:ttiya is peculiar to the Tamilians and Profeesor Burrow derives the word 'parattai' (dancing girl) from the root paratam (Bharatham). The various poses of this dance are carved out in the towered shrine of Lord Natarja, the God of cosmic dance. Bharathamuni mentions Dravidacharya as one of his predecessors who expounded and inculcated the divine dance of Bharatham.

The Cambridge South Indian history stated that the author of Arthasastra was South Indian. The same view was attested by Professor P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar in his "History of the Tamils" and by Justice A.S. Panchapakesa Iyer in his "Chandragupta and Chanakya". V. Narayana Iyer in his learned article on the Sangam Literature pointed out that the commentator *Taruna Vacaspati* quoted *Dramida Sangatha* (-Tamil anthology) as a famous example of the literary form *Samghata,* as mentioned by the author of Kāvyadarśa who was a native of Kāñchi,

the seat of learning attracting students from all over the world. So the Sanskrit Poet Bharavi extoted the glory of Kānchi in the immortal line, *"Nagareshu Kāñchi"*.

The inflnence of Tamil on Pali, Prakrit and Bengali Languages

Similarly one has to identify the Dravidian words in Pali, Prakrit and Bengali languages, leave alone the modern Indian languages. In Dhammapada, the portion of Suttapitaka of Pali Buddhism, the Sangam Tamil word, 'Tachar' (Carpentar) occurs more than once. The plural suffix 'kaḷ' is found in customs in the same work. *Lalitha Visthara, the Mahayana literature mentions Tamil among the various languages learnt by Bagavan Buddha.* Dammapala, Dignaga, Buddhadatta, and a host other great Buddhaist exponents and veterans belonging to Tamil Nadu, naturally utlized the native idioms in their commentaries written in Pali and Sanskrit. *Dr. B.C. Law thoroughly studied their works and mentioned in his "History of Pali Literature" the existence of comentaries of Pali Pitakas in Tamil and Telugu languages.* Prakrit, the religious languages of the Jains gained many words from Tamil due to the scholarly works of Kundakundacharya, Umaswami and others who were Tamillians by birth. So a comparative study of Tamil and Prakrit will yield good results as to the mutual influence of the two languages. *In Mahārāstri Prakrit, the impact of classical Tamil is found. In this area, some fruitful studies are carried out by the American Tamilalogist George Hart.* He has identified the influence of classical Tamil on early Prakrit literature. The impact of Sangam emissary poems on Meghadūta of Kalidāśa has been pointed out. The Unique Sangam Tiṇai poetry has influenced considerably the Prakrit work Sattasai, ascribed to Hala [A.D.100}, the Satavahana king of Andhradeśa, the neighbour of Tamildeśa. [vide, A History of Indian Literature, Vol.X, the Relation between Tamil and classical Sanskrit Literature, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp.317-329]

Kulapati, Dr. K.M. Munshi the founder patron of Bhavan's University remarked the diffusion of Gujarathis and Tamilians when he quoted the line *'Kuchhara-k-kudikai'*, a reference occurring in the Buddhist epic Manimekalai. It denotes the shrine of Campāpati, a female deity of Buddhist pantheon at Kaviripumpattinam, constructed by the

Gurjara masons. The same epic refers to the existence of Maharashtra craftsmen and Magatha artisans in Kavirippumpattinam, the port capital city of the Cholas who built the royal palace in the company of local artisans. [vide, The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa, Part III pp.4-8]

Coming to the Bengali language, Dr. Sunithikumar Chatterji and Majumdar worked out the influence of Tamil words and Tamil customs in the Bengali language and society. Hence a sincere attempt on the comparative analysis of the two languages will bear fruit.

It is often said that the syntactic structure of Hindi resembles to that of Tamil and hence an intensive analysis on the problem may throw some fresh light on the nature of the influence of Tamil over Hindi. The formation of relative participles like svargiya, vargiya in Hindi seems to be the influence of Tamil structure. These words are derived respectively from the noun-bases **svarga** and **varga**. Perhaps, such formation should have also existed in the ancient Prakrit language. However, Dr. M.Varadarajan has explicated in his first Novel, **"Kaḷḷō Kāviyamō"** the close resemblance of syntactical structures in Tamil and Hindi, arguing the former's influence on the latter, through the character of Murugaiah.

The welding of various linguistic groups naturally should have influenced each other, constructing the ideal path leading to the universal brotherhood. Any slice of study in humanities is bound to underline the forces responsible for the unification of the nation at a primary level, leading to the international perspective at an ultimate level. Though this paper does not have tall claims, but emphasises the contribution of Tamil genius to a considerable extant to the consolidation of Indian culture, by way of influencing and improving the vocabulary and thoughts of Indo-Aryan, from the hoary past.

THE SATAKAS IN INDIAN LITERATURE

Introduction

Among the different types of literary genres available in Indian languages, *sataka* has been very popular. The word 'sataka' etymologically means that which contains one hundred and in its semantic expansion, it indicated the particular literary composition which has a century of poems on any subject-matter. It was customary with the Indian poets to name poetry on the basis of the number of poems found in it. Thus we have pañcaka, aṣṭaka, dasaka and sataka. As far as the Tamil poets are concerned, the literary forms dasaka and sataka are very favourite types. In this article, an attempt has been made to outline the evolution of Sataka literature as found in the well known languages of India. The significance of some of the Satakas has also been elucidated in the course of this article.

Origin of the Tamil Satakas

The origin of the Tamil Satakas has been traced to the period of Sangam literature. Patiṯṟupattu, a collection of ten tens is an instance. It deals with the history of ten Chera monarchs ruled during 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, another anthology of the Sangam period contains five parts, each of which deals with one of the five tiṇais, i.e. love-themes, in 100 ahaval poems. Each part of this collection has been treated as a separate book and hence the name Kuṟiñci nūṟu, Mullai nūṟu etc., came into vouge. So, it is clear that in Sangam period, nūṟu and patiṯṟupattu are rightly to be considered to be the equivalents of *sataka*. They are actually the prototypes of later *satakas*. Even in the later days, these two words continued to denote *sataka*.

When we come to the period of devotional literature (500 A.D to 900 A.D.), we witness many poetic creations of *Sataka* type. The hymns of Kāraikkal Ammaiyār (500 A.D.) constituting the Aṟputa-t-tiruvantāthi, and the Antāthis of the early three Āḻvārs (600 A.D.) written in Veṇpā metre, are considered to be the specimens of early *satak* literature.

Unlike the *Satakas* of Sangam period which possessed heroic and love themes, these *Satakas* contain devotional aspects. However, the very word *Sataka* is found for the first time in Tamil only in Tiruvacākam. The fifth portion of this sacred tex is known as *Tiru-c-catakam* (-the Divine Hundred), expressing the spiritual experiences of Saint Manickavasagar (800 A.D.). Verily, this *Sataka* contians ten decades (-*patigams*), the totality of which gets the title, *Tiruccatakam*. The special feature of this *Sataka* is that all the poems found therein are written in antāthi, i.e. anaphoric sequence, i.e. the last letter of the previous poem commencing the first line of the following poems. Another feature is that each decade in this *sataka* is written in a different metre. *Viruttam* and *Kalitturai,* with their sub-members and Koccakam are the metrical forms used in this *Sataka.* The first word of the first hymn and the last word of the last hymn remain the same, thus making the Sataka as a garland of hymns.

First Sanskrit Sataka

With regard to the history of Satakas in Sanskrit, it is usually said that Bhartrhari was the first to compose *satakas* (a cluster of hundred poems). But, if one goes through the pages of Sanskrit Buddhist literature, he will be easily convinced that *even before Bhartrihari, there were poets wellversed in composing satakas. Avadāna Sataka*, dealing with the compassionate deeds and wonders wrought by Buddha, Pratyeka Buddha and Arhat, deserves to be considered to be the earliest extant *Sataka* literature in Sanskrit. According to Winternitz, this work belongs at least to 2nd century A.D. since it has been translated into Chinese in the first half of 3rd century A.D.

The Sanskrit *satakas* generally deal with any one of the *purushārthas*. Each *sataka* contains 100 slokas. The ethical injunctions form the theme of *Niti sataka,* while the hedonistic aspects constitute the content of *Sringāra sataka.* The spiritual aspects culminating in total renunciation, leading the aspirant to attain salvation make the subject-matter of *Vairāgya Sataka.* According to Dr. P.S.S. Sastri, the source materials for *Niti sataka* and *Vairagya sataka* are found in the Sānti parvan of Mahabharata. The ethical codes enunciated in the Dharma śāstras, the virtues and values enshrined in the Sanskrit classics, the maxims found in the Panchatantra and Hitopadeśa. proverbs etc., also contributed to the substance of *Satakas*.

The Satakas of Bhartrihari

Bhartrihari who lived in the end of 6th century A.D. has been credited with the authorship of three *Satakas* viz., *Niti Sataka*, *Sringara Sataka,* and *Vairagya Sataka.* His works were translated into Dutch language in 1651 A.D. by Abraham Roger. The poems in the *Niti sataka* are didactic lyric apophthegms. Love themes occupy the poems of the *Sringara Sataka.* The influence of moon-light, gentle breeze, grove etc, on the minds of the lovers are beautifully delineated in this *Sataka. Vairagya sataka* is saturated with the philosophic inquiries, aspiration and determination to renounce the empirical life in order to enncounter with the Absolute Reality etc.

In order to understand the wit and wisdom of Bhartrihari, some portions from the translation of *Niti Sataka* are presented hereunder:-

1. "A man may even violently pluck out a gem from between the fangs of a crocodile; he may even cross the ocean which is full of circlets of restless waves; he may even wear a furious cobra on his head like a wreath of flowers; but he cannot at all please the mind of an obstinate fool" (Śloka 3).

2. "One may obtain oil even from sand by squeezing it with effort. One afflicted by thirst may drink water even in a mirage. One wandering about here and there may some time or other even get hold of the horn of a hare. But one can never please the mind of a perverse fool (Śloka 4).

3. "Fire can be put out with water; the heat of the sun can be warded off with an unbrella. A big elephant in rut can be controlled with a sharp goad, a bull or an ass with a stick. A disease can be cured by the use of medicines, and a poison can be counteracted by a variety of charms and incantations. There is a remedy prescribed in the Śastras for every disorder, but none for a fool" (Śloka 10).

The above portions indicate the difficulty of transforming the fool into wise, the bad into good etc. It does not mean that a fool should continue for all his life-time to be a fool. It is implied that even if one takes pains to instruct the fools, they will not yield any good result. There certian things that could be changed by the application of some

means. But, in the *Nitisataka* Bhartrihari openly proclaims that there is no solution to cure the inborn illness of foolishness. His genius remains in the way in which he has expressed exquisitely the aforesaid idea.

Nevertheless, he mentions that the company of virtuous people will earn one all happiness. The contents of the sloka (19) under reference follow thus:

> "Association with good people removes sluggishness of mind, infuses truthfulness of speech, produces a high sense of respect, dispels sin, makes one's mind clear, and spreads fame in all directions."

Similarly, the author dwells at length about the benefits accruing from refined speech:

> "Neither bracelets nor neclaces brilliant as the moon, nor bathing, nor perfumery, nor flowers, nor well combed hair, adorn a person. It is the possession of a well-refined speech that adorns him. All other ornaments perish; but the ornament of speech is always a genuine one" (sloka 15)

These moral sayings are sufficient to earmark the significance of Sanskrit Satakas.

Other Satakas in Sanskrit

Ethical poets, who came after regarded Bhartrihari to be their mentor. The *sataka,* composed by Bhallata (900 A.D.) is named after him (Bhallata sataka). Goswamijanardanabhatta wrote one *Vairagya Sataka.* Narahari also composed *Sringara Sataka. Amaru Sataka* is on erotic themes.

Devotional themes also form the substance of many *Satakas* in Sanskrit. Bhattabana's Candistaka, Avatarakavi's *Isvara Sataka* and Gokulanatha's *Śiva Sataka* are some of them.

A list of the prominent *satakas* in Sanskrit with their probable chronology is given here under:

Sl. No. 1.	Name of the author 2.	Title of the Sataka 3.	Theme 4.	Chronology 5.
1.	A Buddhist poet whose name is not known	Avadana Sataka	Buddhist theology	150 A.D.
2.	"	Karma Sataka	Doctrine of karma	200 A.D.
3.	Aryadeva	Catuh-Sataka	Madhyamika philosophy	300A.D.

This sataka consists of four hundred Kārikas and hence the name. In has been mentioned by the Chinese travellers, Hsuan-Tsang and Itsing. Cantrakirti has written a commentary on this work.

4.	Bhartrihari	a. Niti Sataka b. Sringara Sataka c. Vairagya Sataka	Ethics Erotics Philosophical themes	600 A.D.
5.	Amaru	Amaru Sataka	Love themes	500-600 A.D.

The great rhetoricians Anandhavaradhana (850 A.D.) and Vāmana (800 A.D.) have quoted verses from this Sataka.

6.	Mayura	Sūrya Sataka	Devotion to Sun God	600-675 A.D.
7.	Bana	Candi Sataka	Devotion to Śakthi	"
8.	Anandha vardhana	Devi Sataka	"	850 A.D.
9.	Bhallata (Kashmirian poet)	Bhallata Sataka	"	883-902 A.D.
10.	Silhana (Kashmiraian poet)	Santi Sataka		800-900 A.D.

11.	Nagaraja	Bhava Sataka	Collection of Riddles	1000A.D.
12.	Gumani	Upadeśa Sataka	Morals and and philosophy	”
13.	Kusuma deva	Drṣṭānta Sataka	Ethics	1100A.D.
14.	Ramachandra Kavi Bharati (Bengal poet)	Bhakti Sataka	Devotion to Buddha, as a teacher and redeemer.	1245A.D.

This poet deals with ethical themes. In each poem, a proverb becomes the central theme and an apt iilustration has been adduced to substantiate the significance of the proverb.

Among the aforesaid Satakas, the musical poems of Amaru deserve a speical mention. The love themes and erotic sentiments enshrined in these poems may be taken for a comparative study with the similar aspects of the Tamil love poems. However, the contents of one poem is reproduced here from the translation of Winternitz:

“O innocent girl, why have you begun to spend all (your) time in innocence? show anger, please hold patience, cast-off straight-forwardness (in respect of your) beloved. When (she) was thus advised by her friend, she with a terrified face replied, “Please speak in slow voice; the lord of (my) life, living in my heart, will hear it”.

Here, the immaculate love of the heroine is witnessed, even though the lady-companion provoked her to get wild against the hero, who for the while had forgotten or neglected his sweet-heart. The last portion reminds one the couplet of Tirukkuṟaḷ which runs thus:

நெஞ்சத்தர் காத லவராக
வெய்துண்டல்
அஞ்சுதும் வேபாக் கறிந்து *(1128)*

The literal sense of this Kuṟaḷ is this:

“Since my lover is residing in my heart, I fear to eat hot food or edible, since it may hurt him by afflicting heat.”

In both cases, it has been a dialogue between the lady-love and her female-companion and the theme remains to be the separation of the hero and the pangs arising out of the separation. It is to be noted that one should not rush to the hasty conclusion that one poet has influenced the other, since similar ideas may blossom in the psyche of great poets irrespective of language, region and religion. This happy coincidence may be taken as a good instance.

Tamil Satakas

Turning to the Tamil *satakas*, they are more than 200. Kārmandala Sataka (11th century A.D.) by Āraikiḻār is the first *sataka* to deal with the earthly matter, glorifying the activities of rare people. The satakas are calssified mainly on the basis of their content.

The main types of *satakas* available in Tamil are given hereunder:-

No.	Type	Title	Author	Age
1.	**Devotional**	Vināyaka catakam	S.Ramaswamy Aiyangar	20th cen. A.D.
		Velāyuta catakam	Kantappa Deśigar	19th cen. A.D.
		Arunācala catakam	Sabapathi Mudaliar	19th cen. A.D.
		Kovinta catakam	Nārāyaṇa Bhārati	18th cen. A.D.

Despite the devotional character, one can find useful sayings in these satakas for the betterment of society.

2.	**Religious**			
	a. Saivism	Civaperumān catakam	Dandapani Swamigal	19th cen. A.D.
		Tillai Natarācar catakam	Ramaiyar	19th cen. A.D.
	b. Vaisnavism		Anumār catakam	
		Tevanāta catakam	Krishnamachari	20th cen.

c.	Christianity	Yesunatar catakam	Sadasivam Pillai	19th cen.
		Tirucatakam		A.D.
		Amalakuru catakam	Vedanayagar	20th cen. A.D.
d.	Islam	Tirumuhammatu	Pakir Muhamadu	20th cen. A.D.
		Napi catakam		
		Arapi catakam	Abdul Rahman	19th cen. A.D.
3.	**Philosophical**	Vairākkiya catakam	Sāntalingar	18th cen. A.D.
		Avaiyampikai catakam	Krishnaiyar	19th cen. A.D.
4.	**Epic and Puranic**			
		Iramāyana catakam	Murugesa Chettiar	19th"
		Mahabharata catakam	Krishnamurthy Aiyar	20th"
		Kantapurāṇa catakam	Muthukumaradasar	20th"
5.	**Ethics**	Tanṭalaiyār catakam	Paṭikkācu Pulavar	17th"
		Aṇṇāmalaiyār catakam	Tiruccirrampala Nāvalar	19th"
		Uṇṇāmulaiammaṉ catakam	Ciṉṉakavundar	19th"
		Kumarēcar catakam	Kurupātatācar	19th"
6.	**Rituals and morals**			
		Kailācanātar catakam	Chidambaram Pillai	19th"
		A̠rappaliśvara catakam	Ambalavāṇa Kavirāyar	18th"
7.	**Regional**	Koṅkumaṇṭala catakam		
		Toṇṭaimaṇṭala catakam	Paṭikkācu Pulavar	17th"

8.	**Erotics**	Ciruṅkāra catakam	Swaminatha Desigar	"
9.	**Medicine**	Vaithiya catakam	Seṅkalvarāyar	-
		Taṭciṇāmūrtināṭi catakam	Taṭchiṇāmūrti	-
10.	**Biography**	Kānti catakam	Sundara Mudaliar	20th"

The above list is not exhaustive. It only presents some illustrations from the various types of *Satakas* in Tamil.

Normally, the last line of every verse in the *Sataka* remains to be a refrain, addressed to a particualr god or patron. However, there is a difference between the Tamil Sataka and Sanskrit Sataka with regard to the purpose, readers and audience. The Tamil Satakas focussed to popularise the ethical epigrams, to disseminate religious faith to lit devotional fervour, to glorify the particular region with the specific historical and legendary anecdotes and to preserve the traditions. These *satakas* also reveal the beliefs and practices of the people. They preach the higher values to be adopted in the ordinary business of life. *These satakas are rightly to be called people's literature, since they are meant mainly for the masses and hence written in a language easily discernible to them. Even colloquial usages find a place in these works.* They have popular appeal and their music and rhythm are pleasant for all. The Sanskrit satakas are understandable only to the learned, though their main aim is to preserve the gem-like sayings for posterity.

The usual metre of Tamil satakas is Aciriya viruttam. Other metres are not prohibited. The history of Tamil Satakas reveal the fact that the pre-modern period produced a bumper crop of *sataka* literature. In order to understand their merit and magnitude, a few samples are given hereunder:

1. *Arappalīśvara sataka* (23) beautifully portrays that the greatness of the noble could not be forbidden by the low, just like the fragrance of the sandal, the sweetness of milk, the brilliance of the gem and lusture of gold would not be diminished when they are respectively subjected to frequent friction, boiling, polishing and burning.
2. According to *Kumareśa sataka* (31), lending a helping hand to all, performance of charitable deeds such as digging wells, building

shrines, offering food, chivalrous attitude, possessing chaste wives and ideal sons, erudition etc., contribute to the greatness of a man.

3. The same sataka enumerates that learning without a preceptor, trade without sharp intellect, country deprived of good citizens, ability without wealth, austerity without endurance, assembly devoid of adults etc. are of little use both to the individual and society.

Karuppannaswamy sataka (33) admonishes that the recluse who runs after fair sex, one who abandons his code of conduct, the coward who surrenders to the enemy, the rich without charity, the tale-bearer, the fighting cocks, one who associated with the imbeciles etc., etc., are to be treated as living corpses.

The aforesaid illustrations are enough to appreciate the genius of Tamil *satakas*. They are to the layman, what Tirukkuṟaḷ and Nalatiyar are to the learned. There are *satakas* also in other Dravidian languages, deserving a separate study. However, the reputed *satakas* in the sister languages of the Dravidian family are to be enlisted. Next to Tamil, Kannada has preserved rich literary works that are more ancient than those found in even Telugu and Malayalam. *The first Kannada work has been Nrupatunga's Kaviraja Marga (850 A.D.). The commentary of Yapparunkalam and Kārikai (1000 A.D.) mentions a Kannada metrical treatise known as "Kunakānkiyam" suggesting the existence of a number of creative works in that language prior to 850 A.D.* Now, let us enumerate some of the *satakas* found in the Kannada language.

Satakas in Kannada

Sl.No.	Name of the author	Title of the Sataka	Subject	Age
1.	Nāgavarmā chārya	Chandra Chūḍāmaṇi Sataka	In praise of detachment	1100 A.D.
	This sataka is also known as Jñāna-Sara.			
2.	Harihara	Pampa sataka	Devotion	1150 A.D.

3.	Palkurike Somanatha	Someśvara Sataka	Ethics	1150 A.D.
4.	Ratnakaravāni (Jain poet)	Triloka Sataka	Description of heaven, hell and intermediate worlds as conceived by the Jains	1557 A.D.
5.	" "	Aparājiteśvara Sataka	Morals, renunciation and philosophical aspects	"

Among the sataka poets mentioned above, Palkurike Somanatha has been very popular. He was a staunch devotee of Lord Śiva. The free rendering of one of the poems contained in the Someśvara Sataka, as done by Edward P.Rice has been presented here:

"The Sun like a jewel
adorneth the sky,
The moon like a jewel the
night,
An heir is the cherished gem
of the home
The gems of the lake are
the lotuses bright
The Sacrifice's crown is the
oblation of ghee,
The crown of a wife is her
sweet chastity;
And that which adorneth the
court of a king
Is the presence of poets, fit
praises to sing.
To thee, O Someśa, I bow;
Death's mighty Destroyer art
thou".

The objects and qualities that add lustre to the respective phenomena are beautifully portrayed in this poem. The poem, besides its ethical

bearing, has also offering aesthetic pleasure. Somanatha was also proficient in composing poems in Telugu.

Satakas in Telugu

Next, we have to say a few words about Telugu Sataka literature. *Nannaya (1100 A.D.) has been regarded to be the first poet in Telugu.* However, the Telugu poets preferred to effectively communicate through the media of sataka. As a result, hundreds of *satakas* have been produced in Telugu through the ages. *It seems that Telugu stands first in popularising the Sataka genre.* A iist of the renowned Telugu satakas is given here:

Sl. No.	Name of the poet	Title of the Sataka	Theme	Age
1.	Baddena	Sumati satakam	Ethics	1150 A.D.
2.	Palkurike Somanatha	Vrishadhipa satakam	Devotion	"
3.	Yadhavakkula	a. Someśvara	" "	"
	Annamayya	b. Venkateśwara	" "	"
	(This sataka has been preserved on copper plates at Tirupati temple)			
4.	Vennalakanti Jannaya	Devakinandana	" "	"
5.	Tripurāntaka	Raghuvira	" "	1400-1500 A.D.
6.	Tippana	Ambikā	" "	1500 A.D.
7.	Potana	Nārāyana	" "	"
8.	Dūrjati	Kālāhastiśwara	" "	1600 A.D.
9.	Maravikavi	Bhāśkara	" "	"
10.	Kondaya	Thiru Kalahastilinga Satakam	"	"
11.	Gopanna	Dāsarathi	" "	1650 A.D.

12.	Vemana	Vemana satakam	Ethics	"
13.	Ravuri Sanjiva	a. Narayana satakam	Devotion	1750 A.D.
	kavi	b. Vasudevanandana	"	"
14.	Yogananda kavi	Rajagopala "	"	"
15.	Ramabhadrakavi	Janaki Satakam	"	"

When we look into the aforesaid satakas, we witness that devotional theme has been dominant. Most of them are eulogizing the Vaisnava deities. Some of them extol the greatness of Śiva and Śakti. Among the Nīti Satakas, Sumati Sataka and Vemana Sataka are very famous. The rendition of a few poems of the former as done by Charles Philip Brown deserves to be quoted.

1. "That kindness should be shown to the kind is no marvel, for it is merely an exchange. But he who shows kindness to the unkind without laying any fault to him is the wisest of men".

This stanza throws much light on the concept of compassion.

2. "Wealth that does no good to his neighbour, hoard it who ever may-will not avail him. It is like honey industrially stored up by bees."

This poem advises to share one's accumulated wealth to the benefit of the society. The bee-honey analogy echoes the maxim of the Tamil Poetess, Avvaiyār, who proclaimed:

"ஈயார் தேட்டைத் தீயார்
கொள்வர்"

Vemana was very popular not only in Andhra but also in Tamilnadu. His sataka has been rendered into Tamil verses in the last century. Like the Tamil Siddhas, Vemana stood against superstition and caste-system. He was propagating progressive thoughts that could ennoble the society. A sample of his saying is reproduced here from the translation of C.P. Brown.

> "They cannot understand that there is but one god in the Siva, the Vishnu and all other creeds, though these differ, can any diversity exist in truth."

The transient nature of the earthly existence has been illustrated by Vemana thus:

> "If an object made up of iron is deformed, we can amend it well. But, if one's soul departs from his body, it could not be restored".

This poem declares the universal truth that nobody could avoid death. The sense of impermanence may induce one to tread on the right path.

One more poem deserves our attention. It runs thus:

> "Oh people, you go to see the god only in the stone temple. But you do not realise his existence in your self.
>
> God would not eat the offerings of sugar candy and other sweets. What He wants is your bone-melting devotion. Please think over this".

From this, it is understood that the rituals are not of primary importance. Devotion and Realizaion are the primary requisites to enjoy the everlasting divine bliss.

Satakas in Malayalam

Next, a few words about the Satakas in Malayalam are to be mentioned. This language has developed its literature from the Tamil calssical works such as Patirruppattu, Cilappatikaaram, the hymns of Ceramān Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār and Kulasekara Āḻwār. The first Malayalam work is considered to be Eḻuttaccaṉ's Ramayana. The style, diction and also theme of this work do not vary much from the Tamil version. However,the dominance of Malayalam is conspicuously found in it.

In Malayalam only a few Satakas are available. Some of them are the following:

Sl. No.	Name of the poet	Title of the Satakam	Theme	Age
1.	Narayana Namboodri	Aslesa satakam	Devotion	1700 A.D.
2.	Kunjan Nambiar	Mukunta satakam	"	1800 A.D.
3.	" "	Śiva Satakam		"

4.	Ganapathi Potri	Sataka traiyam	Erotics, Ethics and Philosophy	1900 A.D
5.	Kesava Pillai	Kavisamāja Yatra Satakam	--	"

Among the satakas written by the great poets of modern Malayalam, the satakas of Narāyaṇaguru (1855-1928) and the satakas of Kumaran Aacaan (1873-1924) are worth mentioning. Narayanaguru in his *Aatmapooda sataka* portrays the relationship between the individual and the empirical world and also the experience of bliss resulting from the realization of the natural excellences of the soul. His *Siva sataka* follows closely the Tiruccatakam of Saint Manickavasagar.

Subrahmanya sataka, Sankara sataka and Satācāra sataka are the creations of Kumaran Aacaan. The essence of one poem in Sankara sataka (5) is presented here under:

"Oh Śiva, Oh Lord who
possess Parvati in
your left part!

I have no clinging (to
worldly life), except
clinging your feet;

Kindly remove my defects;
Offer me supreme wisdom.

Please bestow on me your
grace, embracing
my body, resembling the
golden pot".

It is essential to note that devotion and compassion pervade most of the poems in the sataka series which transmit religious and spiritual splendour.

As a result of the brief study carried out in the foregoing pages, let us derive some conclusions, with regard to this genre and its content.

Conclusion

The emergence of the literary genre *Sataka* in Tamil and Sanskrit seems to be a simultaneous action. The popularity of the genre becomes evident from the fact that it has been employed as an effective literary media by not only the Sanskrit and Tamil Poets, but also by the poets of Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam. Each language preserved its own individuality with regard to the substance and structure of Sataka form. However, the influence of the *Nīti Satakas* in Sanskrit exerted a great impact on the same genre of other Indian languages. Religious and ethical themes are predominant in most of these *satakas*. But, the devotional and historical themes that are also found in the Tamil *satakas* are purely native and hence original. When the routine life of the people was affected due to the foreign rule and alien religion, these satakas aimed to instil confidence in the minds of the masses and the literate alike, to walk on the right path with courage and faith. Since *sataka* as a literary genre is uniformly found in most of the Indian languages, it may be considered to be Pan-Indian and hence to belong to the national stock of Indian literature.

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A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF MAṆIMĒKALAI

Introduction

Maṇimēkalai is a Buddhist Tamil epic. Its author Cāttaṉār was a great scholar in Tamil, Pali and Sanskrit. He was a Mahāyānist of the Sautrāntika-Yogācāra school. He made the epic a repositary of Buddhist ethics, logic and philosophy. The traditional school considered the epic to be a product of the Caṅkam period. But, a linguistic study of Maṇimēkalai provides a wealth of material to support the proposition that Maṇimēkalai should have been written at least two or three centuries after the existing Caṅkam classics (500 B.C. - 300 A.D.). Here, an attempt has been made to point out some linguistic changes and some innovations which mark distinctly the language Maṇimēkalai from that of Caṅkam works.

1. PHONEMIC CHANGE[1]

1. Tolkāppiyar mentions the non-occurrence of *c* with *a, ai* and *au* in the initial position (*eḻuttu* 62). As against this prescription Caṅkam Anthologies have copious examples such as *canti, catukkam camaḻppu, cavaṭṭi* etc. Paripāṭal has also one word with initial cai- (caiyam XI-14). Manimekalai possesses a number of words with initial ca and *cai* which are foreign to Tolkāppiyam and Caṅkam literature. These are mainly loan words from Pali and Sanskrit. Nevertheless, they are Tamilized forms. For instance, ca:-

camayam	I-13, 60	*caṅkamaṉ*	XXVI-23
campāpati	VI-138	*cantam*	XXVII-100
camaṇar	V-52	*cannu*	XXIX-362
caṅka taruman	V-70	*cayittam*	XXVIII-131
cakkara vāḷam	VI-24	*capakkam*	XXIX-73, 81,212
camantam	XI-22	*cayaṉācaṉavāṉ*	XXIX-297
cankam	VII-113, XXX-3	*caraṇākati*	XXX-5

1. Phonemic Change: any change in the repertory of phonemes or in the arrangement in which they occur.vide, *A Course in Modern Linguistics* (Hockett), p.380

cai:-

caivavāti XXVII; *caimiṉi* XXVII-87 (The founder of the Purva Mīmāmsaka system); *caitaṉiyavāṉ* XXIX-176

2. The initial occurrence of *y* with *ā* is found only in Tamil among the Dravidian lanuages[2]. But in Cankam works, *y* with *a,* and *u* also occur initially. In addition, Maṇimēkalai possesses words where *y* with *o* also occur initially.

yavaṉar (XIX-108); *yūki* (XV-64) - a character in the Epic Peruṅkatai; *yōkam* (III-100); *yōcaṉai* (VI-211)

3. Tolkāppiyam *(Eḻuttu, 66)* includes *r* and *l* in the list of non-intitial phonemes. In Manimekalai, the prothetic vowels *a, i* or *u* are prefixed to the foreign words begining with *r* and *l* e.g.

irāmaṉ (XXVII-53); *irāvaṇaṉ* (XXVII-54); *iravi* (XXIV-58); *irākulaṉ* (IX-46)

But there are certain loan compounds which have *r* or *l* initial when splitted.

tuṭita lōkam XXX-9 *-rūpam* VI-177
puṇṇiya rācaṉ XXIV-170

4. The consonant *r* and *ḻ* did not precede a short vowel (Tol. *eḻuttu 49).* The same state of affairs prevailed in Caṅkam classics. But, in Manimekalai *r* precedes a short vowel. e.g., *Varttittal* XXIX-256. *ḻ* occurs in the same context in Nālāyiram *(teḻku 45:2).*

5. According to Tolkāppiyam (Eḻuttu 75) the final *-cu* preceded a short syllable only in two words. viz., *ucu-* woodworm and *mucu-* monkey (according to the commontator). */pacu/,* a third member of this pattern is found in Maṇimēkalai (also in *Cilampu).* The absence of this word in Caṅkam works should have impelled the commentator to observe, *"pacu eṉpatō-v-eṉiṉ, aḵtu āriya-ccitaivu"* (Tol-*eḻuttu* 75 Nacci.)

II. GRAMMATICAL CHANGE[3]

1. -al > -aṉ

-al, the termintaion of the first person singular, verb (Tol. *col.203)* becomes -aṉ in the language of Manimekalai.

2. Collected papers on Dravidian Linguistics (T. Burrow) p.113.

3. A Course in Modern Linguistics, p. 381

kaṉṭaṉaṉ III-22; *kūṟuvaṉ* VI-34; *kēṭkuvaṉ* XX-18; XXII-134. *tarukuvaṉ* VI-174; *aṟikuvaṉ* XIII-71

This change rarely took place in the language of Caṅkam Classics.

2. The termination *-am* or *ām* of the I per. Plural verb (Tol. *col. 202)* becomes *ōm* in Maṇimēkalai *(ārumilōm)* (V-56). This type of change is dominant in the hymns of Saint Appar [A.D.590].

Due to the influence of the labial nasal in *am* or *ām, a* is changed to *ō.* This change (i.e., *am* > *ōm)* is not found in Caṅkam works.

3. The finite verbs of the II person have the plural marker */ir/,* or */īr/* in Tolkappiyam and Cankam literature. But in Manimekalai *-m* also served the same purpose.

koṇm III-101; *uṇm* III-103; *pōm* XIV-37; VI-26
koṭum XVI-77; *toḻum* X-70; *uraim* XXII -164-5

In Paripatal *vārum* is found [14.9]. In Pattu -p-pāṭṭu also we have very few instances of -m ending II per. verbs (Porunar 101; Maturai 747).

4. *āḷaṉ, āṭṭi* and *āḷar,* functioning as gender suffixes have higher frequency in the language of Manimekalai than in the language of Caṅkam calssics.

a. *āḷaṉ:* (Masculine suffix)	*uruvilāḷaṉ* V-5	*aḻalōmpāḷaṉ* V-34
	uriyāḷaṉ V-73	*kotuntoḻilialaṉ* VI-100
	uraimūtālaṉ VI-4	*pēraṟivālaṉ* XII-78
	maṟaiompāḷaṉ XIII-3	*tīttoḻilāḷaṉ* XXVI-26

b. -āṭṭi (Feminine suffix)	*vilai-y-āṭṭi* V-87	*vaṭamoḻi-y-āṭṭi* XIII-73
	tirumuka-vāṭṭi V-118	*māmaṟai-y-āṭṭi* XIII-77
	pacalaimeyyatti V-140	*kāypaci-yāṭṭi* XIX-33
	tīt-toḻil-āṭṭi V-133	*tavatt-āṭṭi* XXIII-64
	ārumil-āṭṭi VI-146	*maṟupiṟapp-āṭṭi* XXV-212
	mūtāṭṭi VI-157, XX-40	

c. *-āḷar* (Epicine plural)	*kaṭavuḷ-āḷar* I-15	*kāppālar* VII-09
	kārāḷar III-29	*kāval-āḷar* VII-111: XXVII-29
	vaṭamoḻi-v-āḷar V-40	*maṇṇiṭṭ-āḷar* -XXVIII-37

Such words are rarely found in Cankam classics (vide, Akam. 54).

Besides these forms,the Sanskrit-*kār*-with the Tamil suffix /*ār*/ was also introduced in the language of Manimekalai

kañca-kār-ar- XXVIII -35 *mālai-k-kārar* XXVIII-40

Such forms are also found in Cilappatikāram.

5. In the early Tamil, the neuter plural suffix-*kaḷ* was optional (Tol. Col. 169). Neuter nouns or *palpakā akṟiṇai* were in vogue. But, in the language of Manimekalai -*kaḷ* was a productive neuter plural suffix.

pālikai-kaḷ I-44; *kaṇaṅ-kal* VI-179, XIII-66, XXI-130; *uyir-kaḷ* III-129; VI-199, X-7, XXVI-121, XXV-107, 109, 114, XXX-62; *piṟavi-kaḷ* XXV-152; *iṭaṅ-kaḷ* VI-199, XX-30, XX-121, XXVIII-65-67; *piramānāpācaṅ-kaḷ* XXVII-57; *viral-kaḷ* XX-60; *tuṟai-kaḷ* XXI-121; *kiḷavi-kaḷ* XXI-143; *āṇṭu-kaḷ* XXII-17; *aḷavai-kaḷ* XXVII-77,85; *poruḷ-kaḷ* XXVII-110, 112, 188, 190, XXX-219, 223; 252; *paramāṇuk-kaḷ* XXVII-126; 174, XXIX-259; *anu-k-kaḷ* XXVII-138; *pulan-kaḷ* XXVII-196, XXX-89, 90; *kuṇaṅ-kaḷ* XXVII-256; *aḻivu-kaḷ* XXVII-267; *mīṉkaḷ* XXVII-18; *poṟi-kaḷ* XXVII-22; *kiriyai-kaḷ* XXIX-50, *tiṭṭāntaṉ-kaḷ* XXIX-296; *intiriyaṅ-kaḷ* XXIX-26 *cayaṉācaṉaṅ-kaḷ* XXIX-293; *intiyaṅ-kaḷ* XXIX-296; *āpācaṅ-kaḷ* XXIX-32; *cātaṉācāttiyaṅ-kaḷ* XXIX-426; *nayaṅkal* XXX-35; *pavaṅ-kaḷ* XXX-35; *pulaṉkaḷ* XXX-89; *katikaḷ* XXX-96; *uru-k-kaḷ* XXX-97; *kaiyāṟu-kaḷ*XXX-168 *peṟṟi-kaḷ* XXX-176

6. In the later Caṅkam language -*kaḷ* was rarely found in *uyartiṇai* nouns with or without /*ar*/ the epicene plural suffix.

e.g., Paripatal IX-54, *vāḷikaḷ; aivar-kaḷ* Kali-t-tokai XXVI-26; *pūriyar-kaḷ* Kuṟaḷ 919.

But, in Manimekalai -*kaḷ* occurs in customs with *uyartiṇai* nouns.

e.g.,

vāti-kaḷ I-60	*nōṉpi-kaḷ* III-75, VI-86
ceṭṭi-kaḷ XXV-165	*iruṅkōveḷ-kaḷ* XXVIII-34
antaracāri-kaḷ- XXVIII69	*camayi-kaḷ* XXVIII-86
muṉi-kaḷ XXVIII-114	*pullar-kaḷ* XXX-14
camaṇir-kāḷ V-52	*eṉpōr-kaḷ* XXI-95, 97, 99, 100
ūṉkaṇiṉār-kaḷ XXV-128	*yāṅ-kaḷ*
eṅ-kaḷ XXV-53	*viṇṇavar-taṅ-kaḷ* XXVIII-64

7. *āṉ,* the instrumental case-sign of the early Tamil becomes *āl* in Manimekalai

e.g.,

mayaṉ-āl -VI-201	*Payatt-āl* XVII-14-15
aruḷ-āl XXI-155, XXII-144, XXVIII-196	*muṟaimai-y-āl* XXIX-86
vāḷ-āl XXI-158, XXIII-85	*kaṇ-ṇ-āl* XXVII-15
cevi-y-āl XXVII-15	*mey-y-āl* XXVII-17
tava-p-payatt-āl XXVIII-139	*tavatt-āl* XXVIII-193
marunt'-āl XXVIII-195	*ātal-āl* XXIX-60, 311,352,384
kirutatt-āl XXIX-395	
paṭutal-āl XXIX-70	*ataṉ-āl*-XXIX-108

8. */iṉ/,* the ablative case-sign of the early Tamil becomes *il/* in Manimekalai (XXIX-79).

9. **Post-positions:** */poruṭṭu/* and */poruṭṭal/* unknown to early Tamil as dative post-positions are found in Manimekalai. Similarly, */toṭṭu/* (Ablative post-position) and */piṟpāṭu/* (Locative post-position) are also found in Manimekalai. The later grammarians call them *col-l-urupu.*

e.g.,

/poruṭṭu/ tam-poruṭṭu XXI-63	*kārikai-poruṭṭu* XXII-156
/poruṭṭāl avaṉ-poruṭṭāl XIV-53;	*kārikai-poruṭṭāl* XXII-186
ivaḷ-poruṭṭāl XXII-162	*tīrpatu-poruṭṭāl* XXIII-101
niṉ-poruṭṭāl XXIX-36	

/toṭṭu/ an-nāḷ toṭṭu XVI-12, XX-70,171
/piṟpaṭu ataṉ-piṟpāṭu XII-78

10. The grammarians and commentators are of the opinion that augments *(cāriyai)* are not mere empty words but have some signifance. Tolkappiyar specifies (*eḻuttu 188, 192*) that the augment */tam/* should occur only in the III person plural. Thereby he implies the occurrence of the augment */tan/* in the III person singluar. But, *Cāttaṉār* extends the usage of */taṉ/* and */tam/* to all persons (i.e., I & II persons as well).

e.g., *koyvēn-tan-ai* III-32 *entam-aṭikaḷ* III-93
un-tan XVIII-169 *pāvai-tan kiḷavi* III-156,

11. Tolkappiyar does not enumerate tense-signs though he uses the past and non-past markers. But he neither mentions nor uses the present - tense signs */kiru/, /kinru/* etc., Ceyyum pattern of verbs denoted present-tense both in Tolkappiyam and in Cankam literature. In Paripāṭal *kinru* occurs once (XXII-35). Manimekalai possesses both *kinru* and *kiru*

e.g., *uraikinrēn* XVII-63 *āḷkinrōr* XXVI-18
viḷampukinra XXVII-106 *pulappaṭukinra* XXVII-111
enkinra XXIX-294 *ākinratu* XXIX-322
cātikkira XXIX-299

12. *ellām* does not follow frequently a noun of *uyartiṇal* in the Tamil. But in the language of Manimekalai it follows. *uyartiṇai-p-peyar.*

e.g., *makkaṭkellām* IX-24 *Vāḻvōrkkellām* XI-95
antaṇar-ellām XIII-6 *maṭantaiyarkku ellām* XVIII-6
mātavar-ellām XXII-6 *peyarvōrkku-ellām* XXV-40

Such usages are rarely noticed in the Sangam poetry.

13. The conjunctive participle of *ceyin* pattern is represented by new forms in the language of Manimekalai.

a. *Ceytāl pattern*
kaṇṭāl III-24, 101 *pukkāl* VI-24
pōnāl VI-158, XXI-84
pūṇṭāl XXV-226 *enrāl* XXIX-177, 236

b. *Ceyin > Ceyil pattern*
aruḷil VI - 154 *kaḻiyil* VII-5
enil XIV - 94 *kāṭṭil* XXIX-445

c. *Ceytiyēl enriyēl* - II-173

14. The auxiliaries found in the following verbs are rarely seen in the early Tamil.

ceytiṭum I-22 *ōmpiṭum* VI-155
kēṭṭaruḷ V-31 *pōntaruḷ* XVI-65
purintiṭṭanan XXVI-128 *ninriṭin III-25*
āyiṭin XVIII-157 *iyampiṭutal XXVII-36*
taḷarntiṭutal XXX-101 *aṭaintiṭa XXVIII-145*

III SHAPE CHANGE[4]

1. Loss of initial n-

In the language of early Tamil *nin̲* and *num* being the oblique forms of the second personal singular and plural pronouns respectively are found. But in Pur̲anāṉūr̲u, Akanāṉūr̲u, Nar̲r̲iṇai, Paripatal and Kalittokai, */um/* alone occurs rarely. In the language of Manimekalai */un̲/* occurs in thrity places and */um/* in one word instead of *nin̲* and *num*.

a. *un̲* II-17, IV-96, VII-27, IX-63,67; X- 18,38,42,43,48,79; XIV-35; XVI-37,68,113,119; XVII-46; XVIII-169,171; XXI-18,108; XXII-71, 129; XXIII-74,80,102; XXIV-62,144; XXV-100;

b. *um* XXVI-39

2. Loss of initial *y*-

yār, yāṇtu and yāṉai of the ancient Tamil dropped the initial y- in the later Tamil[5], Such forms occur in Manimekalai.

a. *ār* IV-95; V_56; VI-146; XVII-80; XXI-136; XXIV-33·

b. *āṇṭu* XIV-55; XVII-38, 39, 41, 45; XX-23; XXII-17, 129; XXIV-100; XXV-101

c. *āṉai* XX-35

It is essential to note that such changes occurred in the language of Sangam poems very rarely.

e.g., *yār̲u-ār̲u Kur̲um* 263:2; Pur̲am 219:1; Pari 11:50; 15.22;
yāṭu - āṭu Pur̲am 229:1 Neṭunal 160; Akam 331:3
yār - ār Kur̲um 174:7
yāttirai [Lws] - Ibid. āttirai Ibid. 293:1

However the usage *āṇṭu* and *āṉai* are not found in the early Sangam poems.

3. ***yāṅku*** of early Tamil becomes *enku* in later Tamil.[6] */eṅku/* is found in customs in Manimekalai.

4. Ibid, P. 382.
5. Collected papers on Dravidian Linguistics, P.113
6. Ibid, 114

e.g., *enku* VI-18, 191; XXVII-110, 187, 226, 231; XXVIII-17;
XXIX-233, 251.

4. ***āṅku*** and ***īṅku*** of the Cankam Tamil became respectivity *aṅku* and *iṅku* in Manimekalai.

a. *aṅku* VI-26; XIV-86; XVIII-83; XIX-9; XXI-8
XXV-185; XXVI-18; XXVII-32; XXVIII-116,210

b. *iṅku* IV-104; XX-123, XXI-107, XXIII-123, XXV-10; XVXII-221.

5. ***yā > ñā > nā***

yāṉ is earlier than *nāṉ* which rarely occurred in Paripātal and Kalittokai. How this *nān* has come into existence? Tolkappiyar states *yā* bcomes *ñā* in verbs alone (*eḻuttu-146*)

This change was extended to nouns also. *yamaṉ < ñaman Puṟam* (6.9). On the same analogy *yāṉ* becomes *ñāṉ* which is preserved in Malayalam. Like *ñāyiṟu* becomes *nāyiṟu* in the language of the Tamil inscriptions of Chola period *ñāṉ* became *nāṉ*. Burrow observes: "Thus in Tamil only *yāṉ* is known to the early texts and *nāṉ* makes its appearance much later"[7].

In Manimekalai : - *nāṉ* XVII-45; XXIII-95;
XXVII-278; XXVIII-92

6. The demonstrative adjectives *anta* and *inta,* unknown to Tolkappiyam and Caṅkam literature are found in Manimekalai. *ita,* the proto form of *inta* is found in the early Tamil Brahmi inscriptions. *ita* and *ata* due to euphonic nunnation became *inta* and *anta* in the later Tamil.[8]

a. *inta* XXII-155; XXVI-63; XXVI-285; XXVIII-198

b. *aṅta* XVII-34; XXIII-61; XXVIII-85; XXIX-30

7. *i ~ y* and /iṉ/ were the past tense markers of the early Tamil. But in the language of Manimekalai, /ṉ/ also becomes a past tense marker. This /ṉ/ should have come from the original /iṉ/.

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7. Ibid, 117
8. A compartative grammar of the Dravidian Languages (Caldwell), P.174

e.g.,	*pōn̲atu V-89, XXX-41*	*pōn̲al VI-158, XXI-84*
	ponār XV-100	*pōn̲a XXX-2*
	ān̲a XXIX-56, 422,423,262	*ānatu XXVII-209,210, XVII-37*
	ān̲avar̲r̲ai XXX-161	

Cen̲avaraiyar comments: *"pōn̲atu en̲a nakara uyirmeyppin varu- vatō enin:- atu Cān̲r̲ōr ceyyuḷuḷ vārāmaiyin̲ citaivenap- paṭum:* (Tol.Col. 217). In his opinion, *cān̲r̲ōr ceyyuḷ* meant the early Sangam Tamil poems.

8. The infinitive *āka* of early Tamil becomes [ā] in Maṇimekalai. In such instances, it always follows a noun or *kur̲ippuvin̲ai - peyar.*

e.g.,	*var̲itā*	*I-41*	*ārā VI-211, XXVI-1*
	meḻukā	*XIX-115*	*varaipā XXVII-137*
	muḻavā	*IV-12*	*ētuvā X-49*
	makan̲ā	*XXI-29*	*aḷittā XXIX-9*
	ilaiyā	*XXIX-105*	*cārvā XXX-105-107*

Such forms are rare in Cankam classics.

9. *poḻutu* of early Tamil becomes *pōḻtu* and then *pōtu* which are found in our text (vide, IX 20, XXVII-148).

10. The ordinals formed by affixing *ām* to the numerals were unfamiliar in the language of Caṅkam literature, but common in Manimekalai.

e.g.,	*iraṇṭām kaṇṭam XXX-137*	*mūn̲r̲ām kaṇṭam XXX-141*
	nān̲kām kaṇṭam XXX-145	*iraṇṭam canti XXX-150*
	mūn̲r̲ām canti XXX-152	

IV. SEMANTIC CHANGE

According to Charles F. Hockett, semantic change denotes any change in the meanings of grammatical forms.[9] The words of Caṅkam Tamil came to denote different meanings in the language of Maṇimēkalai.

Item	*Meaning in Cankam Tamil*	*Meaning in Manimekalai*
āyam	company (of lady companions) (kur̲u 48-3)	council of (eight) members 1-17
alar	scandal of love (kur̲u-262-1)	any scandal II - 9

9. A course in Modern Linguistics, P.384

tōṭu petal (kuṟu - 34)	silver ear-ring III-113 gold ear ring V-121
vāṉku to bend (pari 2-28)	to get VI-105, XVIII-108
kōṭṭam temple (puṟam 299-6)	graveyard VI-165, prison - XIX-43
mantiram prophoetic word (Tol. poruḷ 48)	mantra of tantric practices X-82
kōyil palace (puṟam 67-10)	temple (of Buddha XX-5
kāmam love (kuṟu 17-14)	lust XXII - 172
amiḻtam nectar (puṟam 132-2)	food XXVIII-116
māttirai duration (Tol. *eḻuttu 8)*	only XXVII-62

V. LEXICAL CHANGE[10]

a. Lexical replacement

Cāttaṉār substitutes new words (most of them are loans) in the place of old ones.

Items in Caṅkam works		Substitutes in Maṇimēkalai	
tāḻi	(puṟam 364-13		*kumpam* I-40
kalam	(puṟam 256-1)	pot	*kaṭam* XXIX-250
māri	(puṟam 123-6)	rain	*vaci* I-71
munnīr	(puṟam 9-10)		
pauvam	(puṟam 58-22)	sea	*pārāvāram* III-28
moḻi	(kuṟu 11-7	language	*pāṭai* XXVIII-221
kāl	(puṟam 100-1)		
aṭi	(kuṟu 148-1)	feet	*pātam V-77*
peyar	(akam 131-10)	name	*nāmam* VII-35
tāmarai	(perumpāṇ 404)	lotus	*paṅkayam* X-67
uṇā	(puṟam 335-6)	food	*amutu* X-37
valci	(puṟam 26-10)		*pōṉakam* XXVIII-221

10. Ibid, P.382

nilam	(kuru 3-1)		earth *pūmi* XI-11
ūr	(kuru 28-5)		village *kirāmam* XIII-103
teṅ	(puram 6-2)		
terku	(Tol. eluttu)		south *takkaṇam* XII-108
vaṭa	(puram 6-1)		
vaṭakku	(Tol. eluttu)		north *uttaram* XXI-175
ūci	(puram 229-9)		
kuṭa	(puram 6-4)		
kuṭakku	(Tol.eluttu)		west *mērku* XXV-155 XXVIII-175
vāl	(kuru 280-6)	←	white *pāṇṭu* XIV-29
vaṇikan	(puram 134-2)	←	merchant *ceṭṭi* XVI
yānai	(puram 214-4)	←	elephant *tanti* XVIII - 44
kāviri	(puram 166-28)	←	name of a ruver *kākanti* XXII-87
vēntan	(puram 11-10)	←	king *pārttippan* XXIV-53
intiran	(puram 182-1)	←	king of the Devas *vācavan* XXIV-69; *kariyavan* XXV-55
ā	(puram 9-1)	←	cow *pacu* XXV-70
iṇpam	(kuru 120-1)	←	happiness *cukam* XXIX-188
taṇ	(puram 11-5)	←	coolness *cītam* XXVII -121
vaḷi	(puram 2-3)	←	air *vāyu* XXVII-209
kai	(muruku 108)	←	hand *pāni* XXVII-220
ūḻi	(parl II-7)	←	deluge *piraḷayam* XXVII-225
vil	(puram 55-1)	←	bow *tanu* XXVIII-22

b. Lexical additons

The author of Manimekalai acquainted himself with many systems of Indian philosophy and many schools of logic. His deep knowledge of Buddhist texts and other religious treatises nurtured his vocabulary. He often mentioned the varions linguistic people.[11] In Kāñci, there were various groups of people speaking eighteen lanugages. Hence, it is just to think that his period witnessed cultural and lingual commingling of various nations. As a result, new idloms and phrases of foreign origin crept into the Tamil vacbulary. Similarly Tamil words were freely used in other languages. Manimekalai is the first Tamil work where heaps of Sanskrit and Pali words are found. For want of space a list of them is not given here. Even, the lexical replacements are mostly foreign words.

11. Manimekalai I - 16, V. 37-9, XIII-73, XVI-60-1, 70; XIX 105-110, XXVIII - 221

c. Loan translations

Cāttaṉār's contribution to the Tamil vocabulary consists in the loan translations. Some of them are given hereunder:-

Sanskrit word[12]	Meaning	Translation	
pramāna	Source of knowledge	*aḷavai*	XXVII-3
pratyakṣa	perception	*kāṇṭal, kātci*	XXVII-9
anumāṉa	inference	*karutal*	XXVVII-9
pūrvavat	a priori	*mutal*	XXVII-35
śeṣavat	a posterior	*eccam*	XXVII-33
sāmānyato dṛṣṭa	commonly seen	*potu*	XXVVII-29
dravya	substance	*poruḷ*	XXVII-242
samavāya	collection	*kūṭṭam*	XXVII-243
kalpanāpōdḥam	indeterminate (or direct)perception	*cuṭṭuṇarvu*	XXIX-49

It is essential to note that some words such as aḷavai, kāṭci, karutal etc., are found in the Tamil classics, even before the advent of Cattaṉār, used in non-technical sense. In seems that in Maṇimekalai these words are not extended to denote the logical aspects, projecting technical sense. They seem to be translations, consciously made by the epic poet to communicate the logical and metaphysical concepts and thoughts. It is to be borne in mind that instead of searching for the words in the early Tamil for extension of meaning, the philosopher - poet himself had coined these words which look similar in form with the older ones.

VI. SEMANTIC REPETITION (i.e. SYNONYM) is a peculiar feature in the language of Manimekalai.

e.g.,	*uccimīmicai* XI-22	*uyarntōṅku - ucci* XXII-13
	mūppuṭai mutumai III-57	*tuyar evvam* X- 62
	tuyar iṭumpai II-6	*taṅkiṉaṉ vatinta* XIII-108
	māperum II-55	*oli aravam* XIV-60
	atar attam XIII-39	*tavapperu* XII-119
	tuñcu tuyil VIII-12	*tūṅku tuyil* VI-209
	pari - k - kutirai IV-45	*mīmicai* III-142
	tī - aḻal II- 53, IX-50	

12. These Sanskrit words are from the Nyayasutra, Nyāya praveśa, Pramāṇa Samuccaya and Vaiśeṣika sūtra and their commentaries.

The portion of Buddhist philosophy occurs twice in the epic in different contexts (vide, XXIV-105-140; XXX-45-81)

VII. Spoken forms, familiar to the later Cankam literature (viz., Paripāṭal and Kali-t-tokai) are often found in Maṇimēkalai (vide III-79; VI-213-4; XI-29, 36; XX-122, XXIV-61, 104; XIX-130; XXI-186; XXII-7).

Conclusion

So far a detailed study on the phylogenetic changes, which mark the language of Manimekalai distinct and different from that of the Sangam poems has been carried out. As a result, the proposition that the Buddhist epic Maṇimēkalai should have been composed at least two or three centuries after the existing Sangam literature gains ground. This concluion has been further strengthened by the facts arrived out of the study of Buddhist cosmology, epistemology and philosophy as delineated in the various chapters of the epic Manimekalai, which should have been written during A.D. 450 - A.D. 550. [vide, Kandaswamy, S.N., Buddhism As Expounded in Maṇimēkalai, (1978) p.74]

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SAINT APPAR

In the history of Tamil Literature the epoch of the Nāyaṉmārs and Āḻvārs is very significant as it reveals innovation and remarkable changes not only in the sphere of literary creation, but also in the outlook and life-style of the people at large. The period of the Kalabhras and early Pallavas encouraged Prakrit and Pali learning, simultaneously patronizing Jainism and Buddhism. Due to the influence of the scholars of these two religions and due to the unlimited help extended to them by the monarchs who ruled South India, the entire population was enveloped in the darkness of foreign faiths according to Sekkizhar [A.D.1150]. It is due to the advent of the four Saiva Apostles, the change in the attitude of the people towards religion and society took place miraculously. Among the four, the tireless and indefatigable efforts of Saint Thirujnana Sambandhar and Saint Appar were instrumental to uproot and annihilate the strongholds of Jainism and Buddhism in the Tamil country. Because of their immaculate disciplined life with a purpose to lead the illiterate and elite alike in the proper pursuit of spiritual life, a new chapter appeared in the religious annals of the Tamils.

The spiritual vanguards walked every breadth and length, every nook and corner of rural and urban areas, singing the glory of the Saviour God Śiva in mellifluous diction, studded with poetic embellishments and natural descriptions, charged with emotion and noble sentiments enlightening the minds of the masses to have a glimpse of the Absolute Reality. It is the opinion of Sekkizhar that Saint Sambandhar and Saint Appar are the two eyes of Saivism. Both of them are contemporaries, the former emerging from the foremost upper class and the latter hailing from the lowest strata of society, thus merging the yawning gulf of the social orders, ultimately aiming to create a casteless society based on fraternity and equality as enunciated in the enlarged principles of enlightened Saivism. In this paper, attention is focussed on the dedicated life and times of Saint Appar.

Early life

Appar was born in Thiruvāmūr, situated in Thirumuṉaippādinādu. His parents were Pugazhaṉār and Mādhiṉiyār, belonging to Vellala caste. His elder sister was Thilagavathi, who remained a Saiva nun throughout her life due to the unexpected demise of her betrothed husband Kalippagai, who left his life in the battle-field for his king. The tragedy further continued in the life of Appar, who lost his parents at so young an age thus becoming a destitute. Though by birth he was a staunch Saivite, the circumstances compelled him to take refuge in the religion of non-killing-an attribute indicating Jainism which was very popular, accomodating the orphans, the letouts and the suppressed and oppressed in the society. After his conversion to Jainism, he learnt almost all the Jaina Agamas and other literatures professing the faith of Mahavira. His diligence and intelligence were acclaimed by all the followers of the faith, earning him a superior position with the new title Dharmasena. Due to the earnest and fervent prayers of his elder sister Thilagavathiyār, the presiding Lord at Thiruvathigai caused in him incurable and accute stomach-ache, which was not cured through any means by anyone of the Jain scholars and monks. Providence stood by him and hence he rushed to meet his sister, surrendered at her feet without any reservation. After a dip in the holy water and getting the sacred ashes charged with the chanting of the potential pañchākshara mantra, he was led by his sister to the precincts of the shrine at Thiruvathigai, getting divine inspiration, spontaneously pouring out hymns in praise of Lord Śiva, who condescended to bestow grace on him, alleviating the stomach pain completely, and conferred on him the title **Nāvukkarasu**-literally meaning the king of tongue-which actually meant a sovereign among scholars (vide, Tirumuṟai, XII 21.74).

The hurdles-surmounted

The Pallava king was properly informed by the Jains about the happenings which ultimately led Appar to the fold of Saivism. Due to the instigation and ill advice of the fanatic Jain scholars, the king subjected Saint Appar to undergo a series of inhuman ordeals. The first punishment proclaimed by the royalty was placing Appar in a lime kiln continuously for seven days. A similar situation with some modification took place even in the life of Saint Sambandhar, when his holy residence at Madurai was set ablaze by the evil mindind Jains, who could not bear the visit of Sambandhar at the request of the Pandiya queen and the minister with the

sole purpose to eradicate and exterminate Jainism in the far south. As a retort to the evil deed of the malignant Jains, Saint Sambandhar commanded the fire to move to slowly embrace the body of the Pandya king, who was all responsible for allowing the Jains to do the extreme devilish activity. But in the case of St. Appar, the fire was put not to his residence but he was tortured mercilessly inside the lime kiln incessantly for a week. He never lost his patience. With courage and faith in the Absolute Lord Śiva, he remained calm and quite meditating on the sacred feet of Śiva that gave him unique solace and the pleasant spiritual experience, which has been compared to the sweet melody of faultless harp, the evening moon, the gentle breeze, the pleasant season, the cool-tank hummed by the honey-bees. Like Sambandhar he could have commanded the harsh fire to cling to the Pallava king who was instrumental for all the hardships that he underwent. If religion stands for toleration, then the attitude and outlook of Saint Appar stand supreme, forgetting and forgiving his jealous opponents. According to Thiruvalluvar, austerity consists in the forbearance and endurance of the pains, afflicted by others and in the avoidance of repeating and returning the same even to the worst enemies [261]. Actually the word Śramaṇa (=a Jaina) stands for one who bears all pains in order to protect others. This quality was ingrained in the very nature of the real ascetic St. Appar and that was why he never even thought of doing tit for tat.

Subsequently, the Pallava king without any hesitation was impelled by the jealous Jains to persecute St. Appar by making him consume the milk and rice mixed with poison, but in vain. It did not work in him who became the devotee of Lord Siva, who once consumed for the safety of all, the worst poison that emerged out in the milky ocean while churned by the Devas and Aśuras. Next the king sent an enraged elephant to kill him. To the amazement of all, the elephant left Appar free, but killed some of the Jains who were very anxious and particular in implementing the royal order.

Finally, he was tied up to a big stone casting him away into the furious sea. With the help of the utterance of the sacred pañchākshara, the stone served him to be a boat to cross the ocean, indicating that the Saint was capable by the grace of Śiva to sail the ocean of transmigration.

On witnessing the miraculous escape of St. Appar in all the tests and tortures, the stony heart of the Pallava king was melted and he realised

the greatness and spiritual supremacy of St. Appar. Consequently, he persecuted the evil Jains, destroyed their shrines and raised the temple for Śiva at Thiruvathigai utilising the stones and other materials of the Jain shrines at Pāṭaliputra, the modern Thiruppādirippuliyūr. **The conversion of the monarch from Jainism to Saivism earmarked a new era in the history of religion.** All the people followed the king by becoming members of Saivism. Thus the native religion was revived. The Pallava king under reference was in all probability Mahendra Varma I, who ruled at Kāñchi in the beginning of 7th Century A.D.

Some aspects of his spiritual life

After convincing the Pallava monarch about the greatness of Saivism, St. Appar undertook spiritual sojourns to various places all over Tamilnadu immortalising the venue of his visits by his bone-melting poems, inspiring the inhabitants to lead a life of purity and dedication. His reverence to St. Sambandhar was limitless. Similarly, the latter's regard to the former was spontaneous. Both of them had individually a group of followers to travel far and wide spreading the golden message of Śaivism, performing social service and practising what they have preached. In the system of Saivism, there were no barriers of caste and land. Sambandhar, being a brahmin never minimised the greatness of Appar, and out of intense affection he addressed him, 'Appar', a term of endearment denoting father. Apputhi Adigal of Thingaḷūr was also a brahmin by caste. His devotion to Appar was very intense that he named his sons and also the household articles which include the measures and weights and also the innumerable charitable buildings after Tirunavukkarasu. His devotion and respect increased when St. Appar revived the life of the elder son of St. Appūthi from the dire consequence of snake-bite. So also, St. Muruga nāyaṉār, another brahmin devotee was very much attached to St. Appar. *All of these accounts go to strengthen the fact that the upper class of the society was ready to receive the great people, though they were coming from the lowest strata. There was no ego of caste among the devotees. They felt that all were equal before the Supreme Lord.*

Next, let us examine the view of some scholars who opined that St. Appar after returning from Jainism to Saiva faith, got married and conducted family life with children. This is because of the references found in some of his hymns which run thus:

1. "பாலனாய்க் கழிந்த நாளும் பனிமலர்க் கோதை மார்தம்
மேலனாய்க் கழிந்த நாளும்..." (IV. 67.9)

2. "மக்களே மணந்த தாரம் அவ்வயிற் றவரை யோம்பும்
சிக்குளே யழுந்தி யீசன் திறம்படேன்.... (IV. 79.2)

3. தந்தையார்? தாயார்? உடன்பிறந்தார்? தாரம் ஆர்? புத்திரர் ஆர்?
தாம்தாம் யாரே?
வந்தவாறு எங்ஙனே? போமாறு யாதோ? மாயமாம் இதற்கேதும்
மகிழவேண்டா (VI. 93.10)

Neverthless, the above scholars never thought of the expressions in the devotional literature to be taken to represent and reflect the situation and condition of others. Due to the milk of human kindness, the hymnalogists pleaded and presented to the Almighty the lot of others to be their own. Among the four Saiva teachers, Appar and Manickavasagar were ascetics, never married as evidenced by sculptural representations and icons in which they appear with shaven heads, while other two, i.e. Sambandhar and Sundarar are with crown in their heads, indicating their position as householders.

In this context, it is to be borne in mind that the lady devotee Kāraikāl Ammaiyār has written a poem, as if it was composed by a male member. The poem under reference is the following:

நினையா(து) ஒழிதிகண் டாய்நெஞ்ச மேயிங்கோர் தஞ்சம் என்று
மனையா ளையும்மக்கள் தம்மையும் தேறியோர் ஆறுபுக்கு
நனையாச் சடைமுடி நம்பன்நந் தாதைநொந் தாதசெந்தீ
அனையான் அமரர் பிரான்அண்ட வாணன் அடித்தலமே
(vide, Tirumurai XI. 3.13)

It is essential to note that the woman saint was deserted by her husband, driven her to the life of a nun, totally dedicated to the Lord's service.

Sense of discriminetion is essential to apprehend the real import of the hymns. However the last line of this poem has echoes in Appar's pathigam on Thiruvaiyāṛu:

"

அளித்துப் பெருஞ்செல்வம் ஆக்கும் ஐயாறன் அடித்தலமே" (IV 92.7)

When we go deep into the details enshrined in many of Appar's hymns, we come across portions like the following to support the traditional view that he continued celebacy throughout his life both as a Jain and finally as a Saivite ascetic:

1. விளைவறி விலாமை யாலே............
தளையவிழ் கோதை நல்லார் தங்களோ டின்பம் துய்க்க
இளையனும் அல்லேன் எந்தாய் என்செய்வான் தோன்றி னேனே
(IV 78.9)

2. தனந்திருத்தும் அவர்திறத்தை ஒழியப் பாற்றித்
தயாமூலத் தன்மவழி எனக்கு நல்கி
மனந்திருத்தும் மழபாடி வயிரத் தூணே (VI. 40.6)

3. அருந்துணையை ———
வருந்துணையும் சுற்றமும் பற்றும் விட்டு,
வான்புலன்கள் அகத்தடக்கி மடவா ரோடும்
பொருந்தணைமேல் வரும்துணையைப் போக மாற்றி...... (VI. 1.5)

In one hymn, he mentions that the Lord appeared to him in the form of hismother, father and elder sister (IV. 94.1)

There are many more evidences in the entire corpus of his devotional poems to attest the fact that he remained always a stubborn celibate leading the life of austute ascetic.

The life of Appar is marked by the dedicated service to society and religion. *He is revolutionary in several respects. He stood against the caste system.* In one of his hymns he addresses the pseudo-religious people in a more powerful vein thus:

"சாத்தி ரம்பல பேசும் சழக்கர்காள்
கோத்திர மும்குல மும்கொண்டு என்செய்வீர்" (V 60.3)

He exposed the folly of claiming superiority due to one's ancestry and lineage, arising due to caste distinctions.

He is against superstitions. According to the Vedic people, a mere dip in the holy waters of Ganges and Kaviri would absolve the sins of the doers. Against this belief, Appar advises that there is no use of bathing in the holy rivers to remove one's sins. One has to fervently cling to the feet of Siva, chanting his sacred names. This does not mean that he was against

bathing, because it was not practiced in Jainism and one should not rush to conclude that he should have been influenced by his previous faith when he presented the above idea. There are sufficient poems which endorse the dip in the sacred waters to be a pre-requisite to perform the daily worship. For instance, "பெரும்புலர் காலை மூழ்கி" (IV.31.4) deserves special mention.

Service is the key-note of his entire life and it has been well expressed in the oft-quoted passage:

"என் கடன் பணி செய்து கிடப்பதே" (IV 19.9)
i.e. "My duty is to render service and remain quiet".

The weapon, borne always by Appar is known as Uzhavāram, i.e. hoe for weeding out the grass that shoot up in the pavements of the temple complex. It is a symbol of service. It had such a miraculous power like the charka in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi.

The age of Appar

So far we have seen the salient features of the spiritual life of St. Appar. Now let us proceed to say a few words about the chronology of Appar. All historians converge in their opinion that Appar was a contemporary of Sambandhar who converted Ni<u>nr</u>asīr Nedumā<u>r</u>a<u>n</u>, who won the battle at Nelveli. He lived in the middle of the 7th century A.D. The Pallava king, converted to Saivism by Appar has been accepted by all to be Mahendravarma I, who lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. According to C.V. Narayana Iyer, the epithet Rajasingam, used by St. Appar to denote Lord Siva (IV. 15.7) is a title for Rajasimha Pallava, who lived in the end of the 7th century A.D. and also beginning of the 8th century A.D. (vide, Saivism in South India, p. 389) So, it may be concluded that Appar lived for a very long span of life which according to the tradition is counted to be 81 years. One more point worth mentioning is that St. Appar should have been a contemporary of St. Manickavasagar also. The portion in his Thevāram,

"நரியைக் குதிரைசெய் வானும் நரகரைத் தேவுசெய் வானும்" (IV. 4.2)

indicates the miracle wrought by Śiva through the transformation of jackals into horses for the sake of Manickavasagar, frequently noted in the Tiruvasagam. Though Srinivasa Pillai and others mentioned that the above passage should be taken to note merely that Lord Siva was capable of

performing all sorts of miracles, it should be understood that Appar has mentioned this particular incident which is applicable only to the religious life of St. Manickavasagar. The reference in Thiruvasagam to Arikesari denotes the Pandya king Nedumāraṉ who was a contemporary of St. Sambandhar and St. Appar. Thus it is to be understood that all the three, Viz. Sambandhar, Appar and Manickavasagar lived in a period not very remote from one another. It may be considered that Manickavasagar was a younger contemporary to Appar. He continued to live even in the 8th century A.D. when Varaguna I ruled the Pandyan kingdom. The hypothesis that both Manickavasagar and Appar are not seperated by a vast period is supported by the parallel ideas, lines etc. found in their poems. Some of them are given hereunder:

1. "சொற்பாவும் பொருள்தெரிந்து தூய்மை நோக்கித்
தூங்காதார் மனத்திருளை வாங்கா தானை" (VI 67.2)
"சொல்லிய பாட்டின் பொருளுணர்ந்து சொல்லுவார் செல்வர்"
(VIII 1. 93-4)

2. "நாமார்க்கும் குடியல்லோம் நமனை யஞ்சோம்" (VI 98.1)
"யாமார்க்கும் குடியல்லோம் யாது மஞ்சோம்" (VIII 5.30)

3. "எங்கெழிலென் ஞாயிறு எளியோம் அல்லோம்" (VI 95.2)
"எங்கெழிலென் ஞாயிறு எமக்கேலோர் எம்பாவாய்" (VIII. 7.19)

4. "சென்றுநாம் சிறுதெய்வம் சேர்வோம் அல்லோம்" (VI 98.5)
"எச்சத்தார் சிறுதெய்வம் ஏத்தாதே" (VIII 38.4)

5. "வேண்டுவார் வேண்டுவதே ஈவன் கண்டாய்" (VI 23.1)
"வேண்ட முழுதும் தருவோய் நீ" (VIII 38.4)

Further, there is similarity in the tone and texture, the structure and substance of their devotional lyrics. It is heartening to note that Sekkizhar named the hymns of Appar as *"Tiruvāsagam"*, actually the title of the work of Manickavasagar, in the following passage:

"எய்துற்ற தியானம் அறா உணர்வும் ஈறின்றி எழும் திருவாசகமும்
கையில் திகழும் உழவாரமுடன் கைக்கொண்டு கலந்து கசிந்தனரே."
(XII 21.77)

According to the specialists, Saint Sundarar lived in the beginning of 8th century A.D. His contemporary king was Rajasimha Pallava.

Though there are striking parallels of phrases, proverbs etc., in the poems of Sundarar and Manickavasagar, the reason for the omission of the latter in the திருத்தொண்டத் தொகை is beyond the cognition of the present author. Perhaps if the occurrence "அடியவர் தொகை" in the Tiruvasagam (44.1) refers to "திருத்தொண்டத் தொகை" of Saint Sundarar, it may be concluded that Manickavasagar lived a little later of him. Hence, it may be resolved that Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar and Manickavasagar lived within a period of 100 years or so. They are not separated very much from one another in point of time.

However, one should not forget the impact of Jainism on Appar's Devaram. A few instances are enough. In two contexts he mentions about 'தயா மூல தன்மம்" (VI 20.6; 40.6) which means that mercy is the root of all charities. This concept occupies a supreme place in Jainism.

Even before the advent of Vaiṣesika system, the Ajivakas and the Jains paid much attention on the study of atoms. *The Jains advocated that all substances are made up of atomic particles. Because of the impact of Jainism, Saint Appar mentioned in one hymn that the fruitioned melodies are the outcome of the combination of subtle atoms* [vide, Tirumuṟai 6.26.6.]. Even the Jain Tamil grammarian Pavananti defined a phoneme to be the product of atomic combination [Nannul, Sutra 1]

Saint Appar stressed on the ethical preparation for the attainment of eternal bliss. He discarded the self indulgence. According to him, the sensuous pleasure is just like the temporal happiness of a tortoise, put in the cooking vessel. When the water is tolerably warm, it sports in it and if the water is horribly boiled, it undergoes untold agony ending in its death. So also, the people under the influence of five sense organs indulge in worldly joy, finally ruining themselves [Ibid. 4.79.6]. *It seems that Saint Appar has studied the Jain ethical work Naladiyar [34.1] when he was in Jainism.* Though some poems denoting the Mutharaiyas are deemed to be interpolated in this anthology in the course of time [A.D.700] *the main text seems to be a product of Vajranandi's Dramila Sangam, flourished at Madurai in the 5th century A.D.* The Saiva Saint also refers to another Jain ethical text, *Nariviruttam* [Ibid. 4.27.5; 5.100.7]

The usage "அருங்கலம்" is peculiarly found in Appar's poems (IV. 11.2, 5) அருங்கலச்செப்பு, யாப்பருங்கலம் etc. are the works of Jain scholars.

One of the sects of Jain bears the title அருங்கலான்வயம். According to the Jain tradition, Appandanathar is the name of the Jain Thirthankara who bestowed grace on Appar, and hence the name. There are some Jain devotional poems attributed to Appar, but they are dubious and spurious.

Conclusion

Anyhow, Appar as a reformer and religious savant has been held in high esteem. His poems are the best documents to understand the spirit and message of the noble soul. They are relevant even to the modern period. His thoughts continue to remain as a source of inspiration for all those interested in the welfare of the society at large.

They are also the best specimens of devotional lyrics, possessing literary beauties, descriptions of nature, delineation of human values and noble sentiments. Saint Appar has also contributed much to the Tamil literary genres, metrics and rhetorics, deserving for a separate study.

SOME EXPERIENCES IN TRANSLATING SUNDARAR'S HYMNS

Sundarar was the third among the trio of Devāram hymnists. He thrived in the last decade of the 7th and early part of the 8th centuries. A.D. The Vanguards of Bhakti movement, Thiruñāna sambandhar and Tirunāvukkaracar were his mentors and spiritual guides. Following their footsteps, he visited most of the shrines, hollowed by their hymns and composed the devotional lyrics in different metres and melodies. He has also celebrated some new temples, which came into existence perhaps in his life time. He too wrought many a miracle and his utterances were believed to have divinity, supernatural potency and efficacy. Though tradition holds that he has composed 38,000 hymns, at present only 1026 hymns, subsumed under 100 decades are available. Their structure and texture widely differ from those of the empirical and hedonistic poems of Sangam period.

It is pertinent to record that the present author has translated in English all the hymns of Saint Sundarar which formed the Seventh Tirumuṟai. The first part of the rendition comprising the first fifty **patigams** has been published by the Institute of Asian Studies on 25.12.1999. The second part, consisting of the next 50 decads is yet to be published.

Translating the hymns of Sundarar into English is not an easy job. A close study of the entire corpus of the Tirumuṟai classics is a prerequisite. Sufficient knowledge in Śaiva Agama tradition, music, dance, sculpture and temple architecture is essential. A basic knowledge in the social, political, literary and cultural history of the period of Sundarar is needed. Since he refers to the heterodox systems, especially Jainism and Buddhism the translator is required to have a comprehensive understanding of these systems. The Devāram hymns do not have adequate parallels in English literature and hence, the translator can rarely get models in the target language. The metrics of the source language and that of the target language belong to different stocks and cultures. Hence the translator has to render the original in a form, which, though does not conform to the canons of English versification, should resemble some way or other a poetical form, distinguishing itself from the structure of a prose. However,

the translator should have good knowledge in English, especially in the vocabulary and essentials of grammar.

In the process of translation, one line in the original may be expanded more than that limit. In some contexts, even the lengthy sentences and phrases may be shortened, if there is no difficulty in the elegant communication of the original. Some traditions, idioms, proverbs, rhetorics, beliefs and the like can not be easily translated. The translator should not be expected to render the original in one to one correspondence. Some myths, legends, faiths, customs and manners, enshrined in the source language may not be adequately and artistically presented into the target language. In such contexts, detailed notes should be furnished for the easy grasp of the readers. In the hymns of Sundarar, there are many anecdotes, associated with his personal life. The translator is required to elucidate them, also in the light of the hagiology, as preserved by Sekkizhar in his immortal narrative Tiru-t-toṇṭar purāṇam. Most of the decads have a dominant refrain, normally occurrng at the end of each hymns. It is essential that the English rendition should project the burden in an uniform structure of all the hymns of the concerned decad.

In translating the devotional lyrics of Sundarar, proper methodology is to be uniformly adopted. First and foremost the historical, social and religious background of the composition of the poems and the greatness of the sacred place, celebrated by him are to be projected. Next, the original text, followed by a paraphrase in Tamil should be presented. Then, the original hymn is to be transliterated. After that, a free rendition in English is to be done. The translation should be made in intelligible language. Explication of the structure, substance, rare thoughts, aesthetical aspects etc., of the Tamil hymns is a necessity. Any historical or inscriptional information if necessary may be provided in the course of elucidation. Similar thoughts, embalmed in the classics of the ancient, contemporary and subsequent periods may be quoted.

In this paper, some specimens adopting the aforesaid methodology are furnished. Initially the first sacred place, solemnized by Sundarar and the rendition of the first hymn along with the particulars, noted above are presented.

1. Tiruveṇṇeynallūr

This is the first sthala, hallowed only by the hymns of Ārūraṛ, popularly known as Suntarar. It is situtated on the Viluppuram -

Tiruchirappalli railway line. The spiritual sojourn of Suntarar commences from this talam. Not having known of his ancestral servitude to Lord Śiva, the youthful Ārūrar ridiculed the claim of Śiva in the guise of an aged Antaṇar and vehemently argued that it was against the custom and convention of Antaṇar (-Ādiśaivar), becoming a slave to another Antaṇar and even dared to call the Lord a madman (Pittaṉ), for he alone would make such an unconventional claim. Finally, the disguised Lord convinced the Assembly of Antaṇars His claim, by producing the original document written in palmyra leaf by the grandfather of Ārūrar, who was also a born servant to the Lord. Accepting the claim of the Lord, when the elders enquired about His whereabouts, He conducted them including Ārūrar, on the path, leading to the shrine Aruṭṭuṟai at Tiruveṇṇeynallūr. To the wonder of all, He disappeared to appear again on the Bull mount along with His consort Umadevi above the sanctum - sanctorum of Aruṭṭuṟai and demanded Ārūrar to sing His glory. He was in utter dismay and also delight. He did not know how to sing. He pleaded for His grace. Since Ārūrar chided him 'pittaṉ' during the heated exchange of words before the Assembly of Antaṇars, the Lord initiated the same word *'Pittā;* to commence his hymns. Thus, Ārūrar with the divine grace started to sing the glory of Śiva in this Patikam of Tiruveṇṇeynallūr, forming the first decad of Seventh Tirumuṟai.

Tiruveṇṇeynallūr belongs to Naṭunāṭu, i.e. the central country, lying between the Coladeśa and Pallavadeśa. It is the name of the sthala and the shrine is known as Tiru-v-aruṭṭuṟai, i.e. the abode of sacredness and grace. The Lord of the shrine is called Taṭuttāṭkontanātar and his consort, Vēṟkaṇṇināyaki alias Maṅkaḷāmpikai. Since the sthala is on the sourthern bank of the River Peṇṇai, (-now it is known as Peṇṇāṟu), it becomes the holy water (tīrttam) to the temple.

The temple has many inscriptions, right from the times of Rajaraja I down to the days of Sambuvarāyas. According to them, the Lord is named "Tiru-v-aruṭṭuṟai ālvār", Āṭkoṇṭa tevar and "Taṭuttaṭkoṇṭa tēvar". The epigraphs of Kulotunga II denote Arurar by the name "Āḷuṭaiya nampi", and they disclose the fact that in the precincts of the temple, a separate shrine near the temple tank, was constructed for Arurar and his two wives, Paravai and Caṅkili.

The sacred trumpet, usually blown during the time of the temple worship is noted as "Piccaṉ eṉṟu pāṭa-c-coṉṉaṉ tiru-c-ciṉṉam", i.e. Tirucciṉṉam (-holy trumpet) of Him who asked (Arurar) to sing Him as

Piccaṉ, The word 'piccaṉ' is the palatalized form of the original word 'Pittaṉ'. Just like attaṉ becoming accaṉ, the word pittan has become piccaṉ in people's usage, as engraved in the temple inscription. However, the word piccaṉ occurs also in Tiruvācakam (6.49) in the same sense.

A particular street, hall and village are named after Ārūrar to commemorate the singnificant events, associated with his spiritual life. Many inscriptions refer to the endowments and donations made by the devotees of different categories to the daily and special worships of the temple. It is intereesting to note that during the reign of Rajendra I, Tiruveṇṇeynallūr belonged to Rajendracōla vaḷanātu and of Rajatiraja II, beolonged to Rajārāja vaḷanāṭu and to Tirumuṉai-ppāti Tiruveṇṇeynallūr, nāṭu. It was named as 'Piramatēyam Tiruveṇṇeynallūr'.

1. **திருவெண்ணெய்நல்லூர்** **பண் : இந்தளம்**

மூலம் : 1

பித்தாபிறை சூடிபெரு மானேயரு ளாளா
எத்தான்மற வாதேநினைக் கின்றேன்மனத் துன்னை
வைத்தாய்பெண்ணைத் தென்பால்வெண்ணெய் நல்லூரருட் டுறையுள்
அத்தாஉனக் காளாய்இனி அல்லேனென லாமே.

பொழிப்புரை :

உயிர்களிடத்துப் பித்துடையவனே! பிறையை முடியில் சூடியவனே! பெருமைமிக்க தலைவனே! அருளுருவமானவனே! பெண்ணையாற்றின் தென்கரையில் உள்ள திருவெண்ணெய்நல்லூரில் விளங்கும் 'அருட்டுறை' என்னும் திருக்கோயிலில் எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் தந்தையே! என் நெஞ்சத்துள் உன்னை வைத்தருளினாய், ஆதலின், எவ்வகையானும் உன்னை மறவாமல் தியானிக்கிறேன். உனக்கு அடிமையாகிய பின்னர் அதனை இப்பொழுது மறுத்துரைத்தல் இயலுமோ?

1. **Tiruveṇṇeynallūr** **Pan : Intaḷam**

Turansliteration :

Pittāpiṟai Cūṭiperu māṉē-y-aruḷ āḷā
ettāṉmaṟa vātēniṉaik kiṉṟēṉmaṉat tuṉṉai
vaitāypeṇṇai-t-teṉpālveṇṇai nallūraruṭ ṭuṟaiyuḷ
attāuṉak kāḷāyiṉi allēṉeṉal āmē.

Translation :

Pittā! Oh the wearer of crescent (on head)
My Lord, the Embodiment of Grace!
Anyway without ever forgetting, I think of you!
In my mind you put yourself,
Oh Father! of Aruṭṭurai of Veṇṇainallur
On the southern bank of Peṇṇai,
After having become Thy slave
Can I deny it hereafter?

Notes :

1. This patikam is the first decad, sung by Ārūrar. It portrays the mystical experience of Arurar and the relationship between him and the Lord.

2. This patikam has been written in Grantha letters and recited in the royal festivals of Tailand, indicating the spread of Saiva Tamil hymns in the Far East, perhaps due to the territorial expansion of the Imperial Colas and cultural contacts with South East Asia.*

3. According to tradition, preserved in Periyapurāṇam, the Lord Himself reminded Ārūrar, the word 'Pitta,' to comence the hymn. (for further details, see the Life-sketch of Ārūrar). Since Ārūrar has glorified in many hymns Tiruñāṉacampantar and Tirunāvukkaracar to be his predecessors and spiritual mentors whose hymns pleased the Lord very much, it is quite possible that he should have been inspired by the phrase, *"pittā piṟaicūti"*, found in one of the hymns of Tiruñāṉacampantar (1.89.3), and used it in the beginning of his first hymn.

4. The word Pittaṉ literally means a mad man. Here, the word 'pittu' denoted the boundless love and limitless compassion of the Almighty and hence, He is addressed as Pittaṉ, i.e. One who has pittu towards the souls. It actually denoted the motherly affection to the children.

5. The Lord adorns His head with crescent moon. According to the myth, Daksha cursed the moon to become extinct for the latter's utter

* Singaravelu, S. "**Some Aspects of South Indian Cultural Contacts with Tailand: Historical Background**", vide, Proceedings of the First International Conference - Seminar of Tamil Studies, Vol. I, Kualalumpur, Malaysia, April 1966, p.21-4

negligence to all the former's daughters except Rohini who were given in marriage to him (-moon). The moon finally found shelter at the holy feet of Lord Siva who graciously put the waning moon on His head, offering protection from further emaciation, demonstrating His act of anugraha (-bestowal of grace) and getting the epithet "Candraśekhara".

6. The phrase *"maṉattuṉṉai vaittāy"* indicates the Lord's complacence to condescend Himself for showering His grace by making Ārūrar realise His presence in his consciousness.

7. Ārūrar was ever in the divine service of Lord. But due to his forgetfulness, he was initially unable to recognise the Lord in the form of an old Antaṇar to be his Master. Nevertheless, when he was reminded of his servitude and blessed with the Lord's presence, he languishes for his folly, repents very much and delights at the bestowal of grace, prompting him to pour out splendid hymns, revealing his mystical experience.

8. The word 'attā' is the vocative form of attaṉ, which has the alternant form accaṉ in Tiruvācakam (33.2). It denotes father. Here, Ārūrar takes the Lord to be the Father (of all beings). According to Śaiva Siddhanta, the Lord has two roles. As a father, He corrects the erring souls and as a Mother, He bestows grace on them. They denote respectively the Law aspect and Love aspect of the Lord. Elsewhere in the same patikam, Arurar addresses Him as the Mother.

Tirunelvāyil Aṟatturai

It is one of the sthalas in Naṭunāṭu. It exists seven kilometres away to the South-West of Peṇṇākaṭam, another sthala of the same region, existing on the Tiruchi-Viluppuram railway line. It is situated on the banks of River Nivavu, which is now called Vellāṟu, irrigating some portion of South Arcot district. The Lord of the shrine is known as Aratturai nātar and His consort as Ānandanāyaki. The river itself is deemed to be the sacred tirttam. Ārūrar refers to the Lord as Nirmalaṉ and the Goddess as Vaṇṭār kuḻalāḷ. All the three hymnists of Tevāram have celebrated the shrine (II-90; V-3; VII-3)

The Lord of this temple offered Tiruñāṉacampantar through the antaṇars of the sthala the palanquin, umbrella and trumpet, all bedecked with pearls for his comfortable and dignified sojourn to various sthalas. Extolling such grace of Siva, he has sung eleven hymns (II-90 : I-11) in which the Lord is known as *"Aratturai Aṭikaḷ"*. The last two lines of

each hymn decribe the fast rushing River Niva and the sthala on its bank. The refrain, *nelvāyil aratturai atikaḷtam aruḷē'* is quite interesting. The first two lines of all hymns indicate that the Lord's grace is definite to the sincere devotees. He chides the heretics and atheists as citaṭar (II.90.2) and pāvikaḷ (II.90.3,10), which respectively mean the inbecile and sinners. In the last hymn, he asures salvation through the recital of the ten hymns of this decad.

The hymns of Tirunāvukkaracar are ten in number and beautifully structured (V.3. I-10). The refrain ".....kanṭīr nām toḻuvatē" occurs in the last line of each hymn preceded by the varied epithets and appelllatives, associaed with Śiva in the second case, thus connecting the refrain to mean that "Please see, we worship the Lord with such attributes" in all the ten hymns. Since it was not customary with this saint to pronounce the fruits of the recital of the decad, in this patikam also there is no such mention.

Ārūrar, after visiting the shrines in Tontainātu on his return journey to Tiruvārūr, pays homage to this shrine entreating the Lord to show the means of escape from the trammels of life and with an implication to regain the sight of his right eye.

திருநெல்வாயில் அரத்துறை **பண் : இந்தளம்**

மூலம் : *22*

கல்வாய்அகி லும் கதிர் மாமணியும்
கலந்துந்தி வரும்நிவ வின்கரைமேல்
நெல்வாயில் அரத்துறை நீடுறையும்
நிலவெண்மதி சூடிய நின்மலனே
நல்வாயில்செய் தார்நடந் தார்உடுத்தார்
நரைத்தார்இறந் தார்என்று நானிலத்தில்
சொல்லாய்க்கழி கின்ற தறிந்தடியேன்
தொடர்ந்தேன்உய்யப்போவதொர் சூழல்சொல்லே.

பொழிப்புரை :

மலையில் உள்ள அகில் மரங்களையும் ஒளிவீசும் பெரிய மணிக்கற்களையும் சேர்த்து அடித்துக்கொண்டு வரும் நிவா ஆற்றின் கரைமேல் உள்ள திருநெல்வாயில் என்னும் தலத்தில் அரத்துறை என்ற கோயிலில் எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும், இயல்பாகவே மலம் அற்றவனே! தண்ணொளி பொழியும் பிறைமதி சூடியவனே! உலகில் பிறந்தோர் அனைவரும் மணந்துகொண்டு இல்லறம் செய்தார்: (பல பணிகள் கருதி அங்கும்

இங்கும்) நடந்து சென்றார்; (நன்றாக) உடுத்திக் கொண்டார்; பின்னர் (முதுமையால்) தலை நரைத்தார்; இறந்துவிட்டார் - என்பதுவே உலக நடை முறையாகக் கழிவது கருதி உன்னைத் தொடர்ந்தேன். (இத்தகைய சராசரி நடைமுறையினின்றும் பிழைத்து) அடியேன் உய்தி பெறுவதற்குரிய வழிவகையினை வழங்கியருள்வாய்.

Tirunelvāyil aratturai **Pan : Intaḷam**

Transliteration :

kalvāyaki lumkatir māmaṇiyum
  kalantunti varumniva viṉkaraimēl
nelvāyil aratturai nīṭuṟaiyum
  nilaveṇmati cūṭiya niṉmalaṉē
nalvāyilcey tārnaṭan tāruṭuttār
  naraitāriṟan tāreṉṟu nāṉilattil
collāykkaḻi kiṉṟa taṟintaṭiyēn
  toṭarntēṉuyya-p-pōvatōr cūḻalcollē.

Translation :

Oh Immaculate One, bedecked with crescent white
Abideth long at Aratturai of Nelvāyil,
On the bank of Nivā, rushing and phushing forth
The Akil trees, green gems radiant with light-
All mingled together, from their source of hills;
On realisation of the evanescent human life,
Marked by the phases of marriage, pomp and show
Through their walking, dressing and becoming grey
To come to an end on this land fourfold!
Thus goes the adage that I know
Hence I followed Thee (Oh my Lord!)
Tell me, Thy servitor the expedient of escape.

Notes :

1. Nelvāyil is the name of the sthala and Aratturai, the name of the shrine. In the first decade, the shrine at Veṇṇeynallūr is noted as Arutturai (Aruḷ+turai). Turai literally means ford. One who crossed the ocean of birth reaches the Lord's feet, being the shore, described as Aruḷturai i.e. Lord's grace.

2. By nature, the Lord is free from impurities and hence He is praised as Ninmalaṉ (Nir+mala) in the second line. Only He who is bereft of all blemishes can remove the defects of others. That could be done only by God.

3. In the third line, a graphic picture of routine life is drawn in tersy and pithy words. The finite verbs ceytār, naṭantār, uṭuttār, naraittār and i̱rantār are enough to portray the activities of mortal being. According to the commentator, ceytār is prefixed with/il/and hence 'ilceytār' denotes those who performed house-hold life. 'Naṭantār' indicated his movements in the world. Uṭuttār literally means those who donned with attires, but in its extension refers to those who beautified their body with all embellishments. Naraittār denotes those, whose hair become gray, a sign of old age. The dawn of grey hair is one of the messengers of Death and hence, in sequence the world 'i̱rantār' - 'They were dead' is used to denote the ephemerality of earthly existence. Ārūrar entreates the Lord to show a way to escape from mortality.

4. There is a structural beauty in this hymn. The first line describes the natural background of the shrine. The second line is an address to the Lord, made by the devotee. The third line delineates the ephemeral nature of earthly existence. The final line is the request to the Lord to get some means for escape from the temporal life.

5. *Each line is so structured as to possess 23 letters, discrediting the consonants in accordance with the metrics of medieval prosody.*

6. It is essential to note that almost all the hymns of this decade preserved the aforesaid structural embellishment and metrical perfection, leave alone the musical excellence.

மூலம் : *24*

புற்றாடர வம்அரை ஆர்த்துகந்தாய்
புனிதாபொரு வெள்விடை ஊர்தியினாய்
எற்றேஒரு கண்ணிலன் நின்னையல்லால்
நெல்வாயில் அரத்துறை நின்மலனே
மற்றேல்ஒரு பற்றிலன் எம்பெருமான்
வண்டார்குழ லாள்மங்கை பங்கினனே
அற்றார்பிற விக்கடல் நீந்தியேறி
அடியேன்உய்யப் போவதொர் சூழல்சொல்லே.

பொழிப்புரை :

திருநெல்வாயில் என்னும் தலத்தில் அரத்துறை என்ற கோயிலில் எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும், இயல்பாகவே மலம் அற்றவனே! புற்றில் ஆடும் பாம்பினைஅரையில் விரும்பிக் கட்டியவனே! புனிதனே! போர் புரியும் வெள்ளிய காளையை ஊர்தியாகக் கொண்டவனே! இரங்கத்தக்க நிலையில் ஒரு கண்

இழந்தவனாய் உள்ளேன். உன்னைத் தவிரப்பிறிதொரு பற்றுக்கோடு இல்லாதவன், எம்பெருமானே! வண்டு மொய்க்கும் கூந்தலையுடைய மங்கையாகிய உமையினை ஒரு பாகத்தில் கொண்டுள்ளவனே! இறப்பைத் தரும் பிறப்பெனும் பெருங்கடலைக் கடந்து வெளியேறிப் பிழைத்து, அடியேன் உய்தி பெறுவதற்குரிய வழிவகையினை வழங்கியருள்வாய்.

Transliteration :

purrāṭara vamarai ārttukantāy
  puṉitāporu veḷviṭai ūrtiyiṉāy
erreoru kaṇṇilaṉ niṉṉai-y-allāl
  nelvāyil aratturai niṉmalaṉē
marrēloru parrilaṉ emperumāṉ
  vaṇṭārkuḷa lāḷmaṅkai paṅkiṉaṉē
arrārpira vi-k-kaṭal nīnti-y-ēri
  aṭiyēṉuyy-p-pōvatōr cūḻalcollē.

Translation :

Oh Immaculate One of Aratturai of Nelvāyil!
Donned Thy waist willingly with girdle-serpent,
Dancing in the ant-hill! Oh the Pure!
Oh the Rider of the ferocious bull white,
What alas! deficient am I with one eye
My Lord! no support have I, except Thee
Oh the Possessor in Thy part, Lady with bee-humming tresses
To swim over the ocean of endless birth
Tell me, Thy servitor the expedient of escape.

Notes :

1. The eyes are the windows of the soul. But, Ārūrar lost his eyesight completely when he left his second wife, Caṅkiliyār at Tiru-v-orriyūr, breaking the promise of not leaving her, being the primary stipulation of their wedding. When he reached Kāñchi and invoked the blessings of Ēkāmranāta, he regained the left eye-sight, Now, at Tirunelvāyil Aratturai he submits before the Lord in order to get the restoration of another eye. In this way, "Oru kaṇ-ṇ-ilaṉ" is also interpreted. But, the word kaṇ' has also the sense of support. Hence, "niṉṉai-y-allal orukaṇṇilaṉ" is construed to mean that "apart from you, I do not have any support". Here, the twofold meanings are apt to comprehand Arurar's plight.

2. The last line is reminiscent of the last couplet of the first chapter of Tirukkural.

மூலம் : 25

கோஒடுயர் கோங்கலர் வேங்கையலர்
  மிகவுந்தி வரும்நிவ வின் கரைமேல்
நீஇடுயர் சோலைநெல் வாயில்அரத்
  துறைநின்மல னேநினை வார்மனத்தாய்
ஓஒடுபு னற்கரை யாம் இளமை
  உறங்கிவ்விழித் தாலொக்கும் இப்பிறவி
வாஅடியிருந்துவருந் தல்செய்யா(து)
  அடியேன்உய்யப் போவதொர் சூழல்சொல்லே.

பொழிப்புரை :

உயர்ந்த கிளைகளை உடைய கோங்கமரத்தின் பூக்களையும், வேங்கை மரத்தின் பூக்களையும் பெருமளவில் ஏந்திவரும் நிவா ஆற்றின் கரைமேல் உள்ள திருநெல்வாயில் என்னும் தலத்தில் அரத்துறை என்ற கோயிலில் எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும். இயல்பாகவே மலம் அற்றவனே! உன்னைத் தியானிப்பவரின் மனத்தில் வெளிப்படுவாய். இளமை என்பது ஓடுகின்ற நீரின் கரையைப் போன்றது. இப்பிறவி என்பது உறங்கியபின் விழித்தல் போன்றது. ஆதலின், நிலையாமை கருதி வாடி வருந்தாமல், அடியேன் பிழைத்து உய்திபெறுவதற்குரிய வழிவகையினை வழங்கியருள்வாய்.

Transliteration :

kōoṭuyar kōṅkalar vēṅkai-y-alar
  mika-v-unti varumniva viṉkaraimēl
nīiṭuyar cōlainel vāyil arat
  turaininmala ṉēniṉai vārmaṉattāy
ōoṭupu ṉaṟkarai yāmiḷamai
  uṟaṅki-viḻit tālokkum ippiṟavi
vāaṭiyi runtuvaruṉ talceyyā(tu)
  aṭiyēṉuyya-p-pōvatōr cūḻalcollē. 4

Translation :

Oh immaculate One of Aratturai of Nelvāyil,
Flourished with the groves, long and lofty,
On the bank of Nivā, pushing forth the flowers plenty
Of the branches of Koṅku and Vēṅkai;
Thou art in the heart of Thy meditators!
Youthfulness likens the bank of running water,

This birth likens the waking up from slumber
Allow not me to pine and suffer
Tell me, Thy servitor the expedient of escape.

Notes :

1. In the first line the trees Kōṅku and Vēṅkai, respectively known as hopea nightiana and pterocarpus marsupium, are noted. They are abundant in the hills. The ferocious water of Nivā river thrashing those trees rushes to the delta land where Tirunelvāyil exists.

2. God always abides in the hearts of those who meditate on Him. This is conveyed in the second line.

3. The sense of impermanence is dominant in Ārūraṟ's mind. In his own life he has experienced that his youthfulness is slowly waning. Hence, he compares it to the bank, affected by the running water. In religious poetry, the realisation of evanescence is fequently noted, just to remind the necessity of ethical preparation to attain eternal beautitude.

4. The metaphor, that birth is the awakening and death is sleep noted in the Tirukkuṟaḷ (339) is partially reproduced in the third line. It seems to be a common metaphor in European literatures also. Some quotations follow:

1. "Death or asleep? I see no blood, no wound"
   -vide, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act, II, Scene II, line 101

2. . . . our little life is rounded with a sleep
   -vide, The Tempest, Act IV, Scane I, lines 157-8.

The following decade (33) was composed by Ārūrar, alias Sundarar during his stay at Tiruvārūr in the company of Paravaiyār, having collected the golden treasure from the temple lotus tank, originally gifted by the Lord of Tirumutukuṉṟam and placed by the devoted into the Maṇimuthāṟu river.

மூலம் : 338

நமனை நந்தியும் கருமவீரனும்
தருமசேனனும் என்றிவர்
குமணன் மாமலைக் குன்று போல்நின்று
தங்கள் கூறையொன்(று) இன்றியே

ஞமண ஞாஞண ஞாண ஞோணம்என்(று)
ஓதி யாரையும் நாணிலா
அமண ரால்பழிப் புடைய ரோநமக்(கு)
அடிகள் ஆகிய அடிகளே.

பொழிப்புரை :

(அன்பர்களே) நமக்குத் தலைவராய் உள்ள பெருமான், குமணனின் பெரிய மலையில் உள்ள சிறு குன்றுபோல ஆடை இலராய் நின்று கொண்டு, 'ஞமணம், ஞாஞணம், ஞாணம், ஞோணம்' என்று தம் மந்திரங்களை ஓதிக்கொண்டு, நமணநந்தி, கருமவீரன், தருமசேனன் என்றின்னோரன்ன பெயர்களையுடைய வெட்கம் இல்லாத சமணர்களால் பழிக்கப்படுதலை உடையவரோ? (கூறுங்கள்).

Transliteration :

namaṇa nantiyaum karuma vīraṉum
taruma cēṉaṉum eṉṟivar
kumaṇaṉ māmalai-k-kuṉṟu pōlniṉṟu
taṅkaḷ kūṟai-y-oṉ (ṟu) iṉṟiyē
ñamaṇa ñāñaṇa ñāṇa ñōṇameṉ(ṟu)
ōti yāraiyum nāṇilā
amaṇa rālpaḻip(pu) uṭaiya rōnamak(ku)
aṭikaḷ ākiya aṭikaḷē.

Translation :

(Oh devotees!)

Is our Lord, the great Master
Reviled by the unclad Jains
Namanaṇanti, Karmavīra, Dharmasena and the like
Standing shameless like the boulders of
Kumaṇa's big rock, muttering mantras like
Ñamaṇa ñāñana ñāṇa ñōṇam.
[Pray, tell me].

Notes :

1. In Jainism, there are four prominent groups of ascetics, viz., Nandigana, Senagaṇa, Simha gaṇa and Devagana. Except the third, the ascetics of the remaining three gaṇas are noted in this hymn. Tiruñānacampantar mentioned Cantucēṉaṉ, Intucēṉaṉ, Tarumacēṉaṉ,

Kantucēṉaṉ and Kaṉakacēṉaṉ and riduculed their language and also personality [vide, III 39.4]. In a subsequent hymn, he referred to Kaṉakananti, Puṭpananti, Pavaṉa nantii, Kumaṇamā cuṉaka nanti, Kuṉaka nanti, Tivaṉa nanti and others [III 39.6)

2. Ārūrar ridicules the hypocricy of the Jain monks who professed starvation but looked like hillocks, indicating their eating habit in the night time.

3. Kumaṇa, the last philanthropist and chieftain of Sangam period is noted. His hill is known as *Mutiram*. [Puram, 158.25]

4. The thid line is a subtle attack on the Jain mantras, with full of nasal sounds. Also vide, *Tirumuṟais* III 39.7 and V 58.2.

5. The decade gets the title, after the recurring refrain occurring at the end of each hymn, *"namakku aṭikaḷ ākiya aṭikaḷ"*, in conformy with the classical literary Tamil tradition.

The following hymn belongs to the 34th Pathigam, composed at Tiruppukalūr. The Lord made a miracle of converting the burnt bricks [upon which Ārūrar placed his head and slept well] into lumps of gold which tempted the devotee-cum-poet, exhorting his fellow - poets not to panegarize the human mortals, but to praise the Supreme Lord.

மூலம் : 341

மிடுக்கி லாதானை வீம னேவிறல்
விசய னேவில்லுக்(கு) இவன்என்று
கொடுக்கிலா தானைப் பாரி யேஎன்று
கூறி னும்கொடுப் பார்இலை
பொடிக்கொள் மேனிஎம் புண்ணி யன்புக
லூரைப் பாடுமின் புலவீர்காள்
அடுக்கு மேல்அம ருலகம் ஆள்வதற்(கு)
யாதும் ஐயுற வில்லையே.

பொழிப்புரை :

புலவர்களே! வலிமையும் வீரமும் இல்லாதவனை மற்போரில் வீமனையே ஒப்பவன் என்றும் விற்போரில் அருச்சுனனை ஒப்பவன் என்றும், கொடுக்காத ஒருவனைப் பாரியைப் போன்ற வள்ளல் என்றும் இல்லது சொல்லிப் புனைந்து பாடினும்

கொடுப்பவர் ஒருவரும் இலர். எனவே, திருநீறு பூசிய மேனியனாகிய எம் புண்ணியன் ஆகிய சிவபிரானின் திருப்புகலூரைப் புகழ்ந்து பாடுங்கள். அதன்பயனாய், பல அடுக்குகளுக்கு மேல் உள்ள அமரர் உலகை ஆட்சி பெறுதற்குச் சிறிதும் ஐயம் இல்லை.

Transliteration :

mitukki lātānai vīma nēviral
  vicaya nēvilluk(ku)ivanenru
kotukki lātānai-p-pāri yēenru
  kūri numkotup pārilai
potikkol mēniem punni yanpuka
  lūrai-p-pātumin pulavīrkāl
atukku mēlama rulakam ālvatar(ku)
  yātum aiyura villaiyē. 2

Translation :

Oh, my fellow-poets!
Even if you praise a weakling
To be the prowess Bhima,
And in archery, he is the strong Vijaya,
Even if you adore a miser
As one excels in gift like Pāri,
There is none to give.
Come forth and sing Pukalūr of the virutous Lord,
Daubed His body with dusts,
Who will make you rule the Heaven
Above the tiers of many a world.
Of this there is not even a little doubt.

Notes:

1. The great epic heroes Bhima and Arujana (-Vijaya) are made comparision to the unworthy and meak persons, just because they were rich, expecting to get some financial help from them. That was the continued state of affairs among the poets, during the times of Ārūrar.

2. Pāri was the famed philanthropist of Sangam period and his unbelievable gift of his royal chariot to the crawling jasmine creeper, as its prop to prosper. Kapilar has eulogized his liberality in *Puranānūru*. Arunagirinathar echoed the same sentiment but included Kāri also:

"vañcaka lōpa mūṭar tamporuḷ ūrkaḷ tēṭi
mañcari kōvai tūtu palapāvin
vaṇpukal *pāri kāri* enricai vātu kūri
vantiyār pōla viṇil aliyātē" - *Tiruppukal.* 1236.

The following hymn is taken from the 36th pathigam, celebrating the greatness of Tiru-p-paiññili. The dominant theme of the hymn is the depiction of the Lord in His Bhikshāṭana manifestation.

மூலம் : *364*

செந்த மிழ்த்திறம் வல்லி ரோசெங்கண்
அரவம் முன்கையில் ஆடவே
வந்து நிற்கும்இ *(து)*என்கொ லோபலி
மாற்ற மாட்டோம் இடகிலோம்
பைந்தண் மாமலர் உந்து சோலைகள்
கந்தம் நாறுபைஞ் ஞீலியீர்
அந்த வானமும் மேனி யோசொலும்
ஆர ணீய விடங்கரே! 4

பொழிப்புரை :

பசுமை பொருந்திய குளிர்ந்த சிறந்த மலர்களை உதிர்க்கும் சோலைகள் நறுமணம் கமழும் திருப்பைஞ்ஞீலியில் கோயில் கொண்டுள்ள பெருமானே! செந்தமிழின் கூறுபாடுகளாகிய இயல், இசை, நாடகம் என்னும் முத்துறையிலும் நீவிர் வல்லமை மிக்கீரோ? சிவந்த கண்களையுடைய பாம்பு உமது முன் கையில் நின்று படம் எடுத்து ஆடும்படி (எங்கள் இல்லத்தின் முன்னர்) இப்படி வந்து நிற்பது யாது காரணம் பற்றியோ? உமக்குக் கொண்டுவந்த பிச்சையைப் போடாது போக மாட்டோம். (அச்சத்தால்) இடவும் மாட்டோம். காட்டில் வாழும் அழகிய சுயம்பு மூர்த்தியே! உமது மேனியும் அந்தி வானத்தைப் போன்றதோ? சொல்லுவீர்.

Transliteration :

centa mil-t-tiram valli rōceṅkaṇ
aravam munkaiyil āṭavē
vantu nirkumi [tu] enko lōpali
marra māṭṭōm iṭakilōm
paintaṇ māmalar untu cōlaikaḷ
kantam nārupaiñ ñiliyir
anti vānamum mēni yōcolum
āra ṇiya viṭaṅkarē. 4

Translation :

Oh the Resident of Paiññili,
Girt by the fragrant and green groves
Dropping cool, fresh and great blooms!
Are you an adept
In the three-fold genres of classical Tamil?
What for you stand forth,
While the red-eyed serpent
In your for-hand dancing?
The alms, we will not take back
Also cannot place it [into your bowl]!
Oh the Self-Existent of forest dwelling !
Is your body the red-glow firmament?
Pray tell us!

Notes :

1. The word 'tiṟam' in Centamiḻ-t-tiṟam means the divisions i.e. genres, iyal, icai and kūttu, characteristic of the calssical Tamil for which the Lord is said to be the first teacher. Thus divinity is attached to Tamil language.

2. Though the perplexed demsels, on seeing Bhikshāṭana with the dancing serpents on His fore-hand, are willing to offer alms, withdraw themeselves due to fear, a dramatic presentation made in the first two lines.

3. The natural beauty is delightfully depicted in the last two lines.

4. The last line stands comparision with **"cekkarpōlum tirumēṉi"** (VIII 27.8)

The following is one of the devotional lyrics, sung by Ārūrar at Tiruvārūr. He assumes the role of a bride, pining for separation of the groom who is none other than the Lord of Tirvārūr. The whole decade (37) is in the Akam genre, reflecting the depth of love to Him. All the hymns are wonderful lyrics, charged with emotion at white heat.

மூலம் : 373

பறக்கும்எம் கிள்ளைகாள்! பாடும்எம் பூவைகாள்!
அறக்கண் என்னத்தகும் அடிகள்ஆ ரூரரை
மறக்ககில் லாமையும் வளைகள்நில் லாமையும்
உறக்கம்இல் லாமையும் உணர்த்தவல் லீர்களே. 2

பொழிப்புரை :

பறக்கின்ற எம்முடைய கிளிகளே! பாடுகின்ற எம் நாகணவாய்ப் பறவைகளே! அறத்திற்குக் கண்ணாக விளங்கும் அடிகளாகிய திருவாரூர்ப் பெருமானை மறக்க மாட்டாமையினையும், வளைகள் [கழலுவதால்] கைகளில் நில்லாமையினையும், தூக்கம் இல்லாமையினையும் . என்பொருட்டு அத்தலைவரிடம் [உள்ளவாறு] புலப்படுத்தவல்லீர்களோ?

Transliteration :

par̲akkumem kiḷḷaikāḷ pāṭumem pūvaikāḷ
ar̲akkaṇen̲ n̲a-t-takum aṭikaḷā rūrarai
marakkakil lāmaiyum vaḷaikaḷnil lāmaiyum
ur̲akkamil lāmaiyum uṇarttaval līrkaḷē 2

Translation :

Oh the fluttering parrots! the singing mynas!
Could you please convey to Ārūrar,
The Eye of Ethics and my Lord,
My utter inability to forget Him,
The lossening of my bangles
And the absence of sleep [in me]?

Notes :

1. The hymn is a good example for the effective expression of pathetic fallacy, indulged by the heroine unable to bear the pangs of separation of her Lord.

2. The presiding Lord of this holy spot is Ārūrar. Being the family deity, Sundarar was named after Him.

3. Since the parrots would exactly repeat what the heroine communicated, they are addressed at the first instance. The root 'kiḷa' in kiḷḷai etymoligically means to speak. Therefore the bird that has the capability of speaking is denoted by the word kiḷḷai.

4. Three aspects of the pining lady-love are beautifully portrayed. They are : (i). Unforgetfulness (ii). sleeplessness and (iii). loosening of the bangles. These three features seem to have modelled after the classical Tamil poems.

i. In Kur̲untokai [200] the separated heroine expresses thus: "He has definitely forgotten, while we don't forget him".

ii. In the same anthology [3], the vexatious heroine bursts into an emotional fit:

"I too am a dancer; he who has caused the loosening of my bangles is also a dancer".

iii. In Tirukkural [1179], a beautiful poetical expression of sleeplessness of the lady-love is projected:

"If the lover does not return, my eyes never sleep [expecting his arrival]; if he retured, again they do not sleep, fearing for his departure."

Thus, the classical tradition of Akam poetry is beautifully kept in the hymn, which is a copious example of bridal mysticitm, experienced by Sundarar.

5. In the Vaishnava tradition, the messenger birds symbolize the preceptor. Only through him the soul becomes eligible to get united with the Absolute.

Conclusion

The specimens of the translated hymns of Sundarar may help the readers to understand and appreciate his intense devotion, ethical sense, aesthetical joy and mystical experience, leave alone his creative genius, imaginative faculty and involvement in the various manifestations of nature. The methodology adopted in the process of translating the devotional lyrics may be extended to other genres of literary creations. The reader is guided to go near to the text and to the heart of the hymnist to share his experience. The critical notes would be helpful to develop a taste for comparative, historical and descriptive aspects of poetical creations, especially devotional lyrics.

THE FORM (YĀPPU) OF MODERN TAMIL POETRY

Tamil poetry has a long and continual history of more than 2500 years. The canons of versification constitute the subject-matter of Yāppu (i.e. prosody) which has been counted one among the five fold grammatical systems in Tamil. Yāppu literally'means that which is bound, and in its extension of meaning indicates the poetic form made up of letter, syllable, foot, metric link, line, rhythm etc. It denotes not only the structure of the poem, but also its substance. In Sanskrit Yāppu is known as Cantas which has been regarded to be one of the six limbs of Veda puruṣa. *It is essential to note that the basic metres in Tamil are Veṇpā, Āciriyam, Kali and Vañci which are native and not found in Sanskrit.*

In Tamil, Ceyyuliyal being the biggest chapter in Tol. (500 B.C.) is generally accepted to be the earliest available text to elaborately deal with the rules of versification, revealing the richness of metres and forms of poetry and to some extent disclosing the relevant metre for a chosen theme. Tolkāppiyar, the author of this ancient Tamil prosody has mentioned in a general way in many a context, his predecessors (-pūrvācāryas) who have transmitted the poetic traditions and literary conventions to posterity. From these references, one can infer the ancient nature of Tamil prosody.

During the period of Sangam classics (500 B.C. to 300 A.D.) some of the prosodial rules of Tol. have not been adhered and fresh metrical usages came into vogue. Kalittokai, Paripātal and Cilappatikāram form the basic source for the germination of some of the supplementary metres known as Pāviṉam. The real credit for making innovations in the realm of Tamil prosody goes to the Nāyaṉmārs and Alvars (500 A.D. to 900 A.D.), the Vanguards of Bhakti movement, who were instrumental for the dissemination of devotion and preservation of orthodox religion, culture, and literature. These devotional hymnologists sang the glory of the Lord in the melodious language and utilised mostly the poetic forms of the folk. As a result, new metres were formed. After a careful study of the fresh poetic forms a new school of prosody headed by Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār came into existence.

Among the three supplementary metres viz., Tālicai, Turai and Viruttam advocated in the new school, the last one became very popular. Kamban, the author of the grand Tamil epic Ramayana and the greatest among the Tamil poets has been hailed for his creative skill in handling different types of virutta metre with effortless case and hence he has been praised thus:

விருத்தமெனும் ஒண்பாவிற்கு உயர் கம்பன்

(i.e. to compose poetry in the brilliant virutta metre, the exalted Kamban alone is capable).

Viruttam in Tamil is different from the one in Sanskrit. Canta Viruttams in Tamil constitute a class by themselves, nurtured by Saint Arunagiri (1400 A.D.) and others. Upto the last century and to the first half of the present century, virutta metre commanded supremacy over all types of basic metres as well as supplementary metres.

With this background, let us proceed to deal with the popular poetic forms both old and new found in the modern Tamil poetry.

Yāppu in Modern Tamil

In the present paper, a study of the structure of the poems of some prominent modern Tamil poets has been attempted to understand and isolate the chief poetic forms as noticed in their creations. First and foremost let us consider Mahakavi Bhāratiyār's poems which served as models and source of inspiration for the subsequent Tamil poets of our times. His patriotic fervour, revolutionary thoughts, tolerance, temperance humanism and social consciousness contributed to the rich and variegated themes and forms of his poems. Apart from his songs on nationalism, emancipation of women, eradication of untouchability, equality etc., his immortal creations are Pāñchāli Sapadam, Kaṇṇan̲ Pāṭṭu and Kuyil Pāṭṭu. The significant and salient metres found in his works are to be identified and analysed.

Basic metres

Among the primary and basic metres, Bharati has composed poems in Veṇpā, Āciriyam and Kalippā. The absence of Vañcippā in the entire corpus of his poetic works is significant. It is important to mention that this form did not attract the poets long before Bhārati and hence slowly became obsolete. In order to revive this metre, Peruñcittiran̲ār has written மகபுகு வஞ்சி in this metre.

Bharati claims that his poems are fresh and new in taste, content, imagination and diction and calls them "நவகவிதை" (neo-poetry). Though he has closely followed the rules of prosody and composed in the traditional and conventional metres, his poems remain to be new, because of the subject-matter, treatment, and expression charged with emotion at white heat.

Venpa

He has sung 44 poems in Veṇpā (-Nēricai) metre. His small prabandha on the tenfold royal insignia of Bharatadevi (Dasānga) is formed in this metre. Though it echoes the one in Tiruvācakam it has its own unique features revealing the originality of Bharati. In a different Prabandha on Vināyaga, he has given 10 poems in this type. One poem is sufficient to apprehend his poetic talent in creating this kind without any difficulty.

நமக்குத் தொழில்கவிதை நாட்டிற் குழைத்தல்
இமைப்பொழுதும் சோரா திருத்தல் - உமைக்கினிய

மைந்தன் கணநாதன் நம்குடியை வாழ்விப்பான்
சிந்தையே இம்மூன்றும் செய்.

Aciriyam

There are four kinds in this metre. But, our poet has chosen Nēricai and Nilaimaṇṭilam. The first kind is found in Vināyakar Nāṉmaṇimālai. More poems are in the second type of Āciriyam. To delineate some themes on Mother India, historical persons, Tamil etc., he has selected this metre. His poems on "Kaṇṇan - my disciple" and the depiction of the setting sun in Pānchalisapatam are beautifully written in this metre.

In old poems, the final ending has usually been ē. But, in the present poems of Bharati there is no such restriction and they end with any vowel or consonant. They are very similar to the Blank verse in English.

Kalippā

There are many types and sub-members to this metre. Bharati is at home in composing *Taravukoccakam* consisting of four equal lines each of which containing four feet-each of which is made up of three

metric syllables. This metre is originally meant to portary love themes and then devotional themes. To depict the bridal mysticism, Bhārati has chosen this type. e.g.

பாயுமொளி நீஎனக்கு
  பார்க்கும்விழி நான்உனக்கு
தோயுமது நீஎனக்கு
  தும்பியடி நான்உனக்கு
வாயுரைக்க வருகுதில்லை
  வாழிநின்றன் மேன்மையெல்லாம்
தூயசுடர் வானொளியே
  சூறையமுதே கண்ணம்மா.

Kaṭṭaḷaikalippā is a homogeneous metre of this family. This variety is conditioned by the number of letters prevalent in each half line, which if begins in mono-syllable would have 11 letters, and in dy-syllable 12 letters. But Bhārati has made some innovations by placing 12 and 13 letters in some poems, and 10 and 11 letters in other poems of the same kind. the first kind is found in the poems under the title,

"கண்ணன் என் காதலன்' 'உறக்கமும் விழிப்பும்' ".

The second type is noticed in the poems on devotional themes, and in some poems of Panchali Sapadam. The traditional structure of this metre is found in the poems on புதுமைப்பெண் and others.

Veṇkalippā is another metre of this group. In this kind, the poem runs to more than 12 lines, combining both Veṇṭaḷai and Kalittaḷai and ending like a Veṇpā. But, Bharati has made some revolution, while he wrote the poem 'கண்ணன் என் சேவகன்' in 64 lines furnishing the required rules of this type but ending not like a veṇpā but a full kalippā. Such a fresh attempt is also to be seen in P.S. and in Kuyil Pāṭṭu. In this context, it is proper to note that Nampiāṇḍār Nampi (1000 A.D.) has also composed one poem in this form. But, it is not certain whether Bharati has taken it as his model.

After having a bird's eye view of some of the trends in creating poems of the primary metres in the poetic works of Bhārati, now we pass on to deal with the supplementary forms found in then.

Supplementary Forms

1. Kuraḷ Veṇcenturai

This poetic form is a supplementary metre belonging to the Veṇpā family. This metre consists of two equal lines, containing excellent theme and harmonious flow. This couplet comes very close to Distich in English Prosody. To accommodate abstruse ideas and metaphysical thoughts, this form is found more suited and convenient for Bharati. His poems on 'நான்' (1) are written in this metre. A sample is given hereunder.

வானில் பறக்கின்ற புள்ளெலாம் நான்
மண்ணில் திரியும் விலங்கெலாம் நான்
கானில் வளரும் மரமெலாம் நான்
காற்றும் புனலும் கடலுமே நான்.

The editor has given the name 'இரட்டைக் குறள் வெண்செந்துறை' to this poem, thinking that the first two lines form one unit, while the last two lines forming another unit. It may be presumed that for convenience one line is written in two rows. In the given passage, 'வானில்' rhymes only with 'கானில்' and hence, this may be treated as a couplet containing two metric lines.

The substance of this poem is given here :

"I am the birds that fly in the heaven,
I am the beasts that ramble on the earth,
I am the trees that grow in the forest,
I am the wind, water and sea".

Since Bharati is an advocate of Monism (Vedanta), his idealistic outlook embraces all things, which are seen and known to be the expansion of one's own consciousness.

This metre has some peculiar features. In general, this form would not get Veṇṭaḷai, a particular metric link which is a must in the primary Veṇpā metre. But here in the above passage, one finds Veṇṭaḷai which brings a singificant cadence to the readers.

Now, let us pass on to another supplementary metre known as Aciriya Viruttam, which is very dominant in his poems.

2. Aciriya Viruttam

In Tamil, Viruttam is composed in four equal lines, each of which should have at least six metric feet (சீர்) and alliteration and resonance as prescribed in the prosody and practised by the poets. Bharati has written many poems in different kinds of Virutta metre, which are named on the basis of the number of metric foot employed in the equal lines of each poem. Thus he has composed from Arucīr Viruttam, to Pannirucir Viruttam, in which each line gets 12 metric feet. These types of metres are used to delineate all kinds of subject matter. One example for Viruttam is sufficeent to understand his artistic skill.

சிறந்து நின்ற சிந்தை யோடு
    தேயம் நூறு வென்றிவள்
மறந்த விர்ந்தந் நாடர் வந்து
    வாழி சொன்ன போதிலும்
இறந்து மாண்பு தீர மிக்க
    ஏழ்மை கொண்ட போழ்திலும்
அறந்த விர்க்கி லாது நிற்கும்
    அன்னை வெற்றிகொள்ளவே.

This metre is known as *"Canta Viruttam"* in which each line has seven feet, the first one is in the pattern of Puḷima, the last one is a Kūviḷam, the middle five are Tēmā. Hence, each line is conditioned by the uniformity of syllabic structure and contains 16 letters. In counting the letters, the consonants occurring in the line are to be ignored. This poem comes under the caption, *"Jaya Bharatam"* (Hail to Mother India) and the music and rhythm spontaneously flows in it, the sound echoing the sense.

Eṇcīr Viruttam is beautifully woven in his biographical poems and in Pāñchali Sapadam, and this metre was adopted by most of the poets who came after Bharati.

The poem under the title 'தமிழ் மொழி வாழ்த்து' is again a *Canta Viruttam* of 12 metric feet in each line. A half line of this metre runs thus:

வாழ்க நிரந்தரம் வாழ்க தமிழ்மொழி வாழிய வாழியவே.

The syllabic combination of each line reinforces a majestic gait which awakens the slumbering souls to get into immediate action. Each half line in this poem is rhythmically conditioned and the music pattern forms

thus: தான தனந்தன தான தனந்தன தானன தானனவே containing 19 letters. So, a full line consists of 38 letters. It seems that such a rare feat of prosodic skill should have been inherited by Bharati from his predecessors existed long before him.

With regard to the auxiliary metres of Kalippā family, Bharati has used only two types. Let us consider them one by one.

3. Kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai

This metre is a unique one in which each of the four equal lines contains five metric feet linked by veṇṭaḷai (- a metric link). The final foot in every line should be in the pattern of Viḷaṅkāy. If the initial syllble commences in Nēracai, (mono-syllbic), then that line will have 16 letters. If it begins in Nirai (Dy-syllbic), then that line will have 17 letters. The final syllable in the last line should end in 'ē'. This type of metre is as old as Karaikāl Ammaiyār (500 A.D.). In the hands of Bharati, this metre gets its own elegance. His prabandha on Vināyakar contains 10 poems of this type. e.g.

நீயே சரணம் நினதரு ளேசர ணம்சரணம்
நாயேன் பலபிழை செய்து களைத்துனை நாடிவந்தேன்
வாயே திறவாத மௌனத் திருந்துன் மலரடிக்குத்
தீயே நிகர்த்தொளி வீசும் தமிழ்க்கவி செய்குவனே.

The substance of this poem is this:

"I take refuge in Thee, in Thy grace

The dog-like I came to Thee after having committed many mistakes and thus fatigued.

Stationed in silence, I would like to compose Tamil poems, Which would radiate brilliance like the flame, to your flower-feet".

The poets normally choose this metre to write devotional matter.

4. Kaliviruttam

This kind of Viruttam contains four equal lines, each one of them possessing four metric feet. Tuḷḷalōcai (-jumping sound) is dominant in this metre. One kind of Kaliviruttam is called Kuruntokai yāppu which is witnessed in Veṭṭuvavari of Cilappatikāram and in the Tevāram and Nālāyiram. This yāppu is metrically conditioned, since each line is

composed in such a way as to have 11 letters if it is commenced with a mono-syllable, and 12 letters with a dy-syllable. In this type, Bharati has sung 9 poems all of which are adoring the Lord Kaṇṇaṉ.

e.g. நின்றன் மாமர பில்வந்து நீசராய்ப்
பொன்றல் வேண்டிலம் பொற்கழல் ஆணைகாண்
இன்றிங் கெம்மை யதம்புரி, இல்லையேல்
வென்றி யும்புக ழும்தரல் வேண்டுமே.

(We, who came in your great lineage, do not like to die as the low. We vow on your golden feet and wish you either to destroy us or to endow us with success and fame).

Bharati has employed two varieties of supplementary metres of Vanci group, which became very rare after him.

5. Vañcittuṟai

In this kind, each of the four lines contains two metric feet, thus making the poem very terse and brief. This form is very common in the devotional literature and in the later epics. Bharati praised Lord Kannan in this form of poetry.

e.g. கண்ணன் திருவடி
எண்ணுக மனமே
திண்ணம் அழியா
வண்ணம் தருமே.

This metre recalls the one found in அடங்கெழில் சம்பத்து of Nammāḻvār (900 A.D.). If three poems are composed in this metre on a particular theme, then the same metre gets the name Vañcittāḻicai. The difference between these two is found not in the structure, but in the number of the poem.

6. Vañciviruttam

This supplementary metre has four equal lines, each one of them possessing three metric feet. Though this metre is well known to the devotional and epic poets, it was not very popular. Anyhow Bharati has composed a few poems in this type. One available poem is the following:

திண்ணம் காணீர் பச்சை
வண்ணன் பாதத் தாணை

எண்ணம் கெடுதல் வேண்டா
திண்ணம் விடுதலை திண்ணம்.

This poem is found in the Navarattinamālai of Bhāratamātā. This sort of brief verses exerts a powerful influence in the minds of the readers.

Folk Types

Bhārati has also utilised some folk types to exert mass appeal. Cintu, Kaṉṉi and Kummi are the chief among them. The rules for composing them are not found in the regular treatises on prosody. They are very familiar with the poeple living in the rural areas. Melody is the main marker of these folk-types. Let us illustrate them one by one.

Cintu

In this type, music is the dominant feature. Normally, this metre is made up of one pallavi, anupallavi and three saranas. Epic and puranic themes were best suited to be sung in this metre. There are many submembers of this type. Kāvaṭic Cintu is very famous. Examples for Cintu metre are presented here.

முப்பது கோடி முகமுடை யாள் உயிர்
மொய்ம்புறம் ஒன்றுடை யாள் - இவள்
செப்பு மொழிபதி னெட்டுடை யாள் எனிற்
சிந்தனை ஒன்றுடை யாள்.

கல்வி சிறந்த தமிழ் நாடு - புகழ்க்
கம்பன் பிறந்த தமிழ்நாடு - நல்ல
பல்வித மாயின சாத்திரத்தின் - மணம்
பாரெங்கும் வீசும் தமிழ்நாடு.

These poems are respectively on the National integrity and the greatness of Tamiḻakam. Bharati's songs on 'பாரத சமுதாயம்' belong to the first category of Cintu, containing three limbs as noted above.

Kummi

This is another kind, usually sung by the girls and sometimes the women folk in a festival or a party. They use to sing to the tune of their clasping of hands in such a way that their breasts and hands also are rythmically shaking. Saint Ramalingar has composed some poems in this folk type. Following him, Bharati has effectively written many poems

in the kummi metre in which two lines, each of which containing seven metric feet, are linked mainly in veṇtaḷai (-a metric link of Veṇpā). Some examples are cited here.

கும்மியடி ! தமிழ்நாடு முழுதும்
குலுங்கிடக் கைகொட்டிக் கும்மியடி!
நம்மைப் பிடித்த பிசாசுகள் போயின
நன்மைகண் டோமென்று கும்மியடி.

பட்டங்கள் ஆள்வதும் சட்டங்கள் செய்வதும்
பாரினில் பெண்கள் நடத்த வந்தோம்
எட்டும் அறிவினில் ஆணுக்கிங் கேபெண்
இளைப்பில்லை காணென்று கும்மியடி.

These poems are the declarations of the womenfolk fighting for their emancipation and claiming for equality with men.

There is one more type known as kanni which has been very familiar with the poets of the pre-modern period.

Kaṉṉi

This type also has some sub-members. To mock at the pseudopatriots, Bharati uses this metre. He has sung 18 poems in this metre addressing the parrot and hence the name Kiḷikaṉṉi is given to this type.

நெஞ்சில் உரமுமின்றி நேர்மைத் திறமுமின்றி
வஞ்சனை சொல்வாரடீ ! - கிளியே !
வாய்ச்சொல்லில் வீரரடி !

கூட்டத்திற் கூடிநின்று கூவிப் பிதற்றலன்றி
நாட்டத்திற் கொள்ளாரடீ ! கிளியே !
நாளில் மறப்பாரடீ!

In the structure of this type of kanni, the first line had four feet, while the second line has three feet and a repeated foot marked by the word 'kiḷiyē' followed by two more feet which ridicules the duplicate patriotic people. Here also, Veṇtaḷai is predominant.

He has also composed some kīrtaṉais.

It is essential to state that the contemporaries and followers of Bharati have composed poems in almost all the metres adopted by the

Mahakavi. But, special mention is to be made with regard to Bharatidasan. He has used to a maximum extent the metre known as Pakroṭai Veṇpā, in which the ordinary Veṇpā is made to run to a number of metric lines. Also, he has used Eṇcīr Viruttam to write epics, mini epics and poems on various themes.

Kavimaṇi Desiga Vināyagam Piḷḷai has written Veṇpā without any strain or pain on religious and social matters. Lengthy Viruttams are his favourite metres. Tālicai, known as half Viruttams is his another preferred metre. He has also written some musical compositions known as Kīrtaṉai.

Suddhānanda Bharati has contributed much to the Kuṟaḷ metre. He has also nurtured almost all kinds of poetic forms as noticed in 'பாரதசக்தி மகாகாவியம்'.

Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai, being a true Gandhian poet has given us poems in various kinds of Viruttam. *It is important to note that he has not sung either Veṇpā or Kaṭṭaḷai Kalitturai which had rigorous rules for their formation.*

Kaṇṇadāsan and others followed in the footsteps of their elder contemporaries in choosing the different kinds of forms to suit the themes that they ventured to describe. His film lyrics have some folk-forms and also the traditional metres. For want of space, a detailed study of these poets is not taken here.

Verse-libre

Next, in the history of modern Tamil prosody, we have to mention about a new wave of revolutionary poetic movement which threw away the traditional forms to the sea and wrote in their own way. These poems are known as *"Puthukkavitai"* or neo-poetry and sometimes as 'விடுநிலைப் பாடல்' or *verse-libre*. Partially, they were influenced by the American and European counterparts. They became prominent only after 1970.

In Telugu, it is called as Digambara Kavitā, (naked poetry). This metaphoric nomenclature discloses the real nature of the neo-poetry. Just like the new born-baby, this form does not have any ornament or dress. It is the direct outcome, focussing on a particular problem of the people.

This new form-poetry is best fitted to effectively present the realisitc aspects of day to day life. Poverty, hunger, conflict, suppression,

righteous anger, social foibles etc., are some of the major matters that occupy this new poetic form. Communism and Gandhian thoughts influenced the new-poets. Imagery, symbolic expression, ambiguity and brevity are some of the traits of this neo-form. The tone and texture of these new forms are awefully different from the traditional metres.

Saktikanal, Metha, Erode Tamizhanpan, Cirpi, Vāli, Agniputran and a number of others are the noteworthy poets who have successfully handled the neo-poetic form. One example is given here to understand the nature of this poetry.

ஆ
பாரதி-
புதிய தமிழுக்குப்
போடப்பட்ட
பிள்ளையார் சுழி . . .
பண்டிதர்கள்
கடத்திச்சென்ற
பைந்தமிழ்க் குழந்தையைக்
கண்டுபிடித்துக்
கொண்டுவந்த
காவல் நிலையம்.....
பல
கோணங்களில்
கண்ணனைப்
படம்பிடித்த
கேமரா.....
சமதர்மக் காற்று
சஞ்சாரம் செய்த
அபூர்வ
அக்கிரஹாரம்.....
திருவல்லிக்கேணி யானை
தின்றுவிட்ட
தமிழ்க் கரும்பு
செத்துக்கிடந்த
தமிழன்
பிழைத்துக்கொண்டான்;
பிழைக்க வைத்த
பாரதி -
செத்துப் போனான்
ஆம் :

மோனைக் கால்களில்
முத்தமிழை நிறுத்தியவன்
ஆனைக் கால்களில்
அடிபட்டுடச் செத்தான்

This piece of poetry is by Vāli, the film lyrist. The peculiar feature of this poetic form is that a single word whether it is a full word or a defective one forms the metric line. A free rendering of this poetry into English is attempted here: This poetry is on Bharati who is the herald of modern Tamil - which idea is indicated by the phrase, "பிள்ளையார் சுழி" i.e. before commencing to write anything it is the habit of orthodox people to draw a symbol "உ" representing the first God Vināyaga. The Pandits lifted away the Tamil child (a metaphoric statement denoting the youthfulness of the language Tamil), and it is Bharati being the police station (a centre of protection) who searched for the child and re-covered it (from the Pandits). He is the Camera to click Kaṇṇaṉ from various angles. (He is the rare agrahāra where blew the wind of socialism). He is Tamil sugarcane, eschewed by the elephant of Triplicane (Because of him), the dead Tamilian resurrected, while Bharati who revived him, was dead. Yes! He, who stationed the three-fold Tamil on the legs of alliteration, was stampeded by the legs of the elephant.

Though these writers profess that they are free birds uncared for the prosody, even without their knowledge some fundamental prosodial features are latent in their creations. Since they care little for the language, they use not only colloquial words but even foreign words freely, thinking that they give direct meaning to the readers.

This new entry in the list of traditional metres is seriously criticised by the orthodox scholars. Time alone will decide the fate of this new form. [At present, it has become very popular and powerful].

To conclude, the poetic forms, whether old or new will continue to exist as long as they are potential to communicate the thoughts, imagination, feeling, emotion and similar aspects, marked by powerful diction. Slowly old forms are giving way to the new ones which again slowly are being replaced by different types of prose-forms. Bharati's vacaṉa-kavitai (Prose-poetry) is really prose, but the way in which it is structured has made it to be a type of neo-poetry. Such attempts in the history of Tamil metrics are not uncommon. Thus, there is every scope for fresh poetic forms both originals and adaptations.

ROMANTICISM IN BHARATIDASAN

Introduction

This paper attempts to bring forth the romantic aspects of the poems of Bharatidasan in the light of the principles, evolved from the poems of Western Romantic poets. Before proceeding to deal with the subject, a brief sketch of the early phase of the poet's literary career is presented in order to apprehend the background of his steady growth as a Revolutionary and Romantic poet.

Evolution of the Poetic career

The poet's real name is Kanaka Subburatinam. He was born on 29-4-1891 in Pondicherry to the parents Kanakasabai Mudaliar and Lakshmi Ammaiyar. His father was a rich merchant and was religious - minded. His elder brother Subbarayan was good in astrology. But Bharatidasan studied Tamil out of interest and stood first in the Pulavar examination held in his state, at the young age of seventeen. He commenced his career as a Tamil teacher in French India. His poetic talent was fashioned by two great movements one at the national level and the other at the regional level.

The Indian National Movement under the dynamic guidance of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi fought for the independence of India from the shackles of foreign rule. Mahakavi *Subramanya Bhāratiyar* plunged into the freedom struggle with all vigour, aroused the patriotic fervour (which was dormant in the minds of the masses and also the elite) with his powerful poems on national themes and finally was forced to take asylum in the French territory of Pondicherry where the British rule could not penetrate. It so happened that Subburatinam at the age of eighteen (1908) was introduced to Bharati in a marriage function of Venunayagar family, after he recited some of Bharati's poems in a melodious voice. At the behest of Bharati, he spontaneously poured out two emotional and devotional poems on the Divine Mother Shakti, commencing with " எங்கெங்கும் காணினும் சக்தியடா ! " (Wherever you behold you witness the presence of Divine Mother)[1] . The audience including Bharati was spellbound, admiring the creative genius of the budding poet. With a

view to popularising his poetic skill, Bharati himself took the initiative of sending these songs to the then largely circulated Tamil daily, Swadesamitran at Madras with the note that these were composed by Kanaka Subburatinam of the Literary Circle of Subramanya Bharati. Thus the close relationship between these two poets was stabilized. Out of devotion, Kanaka Subburatinam called himself Bharatidasan (-the disciple of Bharati) as a mark of respect to his literary mentor, who himself styled as Shelleydasan, as a token of high regard to the English Romantic poet. With regard to Bharati, he is not remembered by his pen-name, whereas Bharatidasan is remembered only by his pen-name.

Subburatinam who was by nature pious, composed lyrics on the Tamil God Muruga, the presiding deity at Mayilam. These devotional lyrics were subsequently published in the collection under the title " ஸ்ரீ மயிலம் சுப்பிரமணியர் துதியமுது " (1926). These songs bear ample testimony to his poetic calibre in composing songs known as *Kr̃ittanai* and *Cintu* which were models for the successors. Even in this devotional poetry, there is one song seeking the grace of Muruga for the liberation of India.

Due to the influence of the Indial National Movement and the association of Mahakavi Bharati, Bharatidasan composed many a patriotic poem to generate National awakening. The National leaders discarded the foreign goods and pleaded with the people to buy the locally made products. The songs of Bharatidasan on such themes were published in small booklets under the titles, " சிறுவர் சிறுமியர் தேசிய கீதம் ", " " கதர் இராட்டினப்பாட்டு ", etc., and they gained pupularity. His patriotic fervour was so intense as to make him carry the Kadhi cloth on his shoulders hawking in the streets of Pondicherry.

The advent of the Self-Respect Movement, founded by Periyar E.V.R. effected a remarkable change in the mental outlook of Bharatidasan. Though Tantai *Periyār* was initially a staunch supporter of the National Movement, he could not bear the discrimination among various castes, exhibited by the learned members of the same organisation. The incident at the Gurukulam of V.V.S. Aiyar separating the Brahmin students from others was well-known. This shocking incident provoked the feeling of E.V.R. and some of his colleagues and resulted in the formation of the Self-Respect Movement which in course of time was identified with the Dravidian Movement, protesting against the supremacy and dominance of the so-called privileged upper class. The main objectives

of this social revolutionary movement were to eradicate the caste system, to establish social equality, to reject totally the authority of the Vedic institutions, to repudiate the traditional beliefs and superstitions and to regain the lost glory of the Tamils. These revolting ideas made an indelible mark in the mind of the young poet Bharatidasan who felt the urgent necessity to toil for the social and economic freedom of the Tamils, rather than to work for the Indian liberation from the yoke of the British rule.

His association with Tantai *Periyār* effected a turning point in the literary career of the poet. Nevertheless, Bharatidasan remained throughout his life to be a faithful disciple of Bharati, the National Poet though he differed in many respects from his mentor. Bharatidasan subsequently became anti-Vedic and championed the cause of the Dravidians, detaching from the main stream in order to secure a right place for them. That does not mean that he was shortsighted and parochial. There are poems which reveal his expanded vision and intense humanism that embrace the whole of human kind as fellow-brethren. He was also influenced by the Communist ideologies, because of his political mentor Tantai *Periyār* who visited Russia and brought with him fresh thought [2]. One more force that shaped his thought has been the Pure Tamil Movement organized by the great scholar-cum reformist *Maṟaimalai Aṭikal* who worked for the revival of Tamil culture and strongly advocated to eschew Sanskrit words and to use only pure Tamil words both in speech and writing. His influence on the poet is noticed clearly in his poetic work, "*Tamiḻiyakkam*". He has dedicated this literary piece to the Tamil savant as a mark of respect.

The Epoch of the Poet

The first volume of his poems was released in 1938 and received the appreciation of not only the members of the Dravidian Movement but by many of the orthodox and traditional scholars and pundits, creating an excitement and making a landmark in the history of Tamil poetry. Yet, in some quarters the poet had to face criticism and objection. However his contribution to the Modern Tamil literature is considerable and commendable. The other anthologies of his poems and literary creations such as *Kuṭumpa Viḷakku, Etirpārāta Muttam, Tamḻacciyin katti, Pāṇṭiyan Paricu* etc., are highly regarded as vital contribution to the enrichment of Tamil. His original poems on Nature found in the book *Aḻakiṉ Cirippu* possess permanent poetic value, deserving a supreme place among the world literature on the subject.

Bharatidasan is not only a poet but a great musician and musicologist. His musical compositions on social themes especially found in the collections entitled "*Icai Amutu*" are the best specimens of the modern Tamil music. His dramatic works such as *Iraṇiyan* Allatu *Iṇaiyar̲r̲u Vīraṉ*, *Picirāntiaiyar*, etc, bear enough evidence for his creative genius in the domain of drama. His contributions to the field of film require special mention. His prose writings in the journals and his commentary of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* are models for modern Tamil prose. As a journalist, his poetic magazine "*kuyil*" was very popular as a medium of propaganda and also as a nursery for the young poets. His multi-faceted contribution to the progress of Modern Tamil literature has been admired and appreciated by the literary historians. From the biography written by his son, Thiru. Maṉṉar Maṉṉan, we come to understood that the poet was also a good painter-artist.

After the advent of Bharatidasan, we witness a fresh literary period which may be rightly called "**the Epoch of Bharatidasan**". Hundreds of poets both budding and blossomed were inspired and influenced by him. *They imitated his style and expression, imbibed his ideas and principles and echoed his voice*[3]. *They constituted a separate and unique poetic school of Bharatidasan. Even the platform orators, social reformists and active members of the regional political parties profusely quoted his potential poems to awaken and to arouse the socially retarded and politically ignored Tamils. They hurled the poems against the social upheavals.*

The tone and texture of the poems of Bharatidasan considerably vary not only from the traditional poems of the by-gone poets, but also from those of his contemporary versifiers. In various respects, his poems are unique and marvellous. The themes, diction, style, language, the techniques of expression, imagination, emotional aspect and other poetic devices are fresh and original. They furnish to a larger extent the requirements of what in the west is called the Romantic poetry.

Among the literary movements that shaped the structure and substance of the English literature, the Romantic movement has been considered very significant. Some of the general aspects of this literary movement are being outlined, so that the application of the principles to the poems of Bharatidasan may be viable.

The Romantic Movement

The word "romance" being a derivative of the old French word "romanz" originally meant "the speech of the people" or " the vulgar tongue" in contrast with the written form of literary Greek or Latin[4]. The word, "romantic" has been used in the sense of "adventurous, emotional, or fanciful". In its extension of meaning it denoted the literary movement and its advocates, characterized by some special features[5].

Prior to the advent of the Romantic movement, Neo-classicism was dominant among the writers of the 17th century Europe. They were guided by the principles as enunciated by the classical scholars Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian and Longinus. But, the Romantics were of revolutionary character. They did not accept the orthodox way of thinking and dogmatic views. They never cared for the established rules.

They were free birds. They added importance to the creative power of imagination and forcible expression of emotion. They treated nature to be the manifestation of the Almighty. With the help of imagination, they were able to realise the Ultimate Reality.

Romanticism supplanted the old narrow intellectual attitude and visualized a wider outlook which recognized the claims of passion and emotion and the sense of mystery in life, and in which the critical was replaced by the creative spirit, and wit by humour and pathos[6]. The romantic poets had expanded vision and presented the mysteries of life in a passionate language and delineated the aspects of life with a sense of humour and sympathetic touch.

French Revolution - the background for Romantic Movement

It is often said that the Romantic movement was originally formed by the Schlegel brothers in Germany towards the end of the 18th century. But, actually the French revolutionary forces contributed much for the germination of the romantic literary movement. Romanticism aimed at revolution not only in the sphere of literature and art, but also in philosophy and politics.

Victor-Hugo (1802-1855), a great French author championed the cause for "*the liberation of literature*" that formed the essence of Romanticism. Our poet Bharatidasan has in one of his poems mentioned his name and his contribution to the revival of democracy in France. In

another poem, he has quoted one of his thoughts about the transient nature of life. Being a citizen of French India the poet should naturally have acquired at least some knowledge about his views on literature[7].

However, the publication of the The Lyrical Ballads of Wordsworth and Coleridge in 1798 actually inaugurated a new chapter in the litearay history of the Romantic movement. The poems of Blake are considered to be both romantic and metaphysical. These poets were followed by Byron, Shelley and Keats.

Before Bharati

Before the advent of Bharati, the Tamil field was occupied by the Tamil scholars and poets. The country was politically and socially suppressed. Among the poets who exhibited social concern, Saint Ramalingar comes first. There is a remarkable change in his religious outlook. He protested against the dogmatic views and preached compassion and universal brotherhood. Through religion he aspired for a social change. His devotional lyrics are bone-melting songs marked by simplicity of language and felicity of expression. His contemporary Vedanayakam Pillai, the first Tamil novelist, was also a good poet, interested in the progress of women and social welfare. His polished style and easily understandable language heightened the dignity of his poems. Similarly Gopalakrishna Bharati and others composed poetry in a simple language, intelligible even for the common people.

But these poets ploughed the ground for the cultivation of a fresh form of literature both in content and structure, waiting for the arrival of Bharati and his disciple Bharatidasan.

Due to the restraint of time and want of space only one chief Romantic feature, i.e., the glorification of Nature has been studied here. The ramaining aspects of Romanticism are reserved for a separate paper to be worked out shortly.

Bharati and Bharatidasan - A difference

With the arrival of Bharati, the horizon of creative poems was widened and poems on Nature were written with the sense of aesthetics and ethical bearing. Though he is original in many of his Nature poems, he has also been influenced by the Vedic seers on the one hand, and the Western poets like Wordsworth, Shelley and others on the other[8]. However

the poems of Bharatidasan on Nature are something extraordinary and unique. They do not have adequate parallels either in Tamil or in English. He has been the first among the Tamil poets to glorify the various manifestations of Nature in a whole poetic work. In the preface to his immortal piece of artistic creation, *A̱lakiṉ Cirippu,* the poet rightly claimed that through this creation he anticipated the scholars to give up the habit of imitating poems in Tamil and other languages. He expressed his intention that the Tamils should develop their faculty to keenly observe the beauty in all the visible objects and to penpicture their own aesthetic experiences. Form this account, it is understood that the poet who has condemned plagiarism completely, is quite natural to be original in the delineation of Nature.

Nature Poems

"*A̱lakiṉ Cirippu*" is a rare piece of art containing poems on sixteen topics. The introductory poems on "beauty" reveal the concept of beauty as conceived by the poet. The are composed in Eṇcīr āciriya viruttam. Sea, breeze, forest, hill, river, lotus, sun, ether, papal tree, doves, parrot, darkness, small village, city and Tamil form the subject matter of the subsequent poems. Each one of them has been depicted in ten poems whose metrical form is the flexible *A̱rucīr Āciriya* viruttam. The poetic style is delightfully relaxed.

One may raise a question about the validity of calling the poems of Bharatidasan on city and Tamil to be poems on Nature. It is sufficient if we say that the readers will be easily convinced that they have natural bearing.

In his other volumes, there are many poems on the various manifestations of Nature. These poems are not the outcome of his bookish knowledge. They are emanated from the very source of his creative power. They represent the Romantic aspect of the poet with regard to his association with Nature.

Personification of Nature

Like Shelley, Bharatidasan is an avowed atheist. But when he beholds the beauty of Nature, he is thoroughly transformed to communicate his aesthetic experiences in mystical and meaningful language. He does not content to mention Nature merely in its naked form and name. He personified Her in various ways in the most adorable and endearing language.

Nature As Goddess (இயற்கைத் தேவி)

The destitute and desolate woman entreats :

"Oh Goddess of Nature ! It is you
That has endowed on me youthfulness
And sensations and sweet life to enjoy".[9]

Here the poet has clearly indicated that the animating principle in the organic beings is derived from the force of Nature that has been identified as Goddess.

Nature As Mother (இயற்கை அன்னை)

The poet describes the beauty of the Moon in the following way

"Oh Moon !

" Are you the gift of Mother Nature who painted
In the space with life-beauty
Bringing all the loveliness
Without any leakage or scattering
Adding lustre and coolness ! " [10]

Here again, the poet in his ecstacy gets into mystic rapture. As a result, he treats the moon to be a child of the Mother Nature in whose creation he has noticed full perfection.

In his collection of poems, entitled " குயில் பாடல்கள் " he has again adored Nature as Mother.[11] In *A̲lakin̲ Cirippu*, he has personified Nature as a Damsel (இயற்கைப் பெண்ணாள்). [12]

In holding Nature as Goddess and Mother, the poet should have contemplated that Nature is synonymous with Prakriti, the Primordial Matter as envisaged in the Samkhya system which according to.the poet was originated in the Tamil land. It is the Eternal Mother Principle out of which the perceptible world is evolved.

In this context, let me recall the poems on Shakti, sung by Bharatidasan, when his revered Guru inspired him to sing. These poems reveal the dynamic power of Nature known as Shakti and Mother, existing everywhere. The language of personification does not cease with Nature alone; it also continues to express the individual object of Nature.

3. Personifications of Natural objects

The flower garden is personified as a damsel. The poet has adduced adequate reasons for personifying the grove as a beautiful girl. The various limbs of the girl are from the flora and fauna existing in the garden. Her lips are the lotus-petals; her musical richness comes from the beetles humming in the flowers; Her delicate touch is due to the breeze; her blue eyes are the *kuvaḷai* flowers; her smiling white teeth are the jasmine flowers; her elegant gait is from the Annam (duck like birds.) Her dance is from the peacock. Her body is the fertile sprouts. With these enchanting personality, the poet was enslaved by the garden- Damsel (சோலை அணங்கு).[13] In one of his poems he names the flower-garden a temple where the peacock beautifully dances spreading its tails.[14]

The poet has written many a poem on space and ether (ஆகாயம், வான் Sometimes erroneously identified with sky). In one place, he narrates the rapturous flight along with his sweet heart to the peak of the space where the two exchanged kisses and enjoyed to their heart's content. Then they opened their eye brows in the residence of the Goddess space (ஆகாய வாணி).[15] The space is limitless and endless and provides place for all evolutes and emanations, as mentioned in some other poems by the same poet on space. Hence, it is proper that he has personified it as goddess. *Vāṇi* also means sound which is the property of Space or Ether. But, here when he used "ஆகாயவாணி வீட்டில்," it meant Goddess. *Vāṇi* in a specific sense denotes the Goddess of Learning as evidenced from the line,[16]

" வாணி அமைத்திட்டாள் நற்கவிதை ! "

There are many more personifications of the Natural phenomena as the poet has been a mystic or a pantheist at least when he deals with themes on Nature as is the case with the Western Romantic poets. The metaphorical usages such as *Ticaimakaḷ* - (the Damsel of the Compass), *Kiḷakkuppeṇ* (கிழக்குப் பெண்) (the East as Girl), "மாலைப்போதென்னும் அன்னை" (Evening As Mother). "பொதிகை அன்னை" (The Hills Potigai As Mother), இருட்பெண் " (Darkness As a Woman), "நீல முக்காட்டுக்காரி நிலாப் பெண்ணாள்" (Moon - As Damsel enveloping her frame with blue sky), " குன்ற மங்கை " (Hill as Maid), கடற் பெண்ணாள் " (Sea as Lady), " ஆற்றுத்தாய் " (River as Mother), " அழகு என்பாள் " (Beauty as goddess) etc., bear evidence to his keen insight, close observation and creative skill, besides vouchsafing to his mystical vision.[17]

To the poetic eye, most of the aspects of Nature seem to possess feminine qualities and hence personified them to be a Goddess, a Mother, a Damsel or simply a girl. With regard to Sun, the poet treated it to be a Male principle again in conformity with the traditional views current in this country. There are many eipthets in his poems to glorify the many - sided greatness of the mightly luminary viz., the Sun. The following are worth considering : [18]

	Epithets	Literal meaning
1.	*Ceṅkatirōṉ*	He who radiates red rays
2.	*Cuṭarkkōmāṉ*	The bright monarch
3.	*Maṉṉaṉ*	The king
4.	*Oḷiyiṉ celvaṉ*	He, the Possessor of Brightness
5.	Virikatirc Celvaṉ	The Rich Man who spreads His rays of light.
6.	*Pakalōṉ*	He, who creates the day.
7.	*Veyyōṉ*	He, who is scorching or He, who is liked.
8.	*Uḻavaṉ*	One, who ploughs the darkness.

All these personifications of the Natural Phenomenon indicate the dichotomy of Male and Female principles for which the appropriate attributes and cosmic activities have been identified by the poet.

Describing nature in the language of personification is a peculiar feature with the English Romantic poets. It does not mean that Bharatidasan has already acquainted with them. It is suggested that the poetic experiences are universal, since they transcend the limits of language, region, race, religion and time.

Wordsworth used to behold with his eyes fixed on the objects, disclosing the fact that a Nature poet should meditate with single - mindedness. The main aim of the Romantic poets is to get at the root of our existence and to describe the same experience in poetic language so as to enable others to receive the same benefit.

If we study the Nature poems of Bharatidasan, it is evident that he has evolved a concept of Eternal Beauty being the essence of the existing Nature. Further he has conceived Nature to be a Supreme power that is the life force for the organic and inorganic objects that constitute

the whole Universe. He felt deliberately the limitations of our ken of thought and power of sense organs in beholding the expanded Nature.[19]

The concept of Natural Beauty

From the poems of Bharatidasan, his conception of Natural Beauty could be evolved. He has clear ideas about the Beauty that he has experienced with the help of his poetic vision. The eternal presence of the everlasting beauty in the Natural phenomena, the benefits on its realization and the necessity to develop one's inner faculty to learn the mysteries of the beauty are understood from his poems.

The title, "*A̱ḻakiṉ Cirippu*" that has been given to the poems on Nature suggests the aesthetic sense of the poet. When he observed keenly the objects of Nature, he felt that they are nothing but beauty which laughed in the form of lotus, moon, sun, etc. The word "Cirippu" meaning laughter is used to indicate the mood of happiness even in other poems of the same poet. He personifies utter darkness as a lady whose laughter assumed the form of Luminous Moon.[20] To him the flower-garden is the manifestation of the Nature's laughter: [21] "While the child laughed the earth laughed ! the ether laughed ! "[22] These are a few examples to illustrate his aesthetic and artistic expressions concerned with the brilliance of beauty.

The first three poems of *A̱ḻakiṉ Cirippu* constitute one unit dealing with the presence of beauty in the external world. Bharatidasan is a realist : Beauty exists in all the objects that are perceptible to sense-organs. He visualises beauty as a Damsel and witnesses Her presence in the Rising Sun, in the spate of Sea waters, in the groves, flowers, sprouts. She has revealed Her presence all over.[23]

The Poet continues to present the other objects of attraction where he has encountered with the principle of Beauty :

"She is the brightness in the eyes of the little child."

She smiles in the luminous lamp which the poet calls "*Tiruviḷakku*," literally meaning the beautiful lamp, but the prefix of the word "Tiru" connotes many meanings out of which "Divinity" is the most appropriate meaning which is also in consonance with the cultural tradition of the Tamils.

The Damsel of Beauty also dances in the pretty movements of the finger-bent of the lady who piles up the fragrant flowers to make a garland. She enjoys the fresh gait of the cultivator who bears the plough on his sturdy shoulder and strong back. She fixed the poet's eyes on the body of the fertile harvest land! Thus she migrated to his heart making him happy.[24]

The poet beheld the compass, the space and its innumerable containers. He glanced at the movable and those that stood and felt the presence of Beauty that offered him immense joy. The poet exclaims that the Beauty is the essence in all the essential things. She is youthful and could not be subjected to decay due to antiquity. One must behold with a sense of craving. Then only one can feel her presence everywhere. The poet believes that if the Beauty becomes our possession, there is no agony.[25]

COSMIC VISION

The great poets generally possess a cosmic vision. Bharatidasan is not an exception to this rule. He is capable of conceiving the cosmic form of Nature. His Nature poems furnish enough evidence for his creative genius in presenting the cosmic forms of Nature with sense of reality. Let us quote some illustrations.

When he describes both the violent and silent activities of the wind, a cosmic picture is elegantly drawn. He beholds crores of planets known as "*aṇṭam*", (- - literally meaning that which has the oval shape, and this is confirmed by modern science also) rotating in the wide expanse where the wind is dancing ! The wind (in the form of tempest) turns the mighty rock into heaps of dust and also (in the form of breeze) passes through the soft Aṉiccam flower unnoticingly. Thus, the malignant and benign aspects of the cosmic wind are beautifully described by the poet.

The tempest reminds one the terrific form of *Kāḷi*, while breeze represents the benefic and peaceful form of Shakti. Since *Tenṟal* has been described to be the daughter of Mother Potikai Hills, this sort of elucidation stands valid.

The poems on Sun also reveal the mysteries of the great luminary that dispels the darkness and inspires the living beaings. The poet sings:[26]

" Long live Oh Sun !
You plant your crores of luminous hands on the sea !
In the space expand your crores of hands upon
The mountains, jungles, villas, lakes, rivers and the like
Completely enwrapping them with your light !"

The poet imagines that if the sun light becomes extinct, the stars in the space would resemble like the different seeds losing their identity. He personifies the sun to be a ploughman who has cultivated life, when the world was barren.[27] This personification is fully meaningful. A ploughman cultivates the land and then raises crops. So also the Sun is held responsible for the cultivation of various species in the atmosphere of Nature. The poet has used a rare word '*pāl*' which conveys many meanings. *Pāl*, the primordial matter was accepted in the Samkhya system, the only philosophy reliable to the poet, forms the source of the evolved empirical world. Only after the emanation of the sun, different types of lives were evolved. Here again, we see the poet both romantic and philosophic in the portrayal of the sun, which has been described to be the root to the green crops and a blanket for the biting cold.[28]

In another poem, the poet engages in contrasting the littleness of human kind with the vastness of the wide space and asks us to think over this glaring difference, the realisation of which would enable the human beings to abandon their arrogance of speaking high and low among themselves. His comparison of the earth to an young Koyya fruit and man to a small ant on it, is really romantic, exposing the littleness of mankind against a big entity.[29]

Poems on Darkness

The poems on darkness are wonderful creations with artistic perfection. Even a cursory glance of these poems may tempt one to boldly say that no poet has made so fascinating penpicutre on Darkness as our poet has drawn. As a realist he admits the existence of darkness as a separate entity. It has its birth along with space.[30] It fills the whole atmosphere (எவ்விடத்தும் நிறைவுற்றாய்). The poet treats both the object and its shadow as real. So he proclaims that if there is object, the positive presence of its shadow is inevitable. The darkness he considers, is the shadow of the natural phenomena. He illustrates its existence in the empirical objects with which we have daily contact.[31] In the particles of milk the poet finds the presence of darkness. In the two sides of projecting

beautiful nose, in the edge of the fish - like eyes, in the middle portion of the ears of a girl, its presence is sensed. It is the directing force revealing the index of woman's face. Its significance is better known only by a painter!

It resides beneath the petals of the lotus flower. For each and every petal, it forms the block, the absence of which will destroy the beauty of the lotus. It is the principle of Beauty in all things existing everywhere.[32]

The poet's descriptions of darkness reveal his mystical and metaphysical bent of mind. In a picturesque language he presents the majestic cosmic personality of darkness, which seems to be an angel or a damsel to the poetic eye :

With her blue stone-like wings she envelops and embraces the whole of mankind and entire kingdom of different species that get tired after day-long activities, finishing supper, ready to repose. This kind of rest is essential to recoup living beings to be fit for the next day work. Hence, this act of the darkness hailed as a symbol of loud affection, just like a mother caressing her child for a sound sleep. So, the poet expresses his gratitute(-as if a sole representative of the innumerable species) to the darkness.[33]

Since he has personified the darkness as a damsel (இருட்பெண்), the various dresses and ornaments to suit her gigantic personality are to be visualised. These constitute additional beauty to the Lady.

[34] She grows from earth to ether to the wonder of all ! The poet glances at Her splendid body. In conformity with the wordly women who change their dress often, the Darkness also alters Her attire frequently. Her dress in the day time is the golden saree ! (-Thus the sunlight is personified). Her night dress is the saree, made up of ornamental white silk ! (Thus the moonlight along with the stars is personified)

When the Damsel turns her body and flower-like eyes towards the poet, he beholds in Her tresses of black hair a dazzling diamond head ornament known as Villai, (-the circular moon is thus personified) usually worn by a rustic girl.

[35] The meeting with the Damsel of Darkness makes the poet become sensuous and his heart is confused. Finally it leads him safely to the sacred presence of his own wife (மனைவியின் திருமுன்).

On going through the descriptions on Darkness, one may raise a rational question about the possibility of the existence of Darkness not only in the moon-lit night but even in the scorching day time. The Romantics are against rationalism and they are wedded to creative imagination and sensuous emotion. Hence, Bharatidasan as a Romantic poet never bothered about the rational background of his descriptions.

One more answer is worth mentioning. In Saiva Siddhanta, Darkness is not a negative aspect but a positive reality existing even before the sun in a concealed form. Its absence does not mean its negation. Both the light and darkness are treated to be physical realities. The possibility of the influence of his study of Saiva Siddhanta works in his formative period is not excluded in penning these poems.

Communion with Beauty

The Nature has a personality, soul, language and power of expression. It has attraction and enchantment, bewildering the beholder. It seems that Bharatidasan shares the same sort of aesthetic experience of Endymion. Keats sings thus :[36]

" A thing of beauty is joy for ever :
Its loveliness increases : it will never
Pass into nothingness . . . ."

Similar expressions in the poems of Bharatidasan indicate similar experiences which are common to the great poets who go up from the ordinary earthly existence. Some illustrations are sufficient.[37]

1. " As I beheld the beauty, I experienced great pleasure."
   (அழகுதனைக் கண்டேன் ; நல்லின்பம் கண்டேன்)

2. " Oh breeze ! as usual, you gave me joy"
   (வழக்கம்போல் இன்பம் தந்தாய்)

3. I got the visual pleasure
   (காட்சியின் இன்பம் பெற்றேன்)

4. I lost myself ; I live in the sphere of pleasure
   (என்னை நான் இழந்தேன் : இன்ப உலகத்தில் வாழலுற்றேன்)

5. The flowers in multitudes resemble hundreds of emerald-like birds, offering insatiable Dance of Beauty !

6. The red-buds of the Lotus, shining like beautiful lamps alleviated my agony, offered great feast to my eyes.

7. Oh the Moon, the milk-foam of pleasure, cool lamp ! I lost myself since I absorbed in your beauty !

8. Though the Nature belongs to a dim past, It creates new scenes! Consume them Oh brother !

9. Grove ! grove ! grove !
To enjoy is my business.

In one context, the poet delicately describes that even if the breeze removes the ladies dress (that conceals their secret organs), they will not remove it, thereby sugggesting that they are over whelmed by the pleasure due to the touch of the breeze.[38] The poet expresses that the rare form of breeze is imperceptible, even each of its small movements excites him with limitless joy.

These portions reveal the inexplicable enjoyment that the poet has experienced during his communion with nature.

He is aware of the limitations of the senses. He says that a simple survey of the spate of water is not possible for the heart with the two wings of the eyes ; it requires one crore wings and hence the heart withdraws.[39]

The beauty is abundant in the hills. The pastoral woman, the Moon has sprinkled the butter in the hills. The poet accosts :
" Oh brother ! Consume all the beauty to your possible extent", thereby indicating the imperfectness of our sense-power, not in a position to drink complete joy.[40]

Bharatidasan is a hedonist and hence he calls the pleasure out of sexual union to be " பேரின்பம்" i.e. great pleasure, differing with what others meant by the term. There is another role of the poet, i.e. the mystic, which has been hitherto unnoticed, when he indulges in unusual communion with Nature. Let us quote one or two examples from his poetic creations to justify that the poet's super experiences with Nature constitute one type of Bridal Mysticism. In a higher plane, where he has treated the Natural object to be a female principle, he remains a passionate lover embracing and enjoying the Beloved Nature to his heart's content.

1. In many places, the poet personifies the lingua franca, Sweet Tamil to be a Mother, a virgin and also a beautiful girl. But, there are contexts where he personifies Tamil to be his beloved wife, "*Pattiṉi*".[41] This shows the worldly reality that one's love grows to the maximum, when it is directed only to his sweet wife. All else is subordinated.

The poet says that the Potikai Hills being the Mother gave birth to two daughters, the first one is *Teṉṟal* (i.e. breeze) the next one is Tamil. The former offers pleasure to his physical body, while the latter provides him with inner joy. He declares that this experience cannot be forgotten by him even in his dreams.[42] This experience suggests that the poet has the two personified consorts one fulfilling the external happiness and the other furnishing the internal joy.

Though the poet hated mythology, knowingly or unknowingly he has indicated a myth about the Potikai Hills, which is supposed to be the abode of the Sage Agastya, who held a Cangam there nurturing the Sweet Tamil. Further, the same Hill being the birth place of " *teṉṟal* " breeze is at least as old as *Cilappatikāram*.

2. In his poems entitled, " *Tamiḻkkātal* " very clearly he has presented a mystic union with two types of personified consorts.[43] When the poet, being the lover had planted his shoulders on the body of the Damsel Garden, in the dais (*Tiṇṇai*), his chaste consort Centamiḻ (செந்தமிழ்ப்பத்தினி) with fish-like eyes stealthily came there ! She poured out into his heart all the Bliss-beautiful, to be collectively offered by the garden, bright space and the company of peacock - like pretty girls, and pulled him touchingly ! In the light of indescribable rapture and ecstacy, the poet's expression is lyrical and mystical.

In most cases, it is the fair sex that approaches the poet. That shows the lady-love finding a suitable and most qualified partner, indicating the accomplished and perfected love of the poet. Some examples will do:[44]

1. "அப்பூஞ்சோலை - என்னைத்
தன் வசம் ஆக்கிவிட்டாள் ஒரு நாள்"
2. "என்றன் செந்தமிழ்ப் பத்தினி வந்துவிட்டாள்"
3. "வழியோடு வந்த நீயோ வழக்கம்போல் இன்பம் தந்தாய்"
4. "மீண்டும் நீ புணர்ந்தாய் என்னை!"

The last passage required some elucidation. The word, "புணர்ச்சி" in the poetic and mystic language connotes a sublime union of the Lady Breeze with the Lover Poet. It has been a customary practice of the Breeze to embrace the Poet and endow him with immense pleasure.

This kind of union is possible only when the existence of the personal self and the Universal self in the Nature is accepted and the realisation of the mingling of the former with the latter is attained. Hence it is evident that the poet has gone beyond the level of realising the mere fascination of the external beauty of Nature, and experienced a spiritual union.

Nature As Teacher

There is one more characteristic feature of the Nature poems of Bharatidasan worth mentioning, i.e. the imparting of wisdom to the observers.

Among the Romantic poets, Wordsworth was unique in the interpretation of Nature. He realised that like thee human beings the Natural phenomena such as the trees, plants, birds, animals etc, have sensations which are communicated in a language peculiar to each one of the species. Since from his early days he was intimately associated with the rural atmosphere, especially in the Lake landscape, he had developed an unusual craving for Nature. He believed that one could learn more from Nature than from the barren leaves of the books. Hence he gives the following advice ;

> " Up ! Up ! my friend, and quit your books . . .
> Come forth into the light of things
> Let Nature be your Teacher.[45]

The lessons imparted by Nature are meant only for those who have special preparation to receive them. That is why he advises thus : [46]

> " Come forth and bring with you a heart
> That watches and receives."

Nature unfolds Her mysteries only for those who approach Her with honesty and devotion.

In Bharatidasan, there are many a penpicture of Natural objects indicating some sort of wisdom to be learnt by the human beings. His

poems on 'Rainbow' are worth mentioning. He imagines that 'Rainbow' is poetry written by the (poetess) space.[47] This metaphorical expression speaks volumes of the aesthetic sense and artistic skill of the poet. To him, rainbow with the fascinating multicolours resembles a beautiful poetry, the author being the space herself. In some other poem, the poet Bharatidasan has personified space as a Goddess, i.e., ' ஆகாயவாணி '. *Vāṇi* also is a synonym for the Muse, or goddess of Learning. So, when he sings, "விண்எழுது கவிதையாம் வானவில்" we can easily identify that "விண் " should be " ஆகாயவாணி ", then only the poetry will be complete and perfect. He knows well the nature of Rainbow. Though it is charming and beautiful, it is transient. It exists for a while and goes out of existence. Keenly observing this evanescent quality of the colourful Rainbow, the poet feels that it conveys a message to the people at large, a lofty philosophy to the temporal existence (i.e. *Nilaiyāmai*).

It is really wonderful that even the hedonistic poet Bharatidasan was struck with the concept of the transitory nature of the empirical existence. It is essential to note that the same concept in one form or other is advocated from the days of *Tolkāppiyar* to instruct the people to perform the possible good deeds within the short span of time. Hence, the Rainbow of Bharatidasan imparts an ethical teaching, centering on the concept of transcience, accepted by all systems of Indian philosophy both Vedic and Non-Vedic except the *Cārvākas*.

In contrast to the beautiful Rainbow, the ugly crow also catches the sight of the poet. He observes perhaps somewhere in the hinder-garden of his residence, that the crow accosts its fellow-beings to partake the paltry food, scattered over the ground. From this fraternal attitude of the crow, the poet draws a lesson that the human beings should emulate the exemplary bird.[48]

The pretty doves are the attraction for the poet. He describes their beauty in a realistic language. He keenly observes the behaviour of the doves. They also live in pairs, leading a life of contentment. They too partake their food of grains without any quarrel. The blind custom of discriminating beings into high and low is not existent among them. They fly in the air with a sense of joy. Their gaits are majestic to be learnt even by the rulers (kings).[49]

Even in conjugal life, they preserve morality. The poet advocated re-marriage, if any one of the partners died. So, he mentions that the

same is followed among the doves. The poet is practical and he witnesses in the society that some male members exercise force and vehemence to seduce and rape the fair sex. This wrong course of action is also found with some of the doves and the poet thinks that even among the immaculate doves, some immoral elements are mixed and they should have learnt from the bad people to compel a female dove, to sexual gratification.[50] Here, we come across a different type that is imparted. It is not from the side of Nature. Nature is spoiled due to the bad conduct of the people. The poet goes to say that in nature everything is perfect and if there is any imperfection, it is due to the imperfection of human beings, thereby assailing the base instinct ingrained in some people with a view to correcting them to lead an ethical life. It is not certain that in the English Romantic poetry, such a reversal of learning i.e. Nature learning from people (-not for good) is noted.

With regard to feeling and sharing, the family of doves teaches a lesson to the humanity. The parent doves of the little ones set an example to others for the excellent affection to be shown towards children.[51]

In one of the poems on darkness, the poet deliberately stated that the darkness imparts the wisdom that everyone should have purity.[52] Darkness clouds our knowledge resulting in ignorance leading to untold miseries. To eradicate ignorance, one should develop purity which gives wisdom.

In the poems of Bharatidasan, there are many more examples to illustrate that Nature provides knowledge for one who watches and receives. For want of space, only one example is given.

Projecting one's ideas to be the activities of Nature has been considered to be one of the salient features of the Romantic poetry. Bharatidasan is not an exception to this. To substantiate, an illustration from his "*A̲lakin̲ Cirippu*" is presented here: [53]

The poet beholds the space in the night. The innumerable stars are twinkling in the sky. To his vision they are not stars, but pimples. How has this happened ? The poet gives an interpretation to this awful sight :

> "All those who work hard happen to be the poor ! If they
> Demand their rights, they are inflicted with untold pains
> By the mean people, who happen to be the rich !

On seeing this wretched condition, the suppressed
Emotions of the expanded space burst forth to be
Pimples!"

Here again, we notice that the inanimate space has been portrayed to have feelings and powers to witness the class-conflict, and sympathise with the working class. The poet has projected his feelings through the space-imagery. His compassion remains always with the labour class. He despised and detested the inhuman attitude of the capitalists. He wants a society where the working people get their due place.

Here is an instance to note that among the factors that moulded the poet's personality, the communist ideologies actually played a considerable role.

Another aspect of the Nature poems reveals the transformation of Love of Nature into Love of Humanity. This aspect is said to be dominant in the poems of Wordsworth. The same is prominent also in Bharatidasan.

Humanism

Bharatidasan is a lover of human beings. Among the different manifestations of Nature, he considered that man is the apex. His love of Nature was developed side by side with his love of mankind. He loved the most suppressed people, the labourers, the artisans, carpenter, weaver, potter and others. His special sympathy was for the abandoned woman. There are many objects for poetry which according to the poet invited him to treat them in his artistic creations. In the poems of Tamilppēṟu, the poet has enumerated elaborately those objects of attraction :

The book and lotus flowers, the groves, fields and the blue sky, the gentle breeze, the peacock and the annam birds, the emerald like sun etc., appeared in the vision of the poet entreated him to delineate their beauty. Not only these objects of Nature, but the beautiful girls who resemble the dancing peacock demanded the poet to describe their soul-deep love. The hero's hill-like shoulders, that carry the weapons asked him to paint their prowess.

Such objects came in multitudes. But, the poet though a lover of Nature and admirer of beauty and heroism, melted on seeing the pitiable plight of the Tamils. This is a clear indication for the humanism that the poet exhibited towards his fellow beings.

Even the characters such as *Vañci*, *Kuppaṉ* and others in the narrative poems such as *Cañcīvi Parvatattiṉ Cāral*, *Nallamuttu Katai*, *Tamiḻacciyiiṉ Katti* etc;, bear evidence to his love of mankind.

His revolutionary poems on equality and fraternity are the outcome of his deep concern with the humanity. Herein, the influence of the revolutionary French writer Russeau is felt.

His excessive interest in the washerman induced him to proclaim that he would be supported only by his donkey that carried the clothes for cleansing, and not the unknown God.

The poet addresses his brethren thus :

"Oh Comrade ! See the hungry poor people who have not vital power even to open their mouth ! For them, you should be prepared even to part with your flesh with the love of mother." Such a statement comes from the depth of his heart and his personal life also justifies his compassion to the neglected people.

The lengthy akaval poem entitled, "உலகம் உன்னுடையது" is a classic example of the expanded vision of the poet who treats the entire humanity to be one unit in which there is neither difference nor discrimination.

In one of his poems, he says that the heart should be drenched in the river of kindness.

The poet presents the various stages in the process of psychical development. He identifies many types of consciousness in the human beings. One who has mustard-like heart cares only for his own family. Those who possess the pulse-like heart would admire their own village. Bigger than that is the cup like heart that aspires to use its force to disturb other territory. People with mango-heart would indulge in quarrels. But, there is the most evolved magnificient heart, being the embodiment of maternal love pure and big that treats all the people of the world to be one, and where it exists there is no warefare since there is no selfish motive.

The poet draws from the nature the gradual similes such as mustard, pulse, cup and mango to compare the condition of the people with the different types of heart and finally concludes that the heart of a universal mother above all bestows bliss.[54]

The intense love for the entire humanity assumes various forms of expression in the lofty poems of Bharatidasan.

It is proper to recall that the English Romantic poet Wordsworth, being a humanist attached much importance to the rustics leading precarious life. The portrayal of the solitary-reaper, the Leach gatherer, Michael the Shephed, the Beggar and others reveals the poet's sincere love of mankind.[55]

This kind of giving prominence to ordinary people out of love seems to be a departure from the deep-rooted tradition of singing the glory of rulers, chieftains and the rich. This aspect is considered to be one of the features of the Romantic poetry.

Conclusions

As a result of our study carried out in this article, the following findings are worth mentioning :

1. The Romantic aspect as noticed in the Nature poems of *Bhāratidāsan* is not due to his bookish knowledge or acquaintance with the Western Romantic poetry. It is a natural outcome.
2. He is original in the delineation of Natural manifestations.
3. Personification of Nature in general, Natural objects in particular being one aspect of Romantic poetry is predominantly found in the Nature poems of Bharatidasan.
4. He describes Nature both in its terrific and benign forms.
5. There is some kind of Divinity in the nature poems of our poet.
6. The personifications of the Natural phenomena indicate the dichotomy of Male and Female principles for which the appropriate attributes and cosmic functions have been ascribed.
7. The poet has evolved his own theory of Beauty.
8. The poet's expressions are in many places both mystical and metaphysical, besides being romantic.
9. He has developed cosmic vision to behold the cosmic beauty.
10. He has direct communion with Beauty.
11. He is a realist accepting even the reality of Darkness.

12. He is against Rationalism at least when he is absorbed in the description of Nature.
13. There is clear indication for the poet's leaning towards Bridal Mysticism.
14. Though he hated mythology, he indirectly accepted the Agasthya Myth, when he stated that Tamil is the daughter of Potikai Hills.
15. 'Nature as a Teacher' is attested by his poems on Nature.
16. His love of Nature and love of Humanity have a simultaneous growth.

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2. To his journal, *Kuṭiyarasu,* M. Singaravelar, one of the free thinkers of Tamil Nadu and an exponent of Communism, contributed thought-provoking articles, the study of which nurtured the thought of the poet.

3. " என்நடை தம்நடை என்யாப்புத் தன்யாப்பு என்று
   இந்நாள் எழுந்துள பாவலர் தம்மை
   எண்ணினால் இருப்பவர் தம்மில் நூற்றுக்குத்
   தொண்ணூற் றொன்பது பேர்எனச் சொல்லுவர் . . "

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    4. Potikai Aṉṉai, *Aḷakiṇ Cirippu*, p.13.
    5. *Irutpeṇ, Aḻakiṉ Cirippu*, p.51
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    8. *Kaṭaṟpeṇṇāḷ, Aḻakiṉ Cirippu*, p.9
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53. *Aḻakiṉ Cirippu*, 34 ; This kind of projection is known as *Taṟkuṟippēṟṟam* in the Tamil rhetorical tradition. Its counterpart in Sanskrit is *Utprekṣā*.

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THE SIGNIFICANT THEMES IN KULOTHUNGAN'S POEMS

Prolegomenon

Modern Tamil poetry commences with the advent of Bharati and Bharatidasan, the celebrated luminaries in the firmament of modern Tamil literature. Fresh themes, revolutionary thoughts, humanism and social concern are the most significant features of their poems. Flexibility in the traditional metres, introduction of some innovative genres, fertile imagination, emotional and lucid expression, flow of language, simple and powerful diction are the hallmarks of their poetical careations. They championed the cause of the suppressed and oppressed people and questioned the authority of some established institutions, such as caste-system. The trinity of equality, fraternity and liberty constituted the essence of their poems. They fought for the emancipation of women from the shackles of male-dominant society. Though they glorified the Tamil culture and literature, they aspired to cultivate the language through the introduction of modern thoughts, embodying various branches of science and humanity. They were not dogmatic and they stood against superstitions, beliefs and frozen customs which were impediments on the way of improvement and progress. They were rational in their outlook and were ambitious to create an egalitarian society with plenty and prosperity. They inspired hundreds of poets - both blossomed and budding, whose contributions to the enrichment of modern Tamil can not be underestimated. Among them, Kulothungan [- the pseudonym of Dr. V.C. Kulandaiswamy] occupies an important place.

Though by profession, he commenced his life as an academician of engineering subject and occupied many exalted positions, it seems that his innate talent and creative skill should have tempted him to write poetry, as evidenced form the enormous poems which he published even from his college days upto this period. Most of them are stray verses, composed due to the spur of the moment and contributed to the periodicals, literary magazines and souvenirs. Nevertheless, they are the spontaneous overflow of his clear thoughts and keen observations on the contemporary society. These poems are brought out in six collections. A critical edition

of all his poems, based on the sequence of homogeneous themes under some meangingful sections, is a desideratum since it would not only minimise the labour of the researcher, but also project the poet's mind vividly on a particular aspect of modern society.

A close study of his poems reveals the fact that though the poet derives inspiration from Tiruvalluvar, Avvai, Ilango and Kamabar of the past, as well as Bharati and Bharatidasan of this century his language, diction, style and expression are undoubtedly his own. The tone and texture of his poems also differ considerably from those of his predecessors. Though he follows the traditional metres, he takes liberty in some contexts to boldly deviate at least to certain extent, in order to give preference and prominence to the easy and effective communication of essential themes. Colloquialism is very rare in his language. Rare words of classical usage are found in his vocabulary. His style is simple but appealing. There is some sort of melody and rhythm even in his poems written in Akaval metre, which is akin to English blank verse. However, he irresistibly ciriticises the so called neo-poets, writing Putu-k-kavitai (i.e. neo-poetry) who never bothered either about decency or language perfection. Even then, it is a known fact that the new wave of poets also carved a niche in the annals of modern poetry. It is astonishing to note that Kulothungan himself has given us a beautiful poem with the title, *"Kuñcukaḷiṉ Kōrikkai"* which deserves to be classified under the genre Putu-k-Kavitai. But, it is totally free from the defects that the poet has pointed out in the neo-poems of other authors. It deserves to be taken as a model by the aspirants to write neo-poetry.

The Poetic Personality of Kulothungan

In the history of Tamil Country, there were three kings of Chola dynasty, bearing the name of Kulothunga. *Kulothunga-I* (A.D. 1070-A.D.1120) patronised the great Tamil Poet *Jayankondan*, who celebrated the conquest of Kalinga in his immortal poem *Kalingathupparani*. *Kulothunga-II* (AD 1133-A.D. 1150) patronised *Ottakoothar* whose *Prabandhas* on the Chola monarchs are full of historical value. *Kulothung-III* (AD 1178-A.D. 1218) supported *Sekkizhar* whose hagiology on the Saiva Saints throws a flood of light on the cultural history of the medieval Tamils.

However, in the history of Tamil Literature, there is only one *Kulothungan - V, C. Kulandaiswamy* - whose poetic personality has been

moulded by at least three factors, viz., the Self-respect movement of *Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy,* the Spirit of science and in his last phase of creative period, the lofty thoughts of national leaders like *Mahatma Gandhi* and *Jawaharlal Nehru.*

In the introductory poem which is labelled as *Avai-y-adakkam* in the literary tradition, prefixed to his poetical collection entitled *Vaḷarka Tamiḻ,* he has presented his stand as a poet. The technical term Avai-y-adakkam literally means 'humility, expressed to the learned audience'. The substance of this prefatorial poem is presented here under:

"I am not a poet; not even aspired to become a poet. I aspired to be a servant of Tamil only to get erudition in the science subjects and to develop my faculty to express the scientific thoughts effectively in Tamil. However, the damsel Tamil muse never allowed me to stick on to my view and attracted me towards her. Though I hesitated abandoning my original stand, I stumbled. These (the poems) are my utterances, expressed in love. My faith is different. I am not a poet."

It shows the humbleness of the poet whose learning, scholarship and creative skill are very well established in his poems which are subsumed under 245 titles in all his six collections.

Kulothungan is a poet of Neo-classicism in Tamil. He revives the classical vocabulary, beautifies the structure and embellishes the versification. A perusal of his entire corpus of poetical creations would reveal the fact that he is neither a theist nor an atheist, neither a hedonist nor an idealist, but he is out and out a realist, humanist, materialist and scientist, governed by the two-fold principles of nationality and morality.

The poet has also mastered another literary genre, viz. essay. In his collections of articles, the dominant themes are Tamil script reform, Scientific Tamil, Coinage of Technical terms in Tamil, Internet and Interpretation of Thirukkural and Bharati's poems with scientific background.

The western critics including Winchester have expounded that a good poem should have four component parts viz, theme, imagination, emotion and form. In this paper, only some of the salient thematic aspects of Kulothungan's poem are being explored.

Humanism

Love of mankind dominates the poet's mind. He could not tolerate the sufferings of the suppressed and poor. Their plight affects his consciousness and out of sympathy, he has poured out many poems, depicting the pititable position of the neglected workers. They toil all the day in various capacities for the benefit of the society. These innocent labourers bathe in the scorching heat of the sun and their shedding sweat causes the growth of the crops of humanity. These poor people are in need of basic amenities. He laments over their predicament in the poems under the title *"Vāḻntu aṟiyōm"* i.e. we never know of good life[1]. He makes them to speak for themselves, expressing their grievances and critical condition.

"We build the mansions in the city, but do not possess even a hut for shelter. We till the land, but we starve. We cultivate cotton, but do not have even rags to wear. We raise the school buildings, but our children never learn even for a day. We dig the mines and extract gold; we dive deep into the ocean and bring forth the precious pearls, but we do not have any jewels and ornaments. We float in the ocean of perspiration, but do not prosper in life. We grow the flower garden, but never enjoyed the breeze that blows through it. We spend our night on the bare ground, giving life to the world by our exertion and earnest efforts. We are have- nots.

Our lips are dried; our faces are parched; our eyes are tearful; our tresses are scattered [-Even the men used to grow their hair like women in those days, especially in rural areas]. Nevertheless, in one moment we find consolation in the endearing embracement of our better-halves and in the smile of our offsprings. It is just like the lightning that appears and vanishes in the dark sky. In the next instant, we think of our emaciated body and poverty. But, never we die; simply we exist without leading a life. We are the have-nots[ētum aṟṟōm] the poor."

These poems which were published in 1949 throw much light on the pitiable condition of the poor workers even after India was liberated from the yoke of British rule. However, there is considerable change and improvement in the life of the workers who are bold enough now-a-days to fight for their rights and privileges under the banner of some unions, getting better wages and living a comfortable and contended life. Even then, the ill-treatment and exploitation continued in some quarters. Thus, the poems do not lose relevance of the present day.

In a different poem with the caption,[2] *"Kōṭi Kalaikaḷ Pitaṟṟukiṟār"* the poet exhibits his righteous anger against the ills of the society. He notices that even the maggots, insects, small toads and similar species happily live in the slush. The crows that flutter in the sky, traversed by the wind never die out of hunger. Is it proper that the human beings starved on earth, where the fertile lands yield grains in plenty? Further,the poet perceives the weaver bird [-ploceus baya] caresses its young ones in the nests, hanging on the branch of green trees. In the cave abodes of the hilly region, many beings slumber without disturbance. Around the great bushes and thick underwoods, the animal kinds sleep peacefully. Alas! The man kind alone pines away for want of a small hut to protect themselves from the inclemency of weather. The poet admonishes that there is no use of learning crores of subjects, if they do not show a way to redress the grievances of the oppressed.

Such poems reveal the poet's humanitarian outlook and intense love for fellow beings to have adequate facilities to lead happy and contended life.

Glorification of man's power

Protogoras, the great Greek thinker acclaimed that man is the measure of all things. The western humanists emphasised the potentiality and dignity of human beings. They advocated that man's strength and power are found in himself and he is the architect of his own self.[3] He is the source of all discoveries and inventions which contributed to the development of culture and civilization. In many poems, Kulothungan celebrates the strength of human beings and their victory over nature. His poem on *"Urimai Vēṭkai"* is an address to the man, deploring for his desolate position and exhorting him to accomplish all the splendid deeds. A free rendition of the poem is presented here under[4].

You are rolling over the mesh like a worm!
You never aspire for any excellence in life;
You never live along with the expanded space and air,
You restrained yourself with food and kin;
Those who crawl with their stomach
Can never reach the status high,
Oh my mind, exulting in dismal darkness
You don't have interest and involvement
Never seek after distilled learning, ambition,

Beyond the limits of ordinary beings,
Affluence, pride, without aspiring for little things,
Blooming life and fame.
Even the grass, shrub, worm and immovable stone
Possess a story to be unfolded.
Do understand that birth, growth, vegetating
And death in senility are common to anything on earth.
You are the king of life!
Possessing dreams, ocean of imagination
And limitless power of mind,
You are the crown of creation!
You are the fountain source of emotion,
That ascends, breathing the manifold hurdles;
You are the chief of scripture [New],
Which proclaims that nothing is unapproachable,
Impossible, unattainable and non-available!
You are the poet, singing melody
Transcending the heaven and space
And the sphere of moon, emitting cool rays;
You are the skylark of the forest,
Mingling with the wind and rain
And golden rays of the day,
Besides facing the lightning clouds
With the mind of singing the rhyme of liberation,
And with the greatness of ratioal understanding;
You are the head!
Anything that is impossible to you
Cannot be attempted by others.
You are the mighty man with unaching legs,
Planted to go ahead,
Since the day of the dawn of earth!
You are the teacher,
capable of propounding countless religions;
You are the creator of indescribable celestials, gods
and wonder working beings!
When you evolved to be the father of science,
you removed them [to be fictitious]!
Is it good or bad,
From which, when and why

This earth came into existence,
We do not know;
Despite the humanity grows from the very beginning,
Establishing ways, means and steps
On the path of growth, with the help of reasoning
courage, study and perseverance,
What are designed become attainable.
What are done become acceptable
Thus man conquered everything,
Stood on the crust of anything,
That is considered to be the crown!
You are the possessor of human resource,
If there is anything that is all powerful
Nobody knows here, anything except your race!
Your tradition, that passes on from generation to generation
Is really superb
You are the custodian of your excellent heritage,
Endowed with continued fame and name!
You belong to the good culture
Discarding littleness, hatred and avarice;
You are great as long as you develop thinking faculty!
Go ahead, go ahead on the path of growth
with lucidity and clarity,
Like the rays of light and brilliance of full moon,
Conquer those who come across your way,
Don't languish, my mind!
If your feet prospered, the expanded universe would prosper!
If your feet languished, then the world would stagnate!

The poet, being a scientist approaches anything with a rational outlook. He decries the weight of tradition and declares that exertion and earnest endeavour alone would lead one to the elevated position. Confidence in one's strength, courage and commitment are essential for progress and prosperity.

Creation of egalitarian society

The institution of caste-system was not found in the primitive society. It was introduced in India, only after the arrival of Aryans. In the annals of mankind, Buddha was the first to preach social equality. Though

great thinkers, poets, philosophers and siddhas who come after him vehemently attacked the caste-distinctions and advocated social equality, the varna-system either overtly or covertly continued to exist till this day. Great social reformers and revolutionaries like Narayana Guru, Periyar E.V.R. Bharatidasan and others exposed the folly of caste system and taught the noble concept of human unity. Nevertheless, the expected result and improvement in the outlook of the people is yet to be realised. Hence, our poet Kulothungan continues to fight for the abolition of caste divisions with a view to creating an egalitarian society. His poems on social justice, bereft of caste-prejudice deserve special mention. Though the poet has no faith in old myths, he quotes them wherever necessary just for analogy to educate the people[5].

"The ocean of milk was churned, thinking that it would yield ambrosia. But, it produced poison. Similarly in the water, irrigated to render the crops of social justice, we have seen that the weeds of caste have grown. Among all ills, it is the greatest disease; it is like leprosy, inseparably emerging from ancient days. Those who came to remove it were limitless. But all of them were defeated in this front.

This is the right time, the era of education and we thought that we could eradicate it root and branch. Yet, it is just like an acarus which leaves one location but it takes shelter in another place. Is it proper to offer a fresh pole of prop for its survival? Is it not cruel to give life to the god of death (-kūṟṟuvaṉ)? Without committing any blunder, let us find a path for nurturing social justice. There is nothing, exterior to the human genius. Let us make provision to the way of producing in the fields what we aspire. Let us create a society, unknown the censure of caste."

In some other poems with the title,[6] ***"ōcaiyāl uyarvatillai"*** he ridicules the hypocrites and exposes the defects of the so called political leaders who never practised what they preached. These impostors and fraudulent politicians vowed to extirpate caste system, haranguing that is never existed in the beginning and it was an evil, thrust upon the natives by the aliens and it was a cruelty, perpetrated by the mean among the mean; it was the totality of all baseness and disgrace. Further, they lectured that it was their primary service to root out the blame of caste. For this purpose, they organised many a meeting; with all their oral actions, there is no indication for the extrication from the clutches of caste system. Contrarily, fresh caste-organisations, which did not exist in ancient times,

came into vogue now a days. They flourished with the name *'sangam'* with its branches everywhere. The political leaders patronised them, extending concessions and partnership in high posts to them in return for their filial support to run their government for the whole tenure. These hypocrites capitalized the ignorance and penury of the innocent public, due to utter selfishness and indirectly nourished the caste-system. The so called revolutionaries became defective persons who placed their ideologies in the fire, and thrived for ever. They never cease to organize processions in the streets, which the slogan shouting innocent followers whose minds were soaked in dryness and poverty.

The poet finally concludes that the world could not soar up even an inch by the roaring of politicians. In another poem,[7] the innocent people were personified as platform, erected on the roadside to bear the big burden of caste. Revolution in the psyche of the individual is indispensable for the change in the attitude of the people to eradicate the evils, arisen out of discriminations.

Gender justice

In many parts of the globel, the women folk were treated for long with contempt. Though they were lauded in the myths and epics, in the normal life, the birth of a female child was looked down. The women were meant only to bear and rear children, and the kitchen was always reserved for them. Only after the historical revolutions occurred in America, France and Russia, the old concept of woman was considerably changed. In Britain, Virginia Woolf and others fought for gender justice. They raised their voice against the male dominance and claimed equality in all spheres of life. Later on, the movement of feminism became rampant, demanding for their due rights and privileges in every walk of life. It is true that Bharati, Bharatidasan, Thiru Vi.Ka. and other savants in Tamilnadu forcefully pleaded for their equal status and even for more rights and proclaimed that prosperity would prevail only if women were emancipated and endowed with the same privileges and powers, hitherto enjoyed by men. In moulding a healthy society, they have the lion's share. Following his predecessors, Kulothungan in his own way voiced for the equality of sex in many of his poems, but with a striking difference. In the poem, *'Nakal anru mūlam'*,[8] he puts forth his arguments vividly to establish gender justice:

"Though male and female vary in limbs, physical strength and responsibility endowed by nature, they a-· the halves of the whole [-Pūraṇam] and not its copies. Equality does ıot exist either in the dress or the mode of beautification. Any job that gives income would not be the criterion to determine equality. The soul of equality is different. In the days when vehicles with electronic support are made to move in the space, what kind of equality, do you find in the bus driving by woman on the high ways? They are equal with men in the equipment of fertile intellect. They share the platform, meant for delivering research-oriented speeches. Also, they are equal in the character of leadership. It is not an exaggeration that in kindness and culture, they excel men. Thus, the male-world is not supreme. Nevertheless, it is not great or good that women with a desire closely imitate the routine of men, since they are not the facsimiles of men, but equals. Hence, it is not proper to convert the original as a copy. The women were the vanguards of the journey of progress. They have the capacity to rule out of affection. They are the sculptors of civilization."

From the contents of the poem, a clear view of the poet's vision on the gender justice is projected. He has his own reservations while making strong plea for equality of sex. There are many more poems in the same vein on the subject, under reference.[9] He redicules the so called ultra modern women who have become chain smokers, dressing their hair like men and clothed in man's attire. "Does it give a beautiful appearance, if a male peacock competing with its mate, snips its splendid tail and feather?" Thus asks the poet! They also become irrecoverable addicts to intoxication. They went to the extreme in sharing the unhealthy practices of some men, once prohibited by our moral philosophers. The poet sympathises with the women, who misunderstood the meaning of equality and indulged in disorder. In his anxiety to preserve their deceny and dignity, his righteous anger prompted him to give vent to his strong exceptions to the concept of gender equality. In one poem,[10] he treats both man and woman to be the eyes of society. He emphatically expresses that women should not be treated as slaves. He condemns dowry system and its ills. He favours widow marriage. He vehemently argues that ethics and chastity should not become the golden fetters to women:

"They don't have any privilege and also the knowledge of it. They don't have possession, but they live in the world as possession to others. They form half of the society. If they were made lame, then the society would be crippled. They are the embodiment of kindness, calmness, grace and

source of inspiration. They take the roles of a mother, sister both elder and younger and daughter and desrve to be extolled as divine being. They should raise their head to revolt against the established order and to get their rights and share in society."

Thus, it becomes evident that the poet follows a middle-path in advocating gender justice.

Repugnance to praising the past

The poet's concern is with the present. The life and language would prosper only through modernism. In an era, marked by the unbelievable achievements in the spheres of science and technology, we should not lag behind, boasting the past glory of our culture[11]. He is repugnant to the practice of slogan shouting such as, 'Vaḷarka Tamiḻ' and 'Vāḻka Tamiḻ' - i.e. 'Prosper Tamil' and 'Long live the languge'. Such emotional outbursts would not nurture our language. The poet deplores that efforts are never taken to propagate the greatness of our culture, literature, fine arts, navigation, contact with other countries etc., to the understaning of the global audience. The depressed race could not make their language supreme. Any language could not grow all by itself.

"The ancient classics Tirukkural. Cilappatikāram and Kamban's epic would not fulfil adequately our modern requirements. In the grove of thoughts, ever fresh subjects are blossomed in countless number. These new thoughts should be made available in Tamil. The details of atomic energy, medicine, engineering and scientific subjects are to be sufficiently introduced in our language. The language should be tamed to cummunicate clearly the modern knowledge.

Hundreds of books are required in Tamil to elaborately teach the techniques of producing even needles and similar objects. Provision should be made to discuss in detail all the modern subjects in our mother tongue. The conquest of space is the crown of human efforts. But, we live with the blessings of our ancestral wealth. All the time we adore its glory. Is it not deplorable?"

The poet stand second to none to recall the rare achievements of our forbears in various fields. But, he exhorts that one should not get satisfied by repeatedly extolling the past. We must keep pace with the moving contemporary world. In a subsequent poem,[12] *"Muṭiyaṉivāyō"*,

he passes similar criticism with a view to giving prominence to the understanding of advancement of modern knowledge. The poet praises the scientitsts as *"A̲riv̲in Man̲n̲ar"* i.e. the kings of knowledge. It is his ambition to crown the Mother Tamil with fresh jewels of knowledge. One should not misunderstand that he has no reverance to our ancient classics and culture[13]. He hails that the world had become enlightened, since it gave birht to Tiruvalluvar, Avvai, Ilango and other great poets. He feels elated that "Tamil is my language, the source of joy". He accosts the fellow brethren to drink in the honey flow of Tamil classics, which he extols to be the precious, collected from the ocean of earthly life.

The Plight of Īl̲am Tamils

Tamizhagam and Īl̲am are closely connectd by ethnicity, language and culture from pre-historic period. Literary and inscriptional evidences bear testimony to their cultural, commercial and religious relationship. In this background, the poet's profound concern with the burning problems of the Jaffna Tamils should be viewed. He has written a number of poems, depicting the gruesome picture of the distress, despair and desolation of the island Tamils. He laments over their untold miseries and agonies. He strongly condemns the genocide in the island. Some lines of his poems are rendered here below[14]:

Lo! Īl̲am is in conflagration
The whole race is perishing
The deep sea water gets boiled
Due to the confluence of their tears.
The state itself destroys its citizens!
Behold, the world tolerates the aweful sight!
The entire race is erased
Dead bodies become decomposed
Nobody is left out to do the last rites!
My heart rends to tell the tale.
. . . .
. . . .
In all my dreams surface the scenes
Of the painful people and their plight.

The poet scorns at the world, deprived of ethical bearings, became dumb before the evil. The great world powers speak loudly about human rights, but are silent spectators, without finding a solution to the island problem.

The poet chides the leaders of the developed countries and questions whether their ideologies and international norms turned to be mere ritualistic stance. His anguish and anger reveal his attachment to the brethern of of Īḻam. In one poem, the poet wonders how the people professing the Gospel of Compassionate Buddha became violent and aggressive, and pathetically pictures the island, converted into a crematory. His sympathy to the island Tamils swells up due to his humanistic feelings.

Respect to the learned

The social and natioanl leaders and great poets are the friend, philosopher and guide to the people. Their compassionate outlook and human consideration fostered the sense of emotional integrity and soical solidarity. When they departed from the earthly existence, their words and deeds remained to inspire and enlighten the people to tread on the right path. Reminiscing over their rare achievements, the poet has written many a poem. The lengthy verse with the caption, *"Aṇaiyāttīpam"* i.e. undiminished light, delineates the services of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation. The poet adores him to be the embodiment of all virtues, collectively called puṉitam, i.e, the serene and divine. He preached the Gospel of Ahimsa - non-violence which is the primary weapon to fight against the mighty British. He established the strength of righteousness, the power of kindness and the potency of truth. In celebrating the golden jubilee of India's independence the poet fittingly recounts the untold sufferings of the freedom fighters to liberate our country from foreign rule. He wishes that the able and efficient people, welcoming the fresh and modern thoughts who could establish the socialistic government, should be installed in the higher posts so that our mother land would gain all that is good and glorious[15].

The poems on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are panegyric in character[16]. Hailing from a wealthy and learned family, he lived like a celestial on earth. He did not know the mean and base. Equally he didn't know pénury. His heart was as crystal as the pure water of Meru mountain, and he was humane. He knew the ethics of the Buddha, the kindness of the Jains, the threefold path of devotion, knowledge and action, as preached by Sri Krishna and the wisdom of Tamil classics. He was a perfect man and a unique son of the earth.

The poet has written many poems on Periyar E.V.R highlighting his countribution to social justice and eradication of supersitious beliefs[17].

He went to the nook and corner of Tamilzhagam to teach rational thoughts. His head never stooped down, but always stood erect. In his heart, blossomed ocean like ideas and thoughts, never dried up. He was the great leader with spirited perseverance and undaunted heart. He instructed that the dichotomy of begging and giving is not god's creation, but due to human fault. He said that changing the difference was proper and also showed the way for effecting such a change.

The poems[18] on the demise of Perarignar Anna are bone-melting elegy. The poet addresses the departed leader in the following vein.

"Have you discovered a different world to emigrate, when the crystal Tamil, the fertile land irrigated by Cauvery, the meaningful Kural of Valluvar, the Tamil classics from Sangam age, the palatable and pleasant arts and we, the Tamils who always dream of you, remained here? If you don't find there your perfect Tamil, would you return here?

Is there a distant world, untouched by the heat of our trickled tears? Have you found a space where the sob of our burning heart is unheard? Is it your tradition of affection to disappear without telling anybody the path to reach you? Is it possible for you to apprehend our agony? What is it? You too become susceptible to the course of nature?"

These statements reveal the intense love and immense regard that the poet possessed to the great social and political vanguard.

[19]His poems on the great poets Bharati and Bharatidasan, and on the radical religious leader, Kunrakudi Adigal deserve speical mention.

Conclusion

The poems of Kulothungan would thrive for his absorbing interest, evinced in the practical life and present problems of the people. The chosen themes of the poet to delineate them speak volumes to his human consideration and social commitment. He exhorts the people to look always forward and not backward. His observations on the ills and foibles of contemporary life and his reflections are adequately and effectively communicated in his poems. His vision of harmonious and ever developing society, endowed with rational outlook, human values, exertion and perseverance is yet to be realised.

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15. *Aṇaiyāttīpam,* pp.17-25.

16. *Vaḷarka Tamiḻ,* pp.99-100.

17. Ibid., pp.89-90.

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19. Vide, pp.85-88. 105; *Vitiyē Vitē Tamiḻac cātiyai ....?* P.39.

THE ENGLISH WRITINGS OF DR. M. ARUNACHALAM

In our times, the endearing letters Mu.A.indicate the great Tamil literary historian, M. Arunachalam. Hailing from a traditional Saivite family in Thanjavur District, he enriched his knowledge not only in the Saiva lore, but in almost all the branches of Tamilology. His erudition in Tamil, Sanskrit and English earned him a pride of place in the galaxy of Tamil scholars. He was a true Gandhian. His service to the cause of education and Tamil research was manyfold.

As a teacher, he established the Gandhi Vidyalayam in his birth place, Tiruchitrambalam to propagate the principles of basic education and patriotic thoughts among the pupils, the budding citizens of our country. As the first director of the Institute of Tamil, Sanskrit and other Indian languages, he has contributed many articles on comparative literature such as "The **Campu Kavya** in Sanskrit and Tamil", "A Study of Lexicography in Sanskrit and Tamil" etc. He was the Head of the Department of Saiva Siddhanta in the Benaras Hindu University, when Dr.S. Radhakrishana was its eminent Vice-Chancellor. He served as the First Chief Editor of the Greater Tamil Lexican in the Tamil University. His role as an active member in various academic bodies and organisations was very significant. As the editor of the English Journal Saiva Siddhanta and its Tamil counterpart, he has written many valuable articles on Saiva religion, philosophy and devotional aspects. His marvellous achievements in the field of Tamil literary history are acknowledged by all. In this article, a brief appraisal of his available writings in English has been made.

1. An Introduction to the History of Tamil Literature

This book was published in 1974. It is meant for the non-Tamil readers. It is really comprehensive in its treatment. It contains 47 topics running to 350 pages. The author has made a sincere attempt to trace the growth of Tamil literature from the Sangam Age to the Modern period. Fresh evidences were adduced to strengthen the theory with regard to the existence of Tamil Academy in the Pandya Capital, Madurai. He has refuted the view of Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai who opined that the reference

to the (Madurapuri Tamil Sangam) in the copper plates of Parāntakan Neṭunchaḍaiyan (768-815 A.D.) meant the Dramila Sangam of Vaijranandi of the fifth century A.D. (vide, pp.19-20) and established that it denoted the ancient Tamil Sangam. Then he elucidated the concept of three fold Tamil (Muttamizh, pp.21-29, pp.39-54). A brief account on the rhetorical treatises and metrical lexicons has also been given (pp.34-38). In the subsequent sections, a survey of the structure and substance of the literary works commencing from eight anthologies and ending with the creative writings of our period has been undertaken. According to him, T.K.C. was the greatest exponent of literary taste and poetic appreciation (p.325). The author has paid sufficient attention to the Siddhas, folk-songs, Christian and Muslim writers.

In the Foreword, the great doyen, Dr.K.R. Srinivasa Ayyengar observed:

> "I can at least record my appreciation as a 'common reader' (in the Johnsonian sense), who feels deeply beholden to Mr. Arunachalam for these controlled views of the immense panorama of Tamil literature for the benefit of the English reader". (p.V.).

It is essential to note that scholars like M.S. Purnalingam Pillai, T.P.M. J.M.S. Jesudasan and others had already written books on Tamil literary history in English. But, this book has its own unique features in presenting the facts highlighting the cultural aspects of the Tamils. Some years ago, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil has also written an exhaustive history of the Tamil literary works through the ages.

Next, let us consider some books of Mu.A. under the caption, *"Peeps into Tamil literature"*.

2. A Primer of Tamil Literature

This book was published in 1981. It is an abridged version of the previous work. A bird's eye view of the Tamil classics is noticed in this book. In 140 pages, the author has accomodated all the relevant materials under five headings. In the introductory portion, he has underlined the place of Tamil among the Dravidian group of languages, emphasising the high antiquity of Tamil (pp.1-6). In addition, the peculiar features of linguistic development in the structure of Tamil are outlined (pp.7-14).

After the advent of Sangam age, the author deals with the age of the devotional poetry, followed by the literary production witnessed in the period of the Imperial Cholas (pp.26-88). In the subsequent chapter, the religious and secular works belonging to 1200 A.D. – 1750 A.D. received great importance (pp.89-120). The arrival of foreigners earmarked the period of transition (1750-1850 A.D.). Printing, the prose writings, fresh literary genres etc., are some of the salient marks of this period (pp.120-127). The last chapter briefly deals with the modern period. The prabandhas of Mahavidwan Meenakshisundaram Pillai, the bone melting hymns of Saint Ramalingar popularly known as "Tiruvarutpa" and the devotional songs of Pambanswamigal are properly introduced with their impact on society. The poems of Mahakavi Bharathi, Bharathidasan, Kavimani, Suddhananda Bharathi, S.D.S. Yogi and others are also given due importance (p.135). Some of the writers of novels, short stories and essays are also noted.

On the whole, this books is meant, as the title suggests for the beginners, coming from other states and nations.

Let us pass on to say a few words about his book, ***"Ballad Poetry"*** in the same series.

3. Ballad Poetry

This books was published in 1976. It is the elaborated version of the author's seminar paper presented in the Institute of Traditional Cultures of the University of Madras in 1974. There are two parts in the book. The first part critically examines the evolution and concept of ballad poetry as opposed to classical poetry and descriptively discusses the form and content of the ballads, side by side revealing the objectives and usefulness of these folk literary poems (pp.1-90). In the second part, the author has classified them into seven kinds, such as the romantic ballads, historical ballads, puranic ballads, sociological ballads etc. (pp.91-211). It is significant to note that he has identified certain modern ballads which included Nāñjilnāṭṭu Marumakkaḷ Vazhi Māṉmiyam of Kavimaṇi, Gandhimahān Kathai of Kothamangalam Subbu and others (pp.211-219). It is to be understood that these modern creations are patterned on the models of already existing ballad poetry.

Originally the ballads derived their themes from Ramayana, Mahabharatha, Periyapuranam and similar religious narratives. Kusalavar

Ammāṉai, Mayilrāvaṇaṉ Katai, Alli arasāṇi mālai, Pavaḷakoḍi mālai, Siruthooṇḍaṉ katai etc. are some of them. The achievements of Ramappaiyan, the chief commander of Tirumalainayak of Madurai (1623-59), formed the substance of the **Ammani** ballad named after him. Kattabomman Kummi and Desingu Rajan Kathai have been popular historical ballads.

These ballads being the people's literature nurtured the sense of values and the racital of them entertained the working class and relieved them from the weariness of daylong labour before going to repose.

This is the first systematic study of Tamil Ballad poetry which tempted many research scholars to undertake their study on similar lines. This interesting book has been reviewed by the present author in The Hindu, dated 7-6-1977.

In continuation, let us consider Mu.A.'s book on *Education in Ancient TamilNadu.*

4. Education in Ancient TamilNadu

The author wrote this book in 1969 when he had actively engaged in the Gandhi Vidyalayam. He has unearthed all the relevant materials from the ancient Tamil classics to reconstruct the theory and history of education as prevalent in our land. He has pointed out that the **Tamil Cankam** are to be deemed as our ancient universities, producing valuable literary works of perennial importance. These **Cankams** are compared with their counterparts in the North such as the Taskhasila University and the Nalanda University (pp.1-18). The aims of education, the syllabus, the relationship between the teacher and the taught, the involvement of the parents, the environs of an ideal school, the process of admission, the methods of teaching and learning etc., are wonderfully described in the course of the books (pp.19-92). There are two chapters on "Physical education" and "Education of women" which have adequate relevance in the modern context (pp.93-104).

Mu.A.'s books on religious and cultural aspects deserve special mention. They are published in the series under the title, "Peeps into Tamil Cultural Heritage". First of all comes the book, *Cultural Heritage of Hinduism.*

5. Cultural Heritage of Hinduism.

This monumental book was published in April, 1982 with the blessings of Ejamān Swamigal of Kasi Mutt. The various facets of the Hindu religion and culture are presented in an effective and palatable language, bringing forth the salient features that are unique in our tradition. The author has devised the entire book in twelve sections, reminding one the number of Tirumuṟais and also Āḻvārs, leave alone the aphorisms in Sivajnanabodham. The opening section deals with the land and its people, the threefold monarchs and also the Nayak rulers in the pre-modern period. (pp.1-16). The second section outlines the scriptures Vedas, Upanishads, Agamas, Puranas and Ithihasas. A brief account about Saivism, Vaisnavism and Saktism is also given (pp.17-34). In the following portion, the author describes the significance of the Hindu deities who are worshipped by the Hindus as personal gods satisfying their spiritual requirements (pp.35-52). In the subsequent sections, the prominent temples and important festivals with their social and cultural bearings are portrayed (pp.53-102). The Acharyars and Alvars, saints and seers are introduced with due reverence (pp.103-157). The greatness of Tamil literature, the excellence of Saiva philosophy, the exuberance of fine arts such as music, dance, paintings, sculpture etc., and the uniqueness of science and technology that constituted the fabric of Tamil culture and civilization are elucidated with sufficient evidences (pp.158-210). In the last section, the social and educational aspects are mainly discussed (pp.211-236).

Thus, the book serves as a guide not only to foreigners but even for our own people to have a glimpse of the various aspects of our cultural heritage.

Mu.A. has also written a manual on the main principles of Saivism, under the caption, *"Outlines of Saivism"* in the year 1978. It has been reviewed by the present author in The Hindu, dated 28.11.1978. A few words of this book are to be mentioned.

6. Outlines of Saivism

This book introduces the essential features of Saivism in eight chapters. In the opening portions, the antiquity of Saivism, the concepts of God, Soul and Pasa constituting the triple realities, the primary importance of Meykaṇḍa Śāstras, the place of preceptor in the evolution of the soul etc, are discussed (pp.1-43). The ethical aspects, the means of liberation and the significance of grace are adequately adumberated in the remaining sections of this book (pp.44-87).

Since Agamas formed the bedrock for the edifice of Saiva Siddhanta, the author has written elaborately on *"The Saivagamas"*.

7. The Saivagamas

This book was published in 1983 on the occasion of Saint Manickavasagar day. All the *āgamas* are preserved only in the grantha script, invented by the Tamils of the Pallava period. The temple traditions as noticed in them are prevalent only in the South, suggesting that the Agamic cult as against the Vedic cult belonged to the Tamils.

This book is divided into three sections. The first section discusses in detail the origin and growth of Saiva Agamas, the Carya, Kriya, Yoga and Jñānapādas and their contents, their influence on our life and thought etc. (pp.1-68). In the second section, a detailed account of the Principal Agamas such as Kamika, Kāraṇa, Suprabheda, Makuṭa etc., is presented. Also some works comprising the key points of earlier agamas and their translations in Tamil and English are noted. (pp.69-109). The third section is devoted to delineate the other systems viz. Pratyabhijñā, Sāktism, Vaishavism and Vira Saivism which are based on their own agamas (pp.110-133).

8. The Saiva Saints

This book is both informative and instructive. The author's books with the titles the *Harijan Saints and Women Saints of Tamilnadu* are beautiful biographies, revealing the role of the so called underprivileged people and weaker sex in promoting the religious and cultural integrity in our land. The life-sketches of the Saiva Nayanmars and later saints like Arunagirinathar and Tāyumāṉavar are rendered into lucid prose in the book under the Title, *"The Saiva Saints" (1985)*. This hagiology is immensely useful also for our children studying in English medium. In addition, he has translated Kandar Kalivenba and many poems of Saiva Saints into English.

9. Gurujnana sambandhar

This book came out in 1972 and its revised version in 1981 under the patronage of the present pontiff of Dharmapura Adheenam, during the Fifth International Seminar - Conference of Tamil Studies, held at Madurai in January, 1981. In this book of 125 pages, the author projects the spiritual life of Gurujnāna sambandhar, the founder of the present Dharmapuram Mutt, near Mayladuturai in the end of 16th century A.D.

He was a great poet, able exponent of Saiva Siddhanta and above all a mystic. He has composed eight works in various metres on Saiva theology and metaphysics. Among them, *Siva bhoga saaram* occupies a significant position.

Mu.A.'s articles, published in various journals and magazines, are highly valuable. Some of them are the following :

	Title of the Article	Journal or the Volume	year	Publisher
1.	*A Study of the Culture and History of the Kārkāttar*	Bulletin of The Institute of Traditional Cultures, pp.1-72.	1975	University of Madras.
2.	*Puṟanāṉūṟu and a rethinking of Ganapathi worship in Tamilnadu*	South Indian Studies, vol. II pp.31-46	1979	Society for Archaeological, Historical and epigraphical research, Madras.
3.	*The impact of the orthodox Darśanas on Tamil literature*	Philosophical Heritage of the Tamils, pp.193-210	1983	International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras.
4.	*A Study of Lexico-graphy in Sanskrit and Tamil*	Collected papers of Tamil Sanskrit and other Indian Languages Research Institute. pp.1-20	July 1978	Chennai 600 008
5.	*Evolution of the words for 'Mother' in the Early Tamil language*	Ibid, pp. 21-32	"	"
6.	*The Campūkāvya in Sanskrit and Tamil*	Ibid, pp.33-48	"	"

There are many more articles that require a separate study. All of them throw much light on the social, cultural and religious life of our people through the ages. They are often quoted by scholars in their dissertations to support their views. Thus, the significance of these articles goes without saying. Due to paucity of space and non availability of all his writings in English, a proper and full assessment of all his contributions is unable to be made. However, it is sufficient to mention that the above books and articles vouchsafe to the author's erudition, critical acumen and keen insight. Recognizing his tremendous contribution to Tamil, the Tamil University conferred on him the honorary D. Litt. Degree in Dec.1991. Let us pay our homage to this glorious savant who richly deserves to be emulated by the researchers of Tamilology.

Note : All the aforesaid books are published in his native village, Tiruchitrambalam, Mayiladuthurai, S. India.

TAMIL LITERATURE AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Variety and diversity are the phenomenal features of the universe. Nevertheless, the great thinkers expanded their inner consciousness and in their exalted mood embraced the whole of mankind to be their kith and kin. Though they belonged to different regions, spoke different languages and adopted different faiths, they transcended the barriers of caste, creed, race, religion and region. To them, the entire globe was one unit, the inhabitants to be one family. Such evolved souls lead an ideal life, and hence their life should be considered as a model or example for others to live a harmonious and congenial life. Thus the concept of one world arose. But, when we perceive the empirical world, the differences and distinctions still persist in horrible forms. People are battling against each other. One country is waging a cold war or an open war with other country. Eventhough the people of different states are homogeneous in their religion and language, they war with tooth and nail. Animosity becomes the order of day. In this context, seminars and forums are being organised by the intellectuals to find out ways and means to eradicate the differences and to establish unity in diversity.

The proposed seminar organized by the staff of the Poompuhar College [1992] concentrates on the contribution of the significant disciplines to nurture and nourish the national solidarity, racial amity, communal unity and emotional integrity.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to highlight the salient features of Tamil literature that have direct bearing with the concept of unity in diversity, the magic slogan discovered by the first Prime Minister of Inida, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Before directly proceeding to deal with the role of Tamil literature in the national awareness and oneness, it is better to spell out a few words about the semantic significance of the world '*Nation*' and '*Integration*'. First, let us take up the word '*Nation*' and its related aspects.

Nation

It is the general opinion of all political thinkers that population, territory, government, sovereignty and unity are the essential elements of a state which is also known as nation. The absence of any of these will weaken and destabilize the nation. Normally, a two-fold classification of nation has been made. One category of nations is formed with the homogeneous group of people, speaking a single language and following one faith as in the case of France, Italy, Greece etc. Another category of nations is made up of multilingual, multi-religious and multiracial peoples, as in the case of India, Malaysia, Canada, America and U.S.S.R. Nevertheless, all of them are bound by common forces that are held responsible for the unity and integrity of the nation.

The patriotic feeling and the sense of identification of the individual with the whole population of the country are collectively called " *nationalism* ". According to Anup Chand Kapur, in a multi lingual state, the sense of nationalism comes to the fore-front only when there is a fear of foreign aggression. To quote his own words :

> " Consciousness of being Indians as distinct from a Bengali, or a Punjabi or a Maharāstran or Tamilian rises to the surface only when activated by a foreign threat or by some external blow to India's national pride. As soon as more or less normal relations are restored, the brief surge of all India patriotism quickly fades away to be replaced by a renewed consciousness of the impor - tance of those issues which divide Indian from Indian".
>
> (Vide, The Indian Political System, p.64 ; p.4).

So, it is essential to find out strong common factors that would withstand any test of the patriotic and nationalistic feeling. Before probing on that aspect, we have to say a few words about the meaning of the word ' integration' which is rendered into lucid Tamil as 'ஒருமைப்பாடு'.

Integration

There are many connotations for the word *integration*. Only one of them is presented here. According to the Encyclopaedia of Contemporary International affairs, the following interpretation has been envisaged :

> "The process of assimilating a minority or minorities into the mainstream of the majority culture ; the process by which organised, psychological or social, material is combined and organised into a complex whole at a higher level. In a plural society with diversities of language, religion, level of development, custom, tradition, ceremonial, racial descent etc.., integration is brought about by cultural federalism, political descentralism and strong centrism in respect of defence, foreign affairs, economic and political issues . . . . . ." (Vol. I, p. 297).

From the above elucidation, it becomes evident that some sort of balanced outlook and common understanding among the minorities and majority are required to build a strong nation. Giving importance to the regional culture, distributing equal powers to the individual regions and preserving the Central hold in the matter of defence, international relationship, economy etc., are the essential requisites to strengthen the integration of the nation. The Rouseauan concept of liberty, equality and fraternity should be put into practice by every citizen, if the unity of the nation is to be established.

In this context, It is pertinent to project the interpretation of national integrity, pronounced by Perarignar Anna during his visit to Malaysia, inhabited by the major three ethnic groups viz., Malays, Chinese and Indians, whom he compared respectively to betal leaf, arecanut and burnt lime. Like the red colour is effected due to the chemical combination of these three things, the feeling of national integration should blossom among the ethnic groups of Malaysia for the continuation of a prosperous and pleasant life.

So far we have understood the essential aspects of nation and integration. Now, let us pass on to deal with some of the materials available from the Tamil literary source to substantiate the idea of national integration.

Cultural aspects

Linguistically India is divided into two main groups viz., the Dravidian and the Aryan. Though the languages belonging to these two genetic and ethnic divisions vary in grammar, semantics and sentence patterns, the impact of the fusion of the people speaking these heterogeneous languages has been found in their languages also. Thus in

the early Vedas of the Aryans, the influence of the Dravidian words has been clearly noticed by Dr. Burrow, the great Sanskrit Professor of the Oxford University. His observation is given hereunder :

> " *The adoption of Dravidian words by Sanskrit has already begun by the time of the Rig Veda, and continues through out the later stages of Sanskrit, and is continued in the Middle and Modern Indo Aryan languages. The Dravidian words that occur in the Rigveda are specially interesting.* "

[vide, Collected papers on Dravidian Linguistics, p.309]

Similarly the influence of Sanskrit is obviously found in Tamil and even more in other Dravidian languages. Tolkappiyam, the earliest available Tamil Grammatical treatise has allowed the entry of Sanskrit words in the classical vocabulary, provided that they are Tamilized. Not only in Tolkappiyam but also in Sangam poems, epics, devotional lyrics and other literary creations down to our own times the influence of Sanskrit has been noticed.

The Sangam poems refer to the North Indian rivers, cities, dynasties and customs. The Ganges, Sōnai, Pāṭali, Nandas and Mauryas are noted. The habit of fasting unto death facing the sacred direction North is also noticed. The Aryan king Brahadatta came to South India to learn the Tamil tradition under the guidance of Kapilar who has composed the renowned " *Kurinchi Paattu* " for this purpose. In the Ithihasas, the Tamil monarchs are mentioned. The great literary works *Ramayana, Mahabharata, Bhagavatha* and *Brahatkatha* are national in character, since in one form or another they are retold in all the cultivated Indian languages. Kamban has envisaged the epic hero, SriRama to claim brotherhood even among others like Guha, Sugriva and Vibhisha bridging the North and South, thus creating emotional integrity. With regard to the various systems of Indian philosophy, the great scholars from all over India including the Tamil metaphysicians have contributed much. They conducted the philosophical tournaments, establishing their intellectual vigour and individual character.

Further, the names of the people are common though they are living in various regions. The customs and manners have notable common features. Our Saiva Saints sang the glory of the Almighty who is seated in the North Indian shrines. A devotee of the North used to visit the

temples in the South and have a dip in the sacred water at Rameswaram or Cape Comerin. Similarly, a pious man from the South used to undertake pilgrimage visiting the shrines and sacred rivers in the North, going upto the Himalayas. Hence the popular saying " *Imasedhu pariyantam* " became meaningful. The Indians- let them be in the South or North have been united by the spiritual force and religious obligations. Saint Kumaraguruparar went to Banaras in the early 17th Century, won the heart of the Islamic ruler, got a wide land as gift and established the Saiva Mutt for propagation of Saivism and Tamil literature. Scholars are of the opinion that his lectures on vambaranayava influenced Tulasidas considerably in composing his epic **Ramacharitamanas.**

The Concept of One India

Politically speaking, India was torn into many pieces, each of which was reigned by an efficient or inefficient King. In order to establish one India, the great Tamil monarchs in the Sangam period took military expeditions to the North, imprinting their royal insignia in the Mountain Himalayas, as recorded in the literature and inscriptions. Imayavaramban, a Chera King was so named because of his suzerainty upto the Himalayas. When we come to the period of the Imperial Cholas, Rajaraja I and Rajendra I have actually vanquished the rulers of North India and subjugated them, consolidating the whole of India under one royal headship. When we turn to North, the great Emperior Asoka wielded supremacy upto Kalinga and won the rest of the South through his effective Buddhist missionaries who carried the gospel of Buddha to the far South. Karavela, the mighty Andhra King has succeeded even in the territories of the Tamil monarchs, making the whole of India into one political unit.

However, such attempts were not long standing. Only after the arrival of the British, India was unified, even though the petty kings and local princes were allowed to be their agents. The National Congress Movement, initiated by the British humanists Allan Octavian Hume and William Wedderburn aimed to liberate India from the yoke of foreign rule. The patriotic fervour and untold sacrifices of our leaders and common people resulted in the independence of India.

Poems on National Themes

The Indian freedom struggle stimulated the Indians, who were separated by language, religion and region to get united to face the

common enemy, paving way for the national feeling and sense of oneness. The great writers contributed their might in this direction by their potential poems and powerful fictions. Thus we have the National poet Mahakavi Bharati. His poems aroused the patriotic feeling even in the hearts of the slumbering Tamils to visualise an integrated and liberated Nation. His poems under the Division " *Deśa Bhakti Paaṭalkal* " are the best documents for our National feeling and deep patriotism. The poems commencing with "வெள்ளிப் பனிமலையின் மீதுலாவுவோம்", "மன்னும் இமயமலை எங்கள் மலையே", "எங்கள் தாய்"etc., deserve special mention. The oft-quoted lines,

" முப்பது கோடி முகமுடை யாள்எனில்
மொய்ம்புறம் ஒன்றுடையாள்-இவள்
செப்பு மொழிபதி னெட்டுடையாள், எனிற்
சிந்தனை ஒன்றுடையாள் ".

speak volumes to the sense of National integration even before India became independent. Such a strong feeling led the whole country to fight united for their freedom. The substance of the passage is given here below:

> "Our Mother India possesses thirty crores of faces. Yet she has one strong back. She has eighteen languages. Yet, she has one thought". It is essential to note that during the times of Bharati, the population of India was 30 crores. The concept of 18 languages is usually found in Indian classics.

The Gandhian poet, Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai has also composed simple but serious songs on National themes to evoke the interest and emotion of the Tamils to fight for the freedom and to live in harmony with each other in order to realise one India. His poems under the caption, "கத்தியின்றி ரத்தமின்றி", "என்னுடைய நாடு", "சுதந்திரம் வேண்டும்" etc., are significant.

Bharatidasan, the great revolutionary poet has initially written many poems to arouse patriotic feeling and to root out the aliens from the Indian soil. His poetical works, " சிறுவர் சிறுமியர் தேசிய கீதம்" "கதர் இராட்டினப் பாட்டு" etc., are sufficient proofs for his involvement in the freedom struggle. Even after independence, during the times of the Chinese agression,he has written wonderful poems stimulating the sense of National integration. The metrical lines,

"இமயச் சாரலில் இருமினான் என்று
குமரியி லிருந்து மருந்துகொண்டு ஓடினான்"

reveal his astounding feeling of national unity. The passage means that the man in the southern fringe, i.e., Cape Comorin swiftly ran with medicinal herb to the distant north, on hearing the sound of coughing of an Indian in the slopes of Himalayas. It is a wonderful creation, projecting the sense of integration. His poem " நாட்டியல் நாட்டுவோம் " is immortal. It is a clear evidence for his sense of unity in diversity. The following lines are worth mentioning.

"பல இனம் பலமொழி பற்றி ஒருசில :
பழம்பெரு நிலத்தில் பலமொழி பலஇனம்
இருப்பதால் இஃதொரு பல்கலைக்கழகம்".

He called an educated ideal family, the basic unit i.e. the micro-cosom of the Nation to be a university "படித்த குடும்பம் பல்கலைக் கழகம்". Similarly the macro-cosom of the Nation, i.e. India has been extolled to be a university, since it contains manyfold languages and ethnic groups with rich tradition and culture, thereby implying the requisite knowledge and mutual understanding for the peaceful co-existence and harmonious living among the people.

The fictions of K.S. Venkatramani, Kalki, Akilan, R.S. Nallaperumal and others have national themes to instruct the feeling of patriotism and sense of unity.

Conclusion

We have national symbols, the flag, emblem, anthem, language, bird, animal etc., It is a long-felt need to have a national litearture which in all fitness should be the Sacred Tirukkural, containing common ethics conducive to all. Thus to foster unity and boost national integration, some common factor or feature from each one of our states should be unanimouslyselected and willingly adopted by all, if the integration of our nation is to be strengthened and stabilised. We should develop the sense of humanism and compassion. The apparent differences are man-made and hence could be exterminated by proper orientation at all levels. *Seminars of this type should not be a ceremony or pastime, but should be purposeful and meaningful.* The results of such forums should be made available also to the hard-hearted politicians who must come forward to teach the public on the primary importance of national solidarity.

DEFINITIONS AND DIVISIONS OF PHILOSOPHY

Among the various branches of knowledge, philosophy has an interesting history from the hoary past to the modern times both in the East and in the West. The great thinkers of India and China, Greece and Egypt have handed down to posterity a treasurehouse of invaluable gems of everlasting thoughts that would elevate the minds of all community to expand and embrace the whole universe by eliminating the ethnic, linguistic and religious barriers. Prior to the understanding of the evolution of philosophical speculations, it is essential to have some knowledge about the semantic significance and definitions of the word philosophy and to acquaint with the basic meaning of the various divisions that fall under philosophy.

Philosophy is primarily constituted by two Greek words, viz., 'Philo' and 'Sophia'. Philo means love and Sohphia means wisdom. So, the basic meaning of the word philosophy is love of wisdom. In its widest etymological sense, it meant any form of knowledge which is obtained through some methodology. In this context, it is appropriate to mention that the disciplines such as politics, social studies, ethics etc., are also called respectively as political philosopy, soical philosophy, moral philosophy etc. Thus, philosophy meant all branches of knowledge which are closely connected with human nature, forming the nucleus of man's thinking. Philosophy also indicates not only a view of living but also a way of living. In this sense, every one has a philosophy the nature of which depends upon the standard of the concerned person. Nevertheless, in its general sense it denotes the speculative discipline which attempts to grasp things that immediately and remotely concern man, and to lead one from the known to the unknown and from the seen to the unseen.

Scholars attempted to define philosophy in various ways. The Greek word philosophia is said to have been coined by Pythagoras who lived in the Hellas in 600 B.C. It usually meant knowledge obtained through the experience of life and also it indicated a discriminating sense of values. It is not easy to point out what is actually meant by knowledge and whether some forms of knowledge are superior or at least preferable

to others. It is similarly very difficult to decide that sort of experience which deserved to be called wisdom, and to find out a common scale agreeable to all to weigh the strength of values.

Plato, the great idealist defines a true philosopher in his well known treatise, *Republic*. According to him, a philosopher is one who is ready to taste every form of knowledge and feels happy to learn, aiming at encountering with the ultimate truth, and whose heart is stationed on the Reality itself. From this account, one could draw the definition of philosophy which is the principle dealing with the pursuit of ultimate reality.

Aristotle, the great realist and student of Plato is encylopaedic in his knowledge. In his memorable book *Metaphysics*, he has stated that philosophy is the knowledge of truth. The study of what is real and of what is unreal, constitutes the sum and substance of philosophy. To an under-developed mind, even an evanescent object may seem to be an entity. But a proper study in the nature of things is sufficient to instruct that all sensed things are temporal and transcient and that which transcends our limits of knowledge is the reality. Hence, the knowledge of truth means the understanding of the absolute truth.

In the world of Hellenic thought, there are many names associated with the study of philosophy. Epicurus, an ethical writer whose influence is traced in Tennysons's 'Lotus Eaters' considered philosophy to be an activity that enables one to attain happy life through the means of debates and discussions which are rightly called intellectual tournaments by S.Radhakrishnan. Milton the great philospher -cum-poet pronounced that "Philosophy is as sweet as Apollo's lute".

According to S.N. Das Gupta, philosophy was regarded as the goal of all the highest practical and theoritical activities and it indicated the point of unity amidst all the apparent diversities which the complex growth of culture over a vast area inhabited by different peoples produced.

According to S. Radhakrishnan, the eminent philosopher of our times, philosophy is a human effort to comprehend the problem of the universe and it proceeds on the facts of experience and it deals with the eternal and veritable present. It is not a piece of antiquarian investigation. Further, he proclaims that philosophy should nurture a human consciousness of humanity in order to develop a sense of personal relationship among them.

Swami Abhedananda considers that philosophy is the theoretical and speculative side of religion, and religion is the practical side of philosophy. Phylosophy is the flesh and bone and religion is the blood and life. His definition suits well to the Indian context where philosophy and religion are inseparably mingled.

Some others defined philosophy to be a rigorous examination of the origin, extent and validity of man's ideas, an examination of the values of truth, goodness and beauty and also an effort to codify the rules of human thought in order to promote rationality and the extension of clear thinking. Philosophical activity is the result of the intense fervour to reflect and interpret, to question and answer the problems of life. It is rightly called an adventure of the mind, an intellectual interpretation of reality. The aim and end of philosophy is truth, truth, truth alone. It seeks to satisfy the intellect and not to surrender it. It does not approve and accept things merely on the basis of faith or belief. Even it questions the revelation of any scriptures. It is not the dogmatic assertion of a set of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not the corpus of examined and proven beliefs. It is not easy to find out a universal and all inclusive definition.

In the Indian tradition, philosophy is known as meypporuḷ in Tamil or the study of reality and kāṭci (Tamil) or darśana (Sanskrit) which means vision of or encounter with the ultimate and absolute reality which is spoken of as infinity in mathematics. Since there is no limit or end for the quest of absolute knowledge, the horizon of human thought is ever widened so as to furnish fresh interpretations and to promote human consciousness to have a clear and full understanding of his own self and of the universe in which he is a humble and simple unit. The various systems and schools of philosophy are but attempts to understand truth in completeness like the efforts of the blindmen to apprehend the elephant.

The western authors often mentioned various kinds of approaches to philosophy. Among them, *rationalism* and *empiricism* are worth mentioning. The word, '*rationalism*' is derived from the Latin word, '*ratio*' meaning reason. The rationalistic approach as its name suggests gives prominence to reasoning in human thought. According to this approach, there are some principles or facets of truth which human reason without the help of sense experience can find out all for itself either by self-evidence or through the rare faculty of intuition. These principles or facets of truth do not depend on experience for their existence.

They are self-existing even before one's experience. So, the rationalistic school attaches much importance only to reason.

The word, *'empiricism'* is derived from the Greek word, *'empeiria'* meaning experience. The empirical approach to philosophy emphasises on individual's experience as the starting point of knowledge. The empirical way of viewing things gives primary importance only to experience. According to this school, knowledge is obtained only through sense experience. The limitation of one's knowledge is due to the limitation of his sense development. So, one should develop one's faculties to gain finer and subtler kinds of experience. Unlike the reationalist, the empiricist does not subscribe to the view that there are truths of reason which have self-existence apart from experience.

In a sense it may be said that the rationlist is an idealist whereas an empiricist is a realist. Rational as well as empirical approaches are not contradictory but complementary to each other so far the Indian thinkers are concerned. What is rational should become subject to experience and what is experience should stand the test of reasoning. The two approaches are regarded to be interdependent and vital sources of knowledge which in Tamil tradition are popularly known as *'pakuttaṟivu'* and *'pattaṟivu'* respectively. Though our ancients did not envisage the necessity of formulating eleborate theories on this subject, it could be collected and collated from the ethical epigrams embamed in the Caṅkam literature, Tirukkuṟaḷ and other classics. However, the theory of pramāṇas associated with the various systems of Indian philosophy presented in Sanskrit, Tamil Pali and Prakrit ḻanguages bears ample testimony to the prevalence of the two types of approaches to philosophy.

After having understood the general nature of philosophy, let us proceed to briefly deal with the divisions of philosophy.

Philosophy has many branches. However, the following are very significant:-

1.	**Logic**	2.	**Epistemology**
3.	**Ethics**	4.	**Axiology**
5.	**Aesthetics**	6.	**Cosmology and**
7.	**Metaphysics**		

Let us consider them one by one.

1. Logic

The word logic is derived from the Greek word 'logos' which means word, thought or discourse. It is upheld that logos is eternal and this concept is very close to the one, propounded in Mimamsa. The principles of valid reasoning and the methods of investigation form the subject-matter of this discipline. According to Herman, it raises and examines questions concerned with the legitimacy of drawing conclusions from one set of statements to another set of statements.

Aristotle is generally regarded to be the father of the systematic study of logic. The study of logic is highly useful not only to understand philosophy but to know any branch of intellectual enterprise which aims at the pursuit of truth. Logic is the deciding factor of all human reasoning which is a process by which one passes on from data to a conclusion. In western logic, deduction and induction are the two important methods of investigation of the truth. The first one is the method of reasoning from a general thesis to a particular conclusion. The second one is the method of reaching general conclusions through prarticular examples. It is pointed out that these two types of inference moving in opposite directions are not complete and fully accurate reflecting the actual process of reasoning. It is often said that logician is not interested in the factual content of a thesis or proposition, but he is mostly delighted in its implications or its logical relationship. The main concern of logic is with validity and not with fact. Logic in India has been known as Tarka Śāstra or Hetu Vidyā and its origin is traced even before the times of Artha Śāstra . It is to be noted that the Buddhist logical works, which are lost in India due to religious animosty are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese languages and again they are re-translated into Sanskrit and European languages by renowned Indologists like G. Tucci and others.

2. Epistemology

Episemology is derived from the Greek word, 'episteme' which means knowlede. This division of philosophy deals with the nature and validity of knowledge. The epistemologist is interested in the study of the criteria of knowledge, the factors of knowing, the grounds of knowledge and the forms of knowledge etc.. which constitute the contents of this division.

Epistemology attempts to investigate and explore the degrees of certainty and probability and also discusses in detail the differences between knowing and believing. The difficulties in the process of philosophizing and the doubts in the way of understanding are dispelled through the avenues of knowledge provided by the study of this discipline. This study also enables one to differentiate between assertions and facts and to know the reliability of his own cognitive powers.

It is closely connected with logic. It makes use of the logical concept of inference, especially of the type of deduction. It is indicated that the logician seeks the form of deduction in general and then formulates it, whereas the epistemologist admits his formation and also adds something which is required to complete the process of inference. All the systems of Indian philosophy, let them be Vedic or Non-Vedic have developed their own theories of knowledge.

3. Ethics

The word 'ethics' is emerged out from the Greek word *'Ethos'* by which is meant character. This branch of philosophy discusses the concepts of good and bad, right and wrong, virtue and vice etc... It also examines the standard of moral judgement and the summum bonum of human life. The ethetician evinces keen interest in the positive and negative aspects of virtue. He elucidates how a man ought to behave and also ought not to behave.

Ethics is generally used to denote a common way of life and codes of conduct. It also inculcates the ways of life and rules of conduct. Moral philosophers frame the right types of conduct and virtuous character which contribute to the mental hygiene. They throw sufficient light on righteousness and justice that are essential for the well-being of both the individual and society.

The word ethics also means culture, quality, behaviour and morality. People are virtuous to that extent of confirming to the moral codes in their day to day life. Only from their constant practice of ethical norms, one could understand the degree or standard of their behaviour. We come across in the ethical works of Indian and Greek writers frequent comparisons between medicine and eithcs, establishing ethics to be the art of living and the nursery of soul. The provereb, 'a sound mind in a sound body' indicates the medical image of ethics. It is essential to record

in this context that many of the Tamil ethical works are given the titles, associated with medicine. Eg. Ēlāti, Tirikaṭukam, Ciṟupañcamūlam etc.

Ethics also deals with the punishable evils, resulting from moral vices and innocent mistakes arising out of intellectual errors. Without the study of ethics, philosophy becomes barren. Ethics is the fragrance of the flower of philosophy.

The aims of logic, eithics and aesthetics are said to be the realisation of satyam (truth), śivam (goodness) and sundaram (beauty) i.e. The aim of the study of logic is to develop the ideal cognition and right thinking which helps one to know the ultimate truth. Similarly, the target of the study of aesthetics is to understand the standard of feeling which enables one to realise the everlasting beauty. Likewise, the purpose of the study of ethics is to comprehend the ideal conduct or action which leads one to apprehend the supreme goodness.

Though ethics differs in some aspects from nation to nation and also from time to time, there are also common ethical principles conducive to all people living in various places and at different times. These are considered to be eternal. Virtues and vices are classified in various ways. Their general classification is bassed with reference to thought, word and deed.

Almost all the systems of Indian philosophy accepted and advocated the propagation and practice of the four ends of life known as puruṣārthas, viz., 1. Artha - the economic end, 2. Kāma - the emotional end, 3. Dharma - the ethical end and 4. Mokṣa the spiritual end. These four ends of life are respectively associated with the physical, mental, intellectual and spiritual perfection of the individual and the totality of society.

4. Axiology

This branch is a recent development in the field of philosophy. It is related to the study of ethics. Nevertheless, it is treated as a separate branch, since it is devoted to the discussions on the problems of values like hospitality, gratitude, kindness, duty, truth, forgiveness, endurance service etc. This section helps in making value judgements. Everything has a value. Every action of a person has a value. Values are often compared and preferred. Our environ forces us to make choices, to estimate and evaluate things as better or worse. Some scale or standard

of values is being framed by the social adepts, and values are weighed accordingly. This section helps the individual to develop some sense of values. The maxims of Tirukkural provide sufficient materials to make a study on axiology.

5. Aesthetics

As the word itself implies, this division of philosophy investigates the meaning of aesthetic pleasures, the objective or subjective character of beauty and the nature of beauty itself, it is evident that in the Tamil tradition God is personified as the embodiment of perennial beauty. The famous English romantic poet, John Keats begins his immortal epic, Endymion with these oft-quoted lines:

> *"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever*
> Its loveliness increases; it will never
> Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
> A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
> Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quite breathing"

Beauty becomes the subject of this branch of philosophy. So often we hear expressions such as, 'This is beautiful', 'That is pretty', 'This is fair' etc. Thinkers from the time of Socrates have wondered about beauty and what it is in objects that make them beautiful. This section helps in providing the answers as it deals with the problems of beauty. What is beauty is discussed in this division. The beauty in the manifestations of nature and art-forms becomes the main theme of discussion. It deals in detail about the fine arts like music, dance drama, paintings, sculpture, poetry etc., as being the product of religion and philosophy. For instance, the icon of Nataraja, being a symbolic representation of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy becomes a source of attraction because of its beauty. In the West the proponents of 'Art for Art's sake' advocated for the unique and autonomous status for 'Aesthetics'.

6. Cosmology

This branch deals with the structure of the cosmos or the Universe and the nature of space and time. It helps to answer questions about the earth and the first beginnings of life upon its surface. This section of philosophy has three sub-divisions, viz., (1) Cosmic synthesis, (2) Cosmic analysis and (3) Cosmic dynamics.

Cosmic synthesis deals with cosmography or cosmic geography. It includes classifications of world systmes such as mountains, seas, islands etc. Astronomy or the study of the Zodiac signs is also included in it. Cosmic analysis, on the other hand deals with the elements of the cosmos in detail. Cosmic dynamics discusses the factors responsible for the gravitation and movement of the planets and other familiar heavenly bodies.

The pre-Socrates philosophers focussed attention upon the origin and nature of the physical world and they were thus often called *cosmologists* or *naturalists.*

7. Metaphysics

Just like some of the words seen above, metaphysics is also derived from the Greek word, *'meta ta physica'* which literally meant 'after the things of nature'. Subsequently the meaning of this word was extended to convey the sense, *'after the books on physics'.* Metaphysics is devoted to study the Absolute Reality that lies behind the screen of the physical world. Questions such as the reality of the external world, the existence of other minds, the possibility of a priori knowledge, the nature of sensation, memory etc., are generally dealt with in this branch. The first author on this subject is the famous Greek thinker Aristotle.

According to the traditional scholars, this branch of philosophy has three sub-members, viz., 1. *ontology* 2. *cosmology* and 3. *epistemology.* Among these three we have already seen about the last two sections. Some others feel that metaphysics should have atleast two more parts, viz., (1) psychology and (2) theology.

Now, let us consider the remaining sub-members one by one.

a) Ontology

This word is a derivative from Latin, *ontologic* which means 'being' or 'existence'. The essence of things or being in general forms the theme of this section of philosophy. In the language of Tirukkural and Tiruvācakam, it is known as *uḷḷatu* or *iruppatu.* Every being that has an objective existence has correspondingly a subjective existence. Things exist not only in the mental plane but also externally. Deductive method is used in the study of ontology. The principle of non-contradiction is the characteristic feature of all that exists. i.e. It is a property at one and

the same time. To quote Kant : "Then in ontology, I discuss the more general properties of things, the difference between spiritual and material beings".

b) Psychology

This word has been originated from the Greek word, *'psych'* which originally meant soul. Later on, it denoted mind. According to the medieval philosophers, there is no such thing as soul in the human personality apart from mind. In this respect, their views are very similar to those of Buddha.

Psychology attempts to study the mental life and activities of human beings. It deals with the various processes of consciousness which may be subsumed under four heads, given hereunder :

1. Willing occurs due to the volitional side of mind.
2. Knowing occurs due to the cognitive side of mind.
3. Striving occurs due to the conative side of mind.
4. Feeling occurs due to the affective side of mind.

In addition to the above aspects memory, dream cognition, various stages of consciousness etc., are also included in this study.

c) Theology

Again this word also is originated from the Greek *theo* which means God. This division of philosophy is dealing with God and His relations to human beings. Theology is also called *'philosophy of religion'*. It considers the various arguments advanced for and against various basic religious beliefs with special reference to the existence of God. The nature of religion, religious faith, revelation and the significance of religious experience are some of the interesting topics discussed under this section. The significance of religious symbolism, the rituals, festivals and ceremonies connected with religion, the characteristic features of revelation, the structure of religious language, the devotional aspects, the position of religion in the cultural atmosphere of humanity etc., receive special attention.

d. Eschatology

This is a branch of theology. It deals with final things such as death, life after death etc. Divine judgement also comes under this branch.

e. Soteriology

This is also a sub-branch, coming under theology. It discusses in detail the doctrine of salvation.

There are scholars who have identified the opposite pairs of philosophical thoughts. Let us briefly present them herebelow:

Materialism and Spiritialism

Materialism is derived from the word matter. The system of philosophy that attached much importance to matter is called materialism. The exponents of this system do not accept the existence of soul or spirit beyond matter. They upheld that even the life - force or consciousness was the product of matter.

Spiritualism signifies the system, advocating the eternal reality of spirit or soul. The advocates of this system argued that the material objects are consigned to decay, while the spirit or soul alone is imperishable reality.

Pluralism and Monism

Pluralism accepts more than one reality. The exponents of this ideology conceded the existence of many categories as eternal entities. The Nyāya - Vaiśeṣika and Samkhya - Yoga are the best specimens of pluralistic realism. The Saiva-Siddtantins and also Viśiṣtādvaitins also subscribed to pluralistic realism, since they established the existence of god, myriad souls and matter as realities.

The advocates of *monism* accepted only one Absolute Reality. In a sense the Indian materialists are also said to be monists since they accepted matter, as the only reality. However, the Advaita Vedantins are the expositors of monism concluding the Ātman is the only Absolute Reality.

Realism and Idealism

Realism indicates the thought - system which accepted the reality of the external world, apart from one's own psychical plane. The realists are the advocates of objectivism.

The contrasted thought - pattern is known as Idealism, which emphasised that idea alone is the original reality. What is conceived in one's thought is projected as the expanded universe. If there is no idea or thought, there is nothing. To put it in other words, that which is internal becomes external. So, idealists are the advocates of subjectivism.

Theism and Absolutism

We have already noted that the word Theism is derived from the Greek word "theo" which means god. The word 'theo' is semantically related to the Indian word, "teyvam". Theism attaches much importance to personal god with a name and form.

Absolutism lays stress on the omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent Absolute Reality. It has no name and form. It transcends all limits of time and space. It is beyond the ken of thought. It pervades the whole universe. It is impersonal. It is both immanent and transcendent.

In conclusion, it can be clearly seen that philosophy does not operate or stand alone. It is closely related to other disciplines. It contributes to as well as draws knowledge from them in an attempt to solve the basic problems of mankind. Philosophy is thus a comprehensive approach to the life and world, one closely connected to all the main areas of human experience. It seeks to unify and assimilate the results of the sciences and the insights of moral philosophy. It is a useful branch of humanity to mould a unified vision of life and to present a reasoned conception of the globe and man's position in it.

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PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS OF TOLKĀPPIYAM

Tolkāppiyam has been unanimously accepted by the Tamilologists as the earliest extant Tamil grammar. It is fundamentally a descriptive grammar of the Tamil language and literature. According to the preface (*pāyiram*) of this text, it is understood that the author was endowed with ascetic and yogic powers. In spite of the fact that the text is not at all an academic exercise on speculative thoughts, the above information that we get from the Pāyiram tempts us to postulate that the author should have had some knowledge of the religion and philosophy that were popular during his period. Since grammar is closely connected with the study of expressions of the people, it is reasonable to expect that some speculative expressions also should have found a place in this vast grammatical treatise.

Though there are many sub-divisions within the large domain of philosophy, in this paper only some aspects mainly concerned with the means of knowledge and metaphysical thoughts have been briefly studied. First and foremost, let us concentrate on the portions in the text and its commentary that have some bearings on logic and epistemology which form the threshold to the domain of philosophy.

The Indian grammatical tradition insisted that the grammarians should possess sufficient and efficient knowledge in logic and epistemology in order to effectively present their grammatical theories. Even before the advent of Nyāya philosophy, the principles of reasoning should have existed in some form. It seems that Tolkāppiyar has been conversant at least with some of the sources of knowledge known as *pramāṇas* that are later developed in the various systems of Indian philosophy. Let us consider them one by one.

Perception

It is known as *kāṭchi aḷavai* or *pratyakṣa pramāṇa*. It tops the list of the various sources of knowledge. Though it is admitted as a valid source of knowledge by all the homogeneous and heterogeneous systems of Indian philosophy, it has been variously explained in them. It has two inter-related aspects, viz, the indeterminate and determinate. When an object is presented to the senses, the chief characteristics of the object do

not strike immediately the consciousness of the percipient. There is only a vague or general awareness of the mere existence of the object. Since this sort of apprehension is simple and pure, it is called *Nirvikalpaka jñāna* which is an indeterminate form of knowledge. It indicates the bare being of a thing without its adjuncts, viz., colour, form or function. It seems that Tolkāppiyar refers to the expression of this sort of perception in the phrase, *"poruṇmai cuṭṭal" (Tol. Col. 66)*. In elucidating this technical phrase, Cēṉāvaraiyar, a great logician and commentator rightly observes thus: *"uṇḍu eṉpatu paṇpu mudalāyiṉa cuṭṭātu uṇmaiyē cuṭṭaliṉ vēṟu kūṟiṉār"*

The usual example of this kind of perception given by the commentators is this : *"ā uṇḍu"* (The cow is). According to the developed notion of *nirvikalpaka jnana,* even the species of the object should not be identified. Anyhow, in the given example the colour, form, function and genus of the cow are not presented to the senses for cognition. In the *Nyāya* school, this variety of vague perception is considered to be the first among the eightfold logical fallacies, and the Tamil tradition of this school expalins this kind as *"poruḷ uṇmai māttirai kāṇḍal" (Maṇi* 27:62). Nevertheeless, it is deemed to be the first step in the process of conceptual cognition of an object. It is essential to note that this kind of cognition is held to be valid in the *Yogācāra* school of Buddhism as preserved in the logical works of Dignāga and Cāttaṉār. (Kandaswamy 1978:260-1). According to these logicians, it is free from imagination and it is direct cognition or presentative cognition.

In *Kiḷaviyākkam,* there is a reference to the type of doubtful cognition which seems to stand midway between indeterminate and determinate cognitions. *(Tol.Col.23, 24: Poruḷ 168).* Tolkāppiyar suggests the mode of expression of doubtful cognition *(aiyakkiḷavi).* When one happens to perceive a distant object which, either due to remoteness or dimness or some other reason, does not present its real nature to the senses of the percipient, his doubtful expressions naturally should be in the interrogative form. The following illustrations are from the commentary of Cēṉāvaraiyar *(Tol. Cēṉāvaraiyam 1958:21).*

1. Is the form a male or female that appears (yonder)?

2. Is the form one or two (cows or animals) that entered the field (yonder)? (This question may arise on seeing the footprints of the cows also).

3. Is the form a pillar or person that appears - (yonder)?

4. Is it one or two cows that entered the field?

The doubt arises with regard to *tiṇai* 'category', gender and number. Tolkappiyar also prescribes the mode of expression when one ascertains the real species of the perceived object. (*Tol. Col.25)*.

In the *Nyāya* system, doubtful cognition is included in the list of logical fallacies. The definition and illustration to this cognition runs thus:

aiyam eṉpatu oṉṟai niccayiyā
maiyar ṟaṟiyō mākaṉō eṉṟal (Maṇi. 27:65-6)

Inference

The second *pramāṇa* in the usual enumeration of the different sources of knowledge is *karutal aḷavai* or *anumāna pramāṇa* which is well-known to Tolkappiyar, according to the text and its commentaries. In *Collatikāram Sutra* 74, he enumerates the various contexts in which the third case occurs. *ētu (hetu)* is one of the meanings of this case. According to the commentator, it is of two kinds, viz.,

1. *Kāraka ētu:* This is causal or instrumental to make a thing. This is indicated by the phrase pattern, *"ataṉiṉ ātal"*. E.g., He became rich through trade.

2. *ñāpaka ētu:* This is causal to know a thing. This is indicated by the phrase pattern, *iṉṉāṉ ētu.* It is illustrated by Cēṉāvaraiyar thus: *"muyaṟciyiṟ piṟattalāṉ oli nilaiyātu'* (Since sound is born due to the vocal effort of a person, it is impermanent). Two different views are prevalent in the various systems of Indian philosophy with regard to the nature of sound. According to the *Mimāmsakas,* sound is eternal. It is unproduced, ever existing reality. But the realists like *S a m - khyas* do not subscribe to this view. According to them, whatever is a product is subject to change and decay. Since sound is a product it is impermanent. These opposing views are preserved in the logical tradition of *Maṇimekalai (29.59:76)* when Cāttaṉār attempts to explain the valid form of proposition and the threefold aspects of reason.

In elucidating the same phrase under reference, Teyvacciliayār presented the oft quoted example of *anumāna pramāṇa* thus:

"pukai uṇmaiyān neruppuṇmai aṟika. pukai ētuvāka neruppuṇmai aṟika".

Anumāna is that source of knowledge which helps one to infer from the known effect the existence of its unknown cause. Eg. Wherever there is smoke, there is fire as in the oven or kitchen. Since there is smoke, there should be fire.

Hetu is also known as *linga* or symbol which being the effect is the indicator of its cause. Here smoke is *hetu* through which one infers the presence of its cause, fire. *Anumāna* is due to the inferential and experiential knowledge. The person, who has already seen uniformly the co-existence of fire and smoke, has the experiential knowledge that both the cause and effect are always concomitant and co-present.

Iḷampūraṇar, the senior among the existing *Tol.* Commentators, while elucidating the various kinds of cognition, mentions that mind has a vital role in the process of inference. He explains inference thus:

"aṉumāṉamāvatu pukai kaṇḍavaḻi neruppuṇmai kaṭpulaṉ aṉṟāyiṉum ataṉkaṉ neruppu uṇḍeṉṟu anumāṉittal"

(Inference is that source of knowledge which ascertains the existence of fire, even when it is not seen, on seeing the smoke).

This example seems to be Pan-Indian, since it is also found in the logical works of almost all the systems of Indian philosophy wrtten in Sanskrit and Tamil. In this context, the Tamil proverb, *"illamāl pukaiyātu aḷḷāmal kuṟaiyātu"* deserves special mention. It is really a wonder that a similar illustration is also given by Aristotle in his work on logic.

Hetu has many roles. When it occurs in grammar, it is generally associated with the third case, and also fifth case, and in rhetorics, it is called *hetu alamkāra,* and in logic it is known as the middle term. In *Tolkāppiyam, ētu* is used in different contexts. Some of the usages are the following:

ētukiḷavi (Tol. Col. 92,93)
ētuviṉ uraittal (Tol. Porul. 166)
ētu nutaliya mutumoḻi (Tol. Poruḷ. 467, 479)

It is evident that Tolkāppiyar as a grammarian had sufficient acquaintance with the norms of logic and epistemology.

Verbal testimony

The third *pramāṇa* is *nūlaḷavai* or *āgama*. It is otherwise known as *Āptavacana* or trustworthy word. In the acquisition of knowledge one has to rely on the authentic words of the wise. Thus, the scriptures form a veritable and reliable souce of knowledge. The great evolved soul known as *muṉaivaṉ* who is devoid of the karmic impurities and is endowed with clarity of knowledge has created the original text. So also the *Mantras* or *Vāymoḻi* which according to the Tamil tradition, are the potential and prophetic utterances of the all perfected souls. Apart from these references, Tolkāppiyar often quotes his predecessors in support of his views in all the three portions of his grammatical treatise. These references may be taken to conclude that the grammarian has conceded *Āgama pramāṇa* as a source of knowledge.

Cēṉāvaraiyar, in his commentary on *Col.Sutra* 245, explains the word *teḷivu* as that knowledge which is gained through the study of books *(nūl teḷivāl varuvatu)*. This is a clear instance of verbal testimony. However, the validity of this *pramāṇa* has also been questioned in some schools of Indian philosophy.

Questions and answers occupy an important place in discussions and debates that come under the province of logic. Even in the ordinary transactions of empirical life, they are equally important. Irrelevant questions and irresponsible answers are of no use. That is why Tolkappiyar has constituted some rules for the valid expressions of questions and answers. *(Tol. Col.* 13-16). Teyvaccilaiyār, unlike other commentators, has presented four types of questions and answers viz., *tunintu kūṟal, kūṟiṭṭumoḻital, viṉāviṉvituttal* and *vāyvālāmai* which have their equivalents in Buddhist literature, viz., *ekāmsa vyākaraṇīya, vibhajya viyākaraṇīya, pratiprccha vyākaraṇīya* and *sthāpanīya.* (Kandaswamy 1981:29-31). It is beyond the cognition of the present author whether Tolkappiyar had in his mind all these ideas while he wrote the above *sūtras* under reference.

Comparison

Uvamai or *upamāna* has been discussed in three different spheres. In grammar, the fifth case-sign is said to convey the meaning of comparison. In rhetorics, it is treated as a primary figure of speech. In epistemology, it is considered to be a *pramāṇa* or source of knowledge. In *Tolkāppiyam,* we have all the three aspects of *Upamāna.* Here, our

concern is only with regard to the third aspect. In the introduction to the chapter of *Uvamai-iyal,* Iḷampūraṇar elucidates the twofold usefulness of comparison thus:

Itaṉāl payaṉ eṉṉai matippatō eṉiṉ, pulaṉ allātaṉa

pulaṉātalum, alaṅkāramākik kēṭṭārakku iṉpam payattalum (Tol.Poruḷ.Iḷampūraṇam 395)

According to him, the fundamental purpose of analogy is to enable one to know the unknown things. This has direct reference to the field of epistemology. The second function is to serve as a literary embellishment in order to provide the literary flavour to the listeners, and this aspect is connected with rhetorics. His illustration to the epistemological aspect of comparision is as follows:

"Āppōlum āmā eṉa uṇarttiya vaḻi, ataṉaik kāṭṭakattuk kaṇḍāṉ

muṉkēṭṭa oppumaipaṟṟi iḥtu āmā eṉṟaṟiyum" (Tol.Poruḷ. Iḷampūraṇam 395)

A town-dweller, who knows only a domestic cow is informed by the forester that the forest cow *(gavaya - āmā)* is just like the domestic cow. When he goes to the forest and witnesses an animal possessing the resemblance of a domestic cow, he determines that it should be the forest cow. This analogy is usually given in the *Nyāya Sūtra* and *Maṇimēkalai.* Cāttaṉār defines comparison thus:

uvamam āvatu oppumai aḷavai (Maṇi : 27:41)

It is probable that the word *uvamai* or *uvamam* is derived from *oppumai* and not from *upamāna* as far as Tamil is concerned.

Anyhow, it is to be understood that the epistemological significance of comparision was strongly felt at least during the period of the commentators of *Tolkāppiyam.*

Presumption

If the last aphorism in *Porulatikāram* is not spurious, then it may be taken that Tolkāppiyar has known *arthāpatti pramāṇa.* In this aphorism, one of the *tantrayuktis* is known as *"uyttukkoṇḍu uṇartal"* which seems to be a synonym of *arthāpatti.* The familiar example is this:

pakal uṇṇāṉparutiruppāṉ i.e., if a man does not eat during the day time but still continues to be fat, then it is presumed that he should eat sufficiently in the night. Different examples are also given in other texts. According to one of them,[1] it is also called *poruḷ aḷavai,* and the definition is *"eṭuttamoli iṉamceppuvatākum"* which is really a restatement of *Tol. Col. Sutra* 60. An expressed statement may suggest related ideas which are implied in the same statement. The phrase, *"eṭutta moḻi"* has also been used as a logical term in Campantar's hymn. *(Tevāram* 3:54:5).

There is one aphorism in *Poruḷiyal* which enlists the various abstract things which could not be comprehended merely by the sense organs, but could be grasped through the faculty of mind.[2] This aphorism sheds some light on the process of knowing. Epistemological enquiries are essential to penetrate into the mysteries of the universe. Though a systematic discussion of the theory of knowledge is not found, the rudiments of the sources of knowledge are clearly noticed both in the text and the commentary.

Soul and matter

Next let us proceed to trace the metaphysical aspects found in *Tolkāppiyam.* The significant principle in the metaphysical domain of the various systems of Indian philosophy is the differentiation between soul and matter. Our ancients contemplated that there are three ultimate realities, viz., the Absolute God, the myriad souls and the root principle from which the universe is evolved. In some systmes, the first two are taken to belong to one group, and the third remains a separate entity. Various terms are used to denote soul and matter in the different systems:

Soul	***Matter***	***System***
1. *ātman*	*an-ātman*	Most of the Vedic schools
2. *puruṣa*	*prakṛti*	*Sāmkya*
3. *Jīva*	*Ajīva*	Jainism
4. *Nāma* (psychical aspects)	*rūpa* (physical aspefts)	Buddhism
5. *dṛk*	*dṛśya*	Vedanta
6. *Paśu*	*Pāśa*	*Saiva Siddhanta*
7. *Cit*	*acit*	Vaiṣṇavism

The dichotomy of soul and matter was not unknown to Tilkappiyar. In this regard, the following portions are worth mentioning: (*Tol. Poruḷ.* 71, 200, *Col.57)*

1. *"uyirē uṭampē"*
2. *"ce<u>nr</u>a uyiri<u>n</u> ni<u>nr</u>a yākkai"*
3. *"uṭampum uyirum vāṭiyak kaṇṇum"*

Further, he has classifed the different kinds of souls on the basis of the number of senses that they possess *(Tol. Poruḷ.* 571-8). Accordingly, the grass, trees etc., that have only the sense of touch are grouped to be the primary kind of souls having one sense. The snail, conch etc., that possess the senses of touch and taste are treated as the second variety of souls having two senses. The termite, ant etc., possess also the sense of smêlling, in addition to the above two, and hence they belong to the category of souls having three senses. The crab, beetles etc., have also the sense of perception in addition to the above three, and they belong to the group of souls possessing four senses. The quadrupeds, birds etc., possess also the sense of hearing and they come under the class of souls having five senses. The people who have the discriminating faculty are endowed with six senses - the sixth one being the internal sense organ, viz., mind. There are others also in each of the six groups.

This rational classification of souls is unique in *Tol.* Some scholars on the authority of the superficial and trivial resemblances found between *Tol* and some of the later Jain Scriptures pronounced that the former was influenced by the latter. However, a close study of the two sources reveals the fact that they reflect two different traditions of thought. Further, in the introductory portion of *Tiruvacakam,* one can find the enumeration of almost all the kinds of souls that are mentioned in *Tol.,* while Manikkavacakar unfolds the spiritual transformation of his own soul. (*Civapurāṇam 26-32).*

That which differentiates soul from matter is consciousness. This idea is clearly brought out in the commentary of Cē<u>n</u>āvariyar: *"uyir etta<u>n</u>maittu e<u>nr</u>u vi<u>n</u>āyavaḻi uṇartal ta<u>n</u>maittu e<u>nr</u>al cevva<u>n</u> i<u>r</u>aiyām".* Though it was understood that the intrinsic nature of soul is consciousness and that of the matter is insentience, the two are treated indiscriminately in some of the usages. *(Cē<u>n</u>avaraiyam Tol. Col.57)*

1. *"aṟam ceytu tuṟakkam pukkāṉ"* (He who performed virtues entered heaven). Here 'he' denotes not the body but the soul.

2. *"uyir nīttu orumakaṉ kiṭantāṉ"* (One man lay there deprived of his soul). Here, *'makaṉ' denotes not the soul but the body.* According to Teyvaccilaiyār, *uṭampu* in one context denotes the subtle body consisting of the internal elements viz., mind, intellect, ego and the five subtle elements determined by the individual deeds which are instrumental for the transmigration of the souls. Also, the same word meant the *prakrti,* the primal nature or the primordial matter from which all the psychical and physical aspects have been evolved. According to one aphorism, the universe is the amalgam of the five gross elements viz., the earth, water, fire, air and ether *(Tol. Poruḷ. 635).* Though the products are ephemeral, the primordial matter is considered to be a reality.

The classification of the alphabets also indicates the unique features of soul and body. The alphabets are known as *uyir* and *mey. Though these words mean respectively the vowels and consonants, they also mean the soul and body. The vowels are considered to be the soul-like sounds that animate the body-like consonants.* Though the vowels conjoin with the consonants, their nature will not change. (*Tol. Eḻuttu. 10).* The appearance of soul (vowel) is through the media of body (consonant) *(Tol. Eḻuttu. 18).* Such utterances in *Tolkāppiyam* indirectly bear testimony to the fact that Tolkapiyar very well knew the difference in the nature of the two realities, viz., soul and matter.

The time principle is an important element in the history of evolution. Tolkappiyar mentions time principle in many aphorisms. *(Tol. Col. 57, 112, 198 etc.,).* It is considered to be one among the two primary objects. *(Tol. Porul. 4).* It is also divided into past, present and future depending upon the action finished, being done and undone.

Maṟaiñāna Tēcikar, one of the commentators of *Civajñāṉa Cittiyār,* interprets ingeniously the aphorism 112 in *Collatikāram* in the light of *Saiva Siddhanta.* (Devasenapathi 1981:16-17). Though the commentary actually reveals the author's ability, it cannot be taken that Tolkappiyar has meant what all the commentator has stated.

On God

The third aspect that deserves our attention is the concept of God. *Tol* mentions Māyōṉ, Cēyōṉ, Vēntan and Varuṇaṉ who are assigned to

the fourfold geographical divisions of Tamil Nadu. *(Tol. Poruḷ.5).* The first two are very prominent in the Cankam classics. There is a reference to Ko<u>r</u>ravai. *(Tol. Poruḷ.6.2).* These are treated to be personal gods. But with regard to the absolute nature of the ultimate reality, there are some indications in *Tol.* According to Nacci<u>n</u>ārkki<u>n</u>iyar, the aphorism 46 in *E<u>l</u>uttatikaram* contains the concept of immanent God. The literal meaning of this aphorism is this: "The movement of the consonants depends on the sound *a".* But the commentator contemplates that the presence and influence of the primary sound /a / is felt in all the other sounds, whether they be vowels or consonants. Here /a / symbolically represents the Supreme God; the rest of the vowels denote the myriad souls and the consonants indicate the matter. To support his view, he quoted *Tirukku<u>r</u>al* and *Bhagavadgīta.* This sort of analogy gained currency in the *Tirumurai* literature and *Meykaṇṭa Śāstras.*

The words that denote God in *Tolkappiyam* are *kaṭavuḷ, teyvam* and *tēvar*[3]. The word *i<u>r</u>aivan* which meant God in other works is used in *Tol* to denote a king. (Tol. Poruḷ. 36). *I<u>r</u>ai* means tribute and hence *I<u>r</u>aiva<u>n</u>* denotes a supreme king who receives tribute from his subordinate kings or chieftains. Some scholars suggest that *kaṭavuḷ* etymologically indicates the ultimate principle that transcends the limits of human knowledge. (Veḷḷaivāraṇa<u>n</u> 1970:130). But Dr.George Hart opines that the word *kaṭavuḷ* is made up of *kaṭam+uḷ, kaṭam* meaning *nērttikaṭa<u>n</u>* (i.e. the debt of offering) and denotes a personal god to whom the vowed people offer their debt as a token of gratitude in fulfilment of their wishes. However the correctness of his explanation is to be confirmed. According to Nacci<u>n</u>ārkki<u>n</u>iyar, *kanta<u>l</u>i* indicates the Absolute principle who is independent and transcendent of all sensorium.

Tol denotes God as *"pālvarai teyvam",* i.e., God who classifies and distributes the deserts to the concerned individual *(Tol. Col./ 57).* Though the agent neglects or forgets his own deeds, the all-seeing and all-knowing Absolute power never forgets to take them into account and to allot the fruits of actions to the individuals impartially. Thus God is treated by Tolkāppiyar to be the Moral Governor. His belief in the divine dispensation is unassailable. In one aphorism, god is designted as the Ancient one, who by nature is devoid of the impurities accrued from the twofold *karmas* and who has revealed the primary text. *(Tol. Poruḷ. 640).* He is also known as the Excellent one. *(Tol. Poruḷ. 190).*

According to some, the word *teyvam* denotes a minor god. This hypothesis does not hold good, since the same word in several contexts denotes the great God. The reason why Tolkappiyar has placed *teyvam* first in the list of *karupporuḷ* is not easily understood. Dr. Ilakkuvaṉār observes: "Tolkappiyar has put God first in the list of things which are called *karu* -- that which is fundamental and indispensable for leading the life; the food comes next to God. So it is to be understood that they have valued the conception of God above all".[4] Some others considered that the things that are included in the category of *karupporul* are objects of experience.[5] So, God is not something that exists out of the experience of a true seeker. He becomes the subject of experience like other objects that are understood in the empirical plane.

Doctrine of karma

This doctrine belongs to the national stock of Indian philosophy. Except the Cārvakas, the Indian materialists, all the others admitted and advocated the doctrine of karma. In Tolkappiyam, *karma* is denoted by the native words *viṉai* and *pāl.* Nobody can escape from the consequences of one's own actions. There is no exemption from the grip of the results of deeds. We have already seen that this doctrine is well mentioned in the phrase *"pālvarai teyvam"*. The aphorism that defines a verb also serves as a definition for *karma (viṉai). "Karma* is that principle which will not change, but will appear at the appropriate time"- is the metaphorical meaning that is understood in the aphorism under reference. *(Tol. Col. 198).*

According to the Jains, the karmic effects will automatically reach the respective persons without the help of any agency. But, Tolkāppiyar postulated the necessity of an all intelligent being to apportion the deserts to the doers, and thus he was not a Jain. According to Teyvaccilaiyār, *mantiram* in *Tol.* denotes the five syllabled *mantra, Namaśivāya* (Kandaswamy 1977:270-4). However, the first occurrence of this *mantra* in the Tamil classics is found visible only in *Cilappatikāram.* (11:128). Dr. S. Radhakrishnan considered that the Aṟivars mentioned in *Tolkappiyam* who chalked out the path to freedom and bliss are the forerunners of *Saiva Siddhanta* philosophy.[6] According to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar there is a reference to the *Yōga* philosophy in *Tolkappiyam.*[7] Since the Yoga system is also found in the Indus Valley Civilization, its antiquity is apparent.

The concept of impermanence is a salient feature common to most of the systems of Indian philosophy. Tolkāppiyar reminded the transient and evanescent nature of youthfulness, opulence and body in order to speed up the actions required for the fulfilment of earthly and heavenly perfection. *It is purely a Tamilian concept to name the various kinds of impermanence as kāñci which educates one to realise the folly of mundane life and to march on the path of eternal bliss. (Tol. Porul. 75:16-14).* There are many references to the ethical norms without which the study of philosophy is barren. *(Tol. Poruḷ. 44, 74-75,* etc.). Ethics is really the fragrance of philosophy. The threefold aims of ideal life are also noted. *(Tol. Poruḷ. 89,411).* Tolkappiyar has not mentioned the fourth objective of life viz., mokṣa.

Conclusion

Tolkappiyam is not basically a text on religion and philosophy. Yet this text has found a pretext to deal with matters philosophy in an indirect manner. Tolkappiyar has very closely noted the Tamil mode of life and expression during his period and utilised the observations to write about the philosophical background of their culture. From the above study we get an account of the basic principles of epistemology and metaphysics known to the Tamils of the age of Tolkāppiyar.

Notes

1. *Aṭuttuḷa kōtum poruḷ aruttāpattiyām; atu tāṉ, eṭutta moḻiyiṉam ceppuva tākum; ivvūriluḷār, paṭaittavar eṉṉiṟ paṭaiyātavarum uṇṭeṉṟum, ivaṉ koṭuppavaṉ eṉṉiṟ koṭātārum uṇṭeṉṟum koḷvatuvē.*

2. *Tol. Porul. 243.* Also *Tol* refers to the intelligent people who had the rare skill to feel things through the sense organs of eye and ear. *vide, Tol. Poruḷ. 271.* This information also gives some clue to the process of knowing.

3. (a) *kaṭavuḷ,* see *Tol-Poruḷ.* 81, 85, 144.

   (b) *teyvam,* see *Tol. Col. 4, poruḷ. 20,50,113,268,415.*

   (c) *tēvar,* see *Tol. Poruḷ. 442.*

4. *vide.,* His translation of *Tolkappiyam* with critical notes, p.482

5. *vide., Philosphical Heritage of the Tamils* (Madras, 1983), pp.365-6

6. *vide., Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, pp. 722-23*

7. *vide.*, his commentary on *Tol. Poruḷ. 77. nāliru vaḻakkil tāpatap pakkamum.*

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PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS OF PARIPĀTAL

Introduction

Systematic thinking and sincere understanding about the mysteries of the Universe and the meaning of life led to the germination of the various schools of Indian philosophy. Philosophy in its primay sense meant 'love of wisdom' (Gr. Philo-love, sophia-wisdom), and in its applied sense denoted the search for the Ultimate Reality throught the light of reasoning. It seems that philosophy has been developed from religion. According to Lactantius, religion being a derivative of religare meaning 'to tie' indicated the knowledge of being tied to a higher power. Religion is mainly based on faith and belief, whereas philosophy is purely based on reasoning. The religious experience often withstands the test of philosophical reasoning and hence, religion and philosophy are considered to be interrelated disciplines as far as the Indian thinkers are concerned. The experience and intellect are the two wings of the philosophical bird. The philosophical fore-runners being the saints and sages are really the seers of the ultimate truth through their intution, insight and direst experience and hence, the philosophical systmes are named as darśanas in Sanskrit (ḍr-to see) and kāṭci (kāṇ-to see) in Tamil.[1]

Tamil Sources

It was customary with the Indian philosophers whether they lived in the far south or in the distant north to exchange their views through Sanskrit, the then media of the intelligentia. This does not mean that they lagged behind in realising the necessity to effectively express their thoughts through their mother-tongne so as to enable the readers for an easy and clear understanding. The lofty thoughts of the philosophical speculation are not only found in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, but also in Tamil. In this context, it is appropriate to mention that the first available compendium of the various systems of Indian philosophy is found only in Tamil, i.e., in the 27th chapter of Manimekalai (500A.D.), Nilakesi, Sivajnāna siddhiyār, Tattuvappirakacam etc. As early as 1899, Maxmuller observed:

1. Kandaswamy, S.N., *Tirukkural kūṟam uṟuti-p-poruḷ, p.71. also see: Puṟam 192:10-11.*

"In the South of India there exists a philosophical literature which, though it may show clear traces of Sanskrit influence, contains also original indigenous elements of great beauty and of great importance for historical purposes. Unfortunately few scholars only have taken up, as yet, the study of the Dravidian languages and literature, but young students who complain that there is nothing left to do in Sanskrit literature, would, I believe, find their labours amply rewarded in that field."[2]

The healthy suggestion given by this eminent Indologist should stimulate and inspire the sincere researchers to focus their attention on the Tamil philosophical works to reconstruct the history of Indian philosophy. In this context, the International Institute of Tamil Studies richly deserves the appreciation of all the Tamilologists for its ideal project of conducting a seminar on the Philosophical Heritage of the Tamils.

Paripatal

Paripāṭal is a type of musical composition for which the prosodial rules are elaborately prescibed in Tolkappiyam. The classical work that contains poems of this type is also named Paripatal, - (giving prominence to the form) which has been clasified as one of the Eight Anthologies of Cankam period. Originally the text contained 70 poems, but now we have only 22. Some stray verses and parts of Paripāṭal as found in the Commentaries and Puṟattiraṭṭu have been appended to this text by the learned editor U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar. Parmēlaḻakar (1300 A.D.), a Vaisnavite by birth, but an erudite scholar in the various systmes of Indian Philosophy has written a brilliant commentary to this work. But, it is not available in completion.

The theme of Paripāṭal is to eulogize the glory of Tirumāl and Cevvēḷ and to delineate the love - affairs of all grades of human kind while taking their bath in the River Vaikai. Basically Paripāṭal is not a philosophical text. Nevertheless, the poems on Tirumāl and to some extent the poems on Cevvēḷ have some aspects of philosophical and theological significance, though they are primarily representing the early specimens of Tamil devotional literature. First and foremost, let us take the poems on Tirumāl for our study.

2. Maxmuller, K.M., *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*. pp.XIX-XX.

Tirumāl Poems

These poems are six in number (1,2,3,4,13 &15) and they are composed by different authors. *A comparative study of the contents, style, structure, prosody and language of these poems and those of the early Āḻvārs clearly exhibits the fact that the former naturally precede in time by a few centuries at least to the latter. Hence it is proper to maintain that before the advent of the Āḻvārs, there was an active movement of SriVaisnava school in the South as evidenced from the Tirumāl poems of Paripatal, which actually serve as the fountainhead of the Tamil Vaiṣṇava theology and philosophy.* In these poems references to the Agamas, Vedas and Upanisads are many. In Paripāṭal, the words vētam, maṟai, vāymoḻi, mutumoḻi, pulam, kēḷvi and curuti are synonymously used to denote the Vedas.[3] According to Parimēlaḻakar the Sāmaveda, rich in melody, is indicated by the musical note 'ee' (3:62). In some contexts, the words vāymoḻi, and maṟai denote the Upanisads.[4] The words kēḷvi and virinūl denote the Agamas.[5] Most of these words under reference also occur in other Cankam classics to denote the Vedas or Agamas. *Since all these words except Vētam and Curuti are pure Tamil, some scholars suggest the possible existence of some body of Tamil Vedic literature on a par with the Sanskrit Vedas. Tolkāppiyar included vāymoḻi and mutucol among the sevenfold literary forms that were current in his days, perhaps indicating the nature of the Tamil Vedic literature. Anyhow there are scholars of Indology who boldly stated that sufficient sections in the Vedas and Upanisads are the products of the Tamil genius.[6] Hence, the references in Paripāṭal to the Vedic lore may be taken to include the native elements also.*

Before directly proceeding to extract the Vaisnava philosophy as found in Paripatal, let us initially trace the intimate knowledge of the poets in the twin systems of Samkhya and Yoga, being the earliest systems influencing in one way or other almost all the systmes of Indian philosophy.

3. Kandaswamy, S.N., *Paripāṭaliṉ kālam, pp. 12-14*
4. *Ibid,* pp.14-15
5. *Ibid,* p.17
6. (a) Basham, A.L., *History and Doctrines of the Ajīvakas, pp.4-5*
   (b) Karmarkar, *The Religions of India Vol. I, pp. 51-52.* (The Vrātya systems)

Sāmkhya philosophy

Kapila is the founder or the earliest redactor of the principles of Sāmkhya philosophy. It is often said that Kapilavastu, a place near Banaras is named after him and since it is the birth place of Buddha, Kapila is considered to belong to pre-Buddhistic period (i.e. before 600 B.C.). However, some scholars are of the opinion that Kapila belonged to the South, and the city *Kapilanetu nakar* mentioned in Puram by the poet Kapilar is named after the Samkhya Kapila, whose name was popular among the Cankam poets, some of whom bear the name Kapilar and Tolkapilar (i.e. Kapilar, the ancient one).[7] *In support of this view, they quote a Tamil work, Kapilar Akaval written in a furious style with revolutionary ideas condemning the Vedic rituals, priestly supremacy and caste system and these ideas form a central place in the Sāmkhyan ethics.* The Akaval under reference seems to be a later work ascribed to the ancient Kapila. However, the prevalence of a Tamil tradition of Samkhya philosophy is not completely ruled out. Frequent references to the various categories like the subtle and gross elements, organs of action and cognition found in the Cankam classics should be presented before the philosophical historians who endeavoured to find out some stray references or nomenclature in the Vedic lore to spell out that Sāmkhya is the outsome of Vedic knowlege. *In Maṇimēkalai (500 A.D.), the principles of Samkhya philosophy are outlined and they differ in some aspects from the account found in Īśvarakrishna's Sāmkhya Kārikā.*[8] *The Samkhya system as noticed in Paripāṭal is presented in a natural language and in an unaffected style, and it seems to be understood that Samkhya philosophy was not the property of a particular locality and in all likelihood, it was as any other branch a national philosophy for which the Tamils also contributed their share. In this context, its anti-Vedic nature and non-Vedic origin as pointed out by the specialists in the field are to be borne in mind.*[9] Since, the Samkhya has been the earliest attempt to propound the theory of evolution of the Universe, the remaining systems naturally inherited its metaphysical elements.

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7. *Paripātaliṉ kālam*, pp.24-26
8. Kandaswamy, S.N. *Tamiḻum tattuvamum*, pp.193-198
9. Gerald James Larson, *Classical Samkhya - An Interpretation of its History and Meaning*, pp. 17-19, etc.

Only as a passing remark while singing the glory of the Absolute, the poet Kaṭuvaṉ Iḷaveynaṉār presents his knowledge in Samkhya which is purely theistic. The whole system is so beautifully, briefly and precisely portrayed in three metrical feet which run thus:

"pāleṉak kāleṉap pākeṉa oṉṟu-eṉa
iraṇṭu-eṉa, mūṉṟu-eṉa, nāṉku-eṉa, aintu-eṉa
āṟu-eṉa, ēḻ-eṉa, eṭṭu-eṉa, toṇṭu-eṉa
nālvakai ūḻieṇ naviṟṟum ciṟappiṉai" -3:77-80

In this passage, the technical terms of philosophical significance are pāḻ, kāl, pāku, oṉṟu, iraṇṭu, mūṉṟu, nāṉku, aintu, āṟu, ēḻ, eṭṭu and toṇṭu.

Perhaps these pure Tamil words were easily understood by the time of the poet and they were found in some Tamil texts on Samkhya during the period of Paripatal. *These words denote the various categories or tattvas of Samkhya system, and they are not found in the earliest extant Sanskrit text on the subject viz., Sāmkhya Kārikā.*

To understand the significance of the above passage, we have to closely follow the illuminating commentary of Parimēlaḻakar. *The first word pāḻ, and the last word toṇṭu indicate the two metaphysical realities viz., puruṣa and prakṛti. The remaining ten words that lay between these two denote the evolutes from the uncaused cause, the root prakṛti.* Let us take these words one by one and consider their philosphical significance in the light of Parmēlaḻakar's connotation.

1. Pāḻ-Puruṣa

According to the doctrine of Samkhya, from Puruṣa nothing is produced. So, it is named as Pāḻ. Pāḻ is a pure Tamil word and is also found in the Tirumuṟai literature. Literally it means void. But it is not a non-reality or a non-entity, but an ontological reality as understood even in the Mādhyamika Buddhism and Advaita Vedanta. Since Puruṣa is a passive spectator and not an active participant, its mere existence without any movement is denoted by its name Pāḻ. It is considered as neither cause nor effect in the Samkhya philosophy.

2. Kal-Mahābhūtas

The second word Kāl denotes the five gross elements (i.e. the Mahābhutas) commencing from ether. Since they are evoleved from

others (i.e. tanmātras) and also from them some other things (in the secondary evolution) are produced, they are named as kāl. Literally, Kāl means to pour, shed or to generate. Here, this word denotes the five gross elements viz., ether , air, light, water and earth, generated from the respective tanmātras viz., sound, touch, colour or form, taste and smell.

3. Pāku - the five karmendriyas

The third word *pāku* indicates the five organs of action *(karmendriyas)* viz., tongue, feet, hands, anus and the genital organ. These organs could very well be subsumed under the five gross elements but they are classified according to the difference in the action viz., expression, movement, giving (-doing), excretion and procreation, and hence they are named so i.e. *pāku*. The Commentator gives one example to support his connotation of the word *pāku*, i.e. Just like the things which are apportioned are called portions, so also those organs (of action) that are classified are called as a class i.e. pāku.[10]

4. Onru - the sound-potential

The numeral onru (-one) indicates sound, the quality of ether. Since this quality is evolved prior to other qualities, it is named as the (primary) one. Counting the elements on the basis of its order of evolution is applicable to the subsequent qualities also.

5. iranṭu-the touch-potential

The number iranṭu (-two) denotes sparaśa or touch, the specific quality of air.

6. mūnru-the colour-potential

The number mūnru (-three) denotes the colour (or form) potential, being the special quality of fire (or light).

7. nānku-the taste-potential

The number nānku (-four) indicates the taste-potential, being the special quality of water.

10. *Paripatal* (Dr. U.V.S. Edition) p. 25 (see the commentary)

8. aintu - the smell-potential

The numeral *aintu* (-five) denotes the smell -potential, the special quality of earth.

So, the numerals from one to five indicate the five subtle-elements from which the respective gross-elements were evolved. Here, the commentator explains that the numerals iraṇṭu to aintu denote individually a particular thing (i.e. pūraṇapporul). To put it clearly, iraṇṭu (-two) does not mean two things, but it means the second quality viz., the touch potential. So also mūṉṟu (three) does not mean three things but it means the third quality or taṉmātra viz., the colour potential. So also the rest.

9. āṟu - the six elements

The next number āṟu (six) unlike the previous four numbers denotes the six elements, i.e. It is not used to denote the sixth category, but to denote the six categories, i.e., the five sense-organs viz., ear, body (-skin), eye, mouth and nose plus the mind. Since the mind works through the sense-organs, all these six elements are collectively indicated by the numeral āṟu (-six). Here, the commentator mentions that according to one school of Samkhya philosophy, the cognitive elements are six in number (including the internal organ, mind). Hence, the Paripatal poet represents this particular school.

10. ēḻ-ahamkāra (ego or Cosmic Consciousness)

The numeral ēḻ (-sevan) like iraṇṭu mūṉṟu etc., denotes a particular category i.e. the seventh element ahamkāra, the cosmic consciousness.

11. eṭṭu - mahat (Buddhi or Cosmic intellect)

The numeral eṭṭu (-eight) indicates the eighth element mahat or Cosmic intellect.

12. Toṇṭu - The root Prakrti

Toṇṭu, a very old Tamil word rarely found in Tolkappiyam and Cankam classics actually means nine. Here, it denotes the ninth reality i.e., the root prakrti, the primordial matter. In Tamil, the number nine is the last single digit numeral, after that we count again from 1 with 0 or 1,2, etc. as in many other languages. So, the final reality is indicated by the final numeral *toṇṭu,* and the still final reality is indicated by *pāḻ* which is

symbolized by the numeral Zero: Since, the Samkhya accepted these two as absolute realities, it is also known as Dualistic realism

The Commentator further elucidates that since the poet following a speical method counts from mind, these elements are named after the numerals.

Scholars[11] opined that 'Sāmkhya' is dervied from the root sam+ khya meaning 'counting' correctly, number and hence it is a system of philosophy in which precision of reckoning is observed in the enumeration of its principles. *This semantical significance of the term Sāmkhya is fantastically preserved in the Tamil tradition of Paripātal as seen above.*

The fourth line in the above passage of Paripatal explains the theistic nature of the system. The Absolute is above all these 25 tattvas or categories. He is always adored by these in the four aeons The word eṇ (3.80, literally means number) denotes the Samkhya categories which provide the necessary apparatus of organs and limbs to the Puruṣa (-the individual soul) to have a clear understanding of the cosmos and the cosmic soul)-Parama Puruṣa).

The enumeration of the elements in the afore-mentioned passage of Paripatal is in the order of involution. So, if one counts the various tattvas in the order evolution, he has to commence from the last i.e., from toṇṭu (-Prakrti), the Primordial matter, the uncaused cause. From Prakrti is evolved Buddhi; from it Ahamkāra (-ē̱l). From ahamkāra with the preponderance of sattva guṇa proceeds the six organs of cognition (i.e., the mind and the five jñānendriyas). Then the numbers one to five denote fhe five tanmātras, which are also derived from the Ahamkara with the preponderance of tāmasa guṇa. Then the five organs of action (-pāku) are also emerged out from the Ahamkāra of Rajasa guṇa. So, Ahamkāra is the ground of the evolution of six organs of cognition, five subtle-elements and five organs of action. Then from the tanmātras (-subtle-elements), the five gross elements are evolved. It is to be noted that the three guṇas are not overtly mentioned in the above passage, but they are indicated in some other portion which we see later.

Since the poet says that all these categories are unfolded from the Absolute, it is to be understood that the Absolute is the Efficient cause,

11. *Classical Samkhya,* p.2.

while the Prakrti is the first cause or material cause. The purpose of the evolution is meant for the benefit of the souls which are innumerable, belonging to various stratas and classes (3:1-10; 13:23 etc).

The Paripatal line, *"māyōy! ninvayir parantavai uraittēm"* (3:10) clearly indicates the concept of creation engrafted on the theory of evolution.

The same commentator while elucidating the contents of the 27th couplet of Tirukkural reads the Samkhya speculation and concludes that apart from the 25 elements there is nothing to be known as world.

In another portion of Paripātal (13:14-29), we have one more account of the Samkhya thought. Here, the poet Naleluniyār addresses Tirumāl, the Absolute in the following manner:

"Taste, Sound, light, smell and touch - All these art
Thou, Oh invincible Lord!
Thou art the organs of cognition and action
Among the five that I first mentioned (i.e. the five subtle elements)
Thou art the ether emerged out from the one (i.e. sound),
Thou art the wind felt by the two qualities (i.e. sound + touch),
Thou art the fire felt by the three qualities (touch sound + light)
Thou art the water felt by the four qualities (" + taste)
Thou art the earth filled with all the five qualities ("+smell).

Hence all the souls of the triple-seven worlds along with the Root principle (i.e. Prakrti), virtue and vice (-that are responsible for pleasure and pain, being the outcome of the guṇas), the beginningless time, space, mind and fire are emerged out from you!"

This passage bears ample evidence to the Sarīra-Sarīri Sambandha (-Body-soul relationship) of the Vaiṣṇava theology.

The Commentator adds in explaining the Prakrti (-which is meant by the word *mūlam*, lit., root in the text) that it contains the triple qualities of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas in equal measure causing pleasure and pain as a result of knowledge and ignorance which seem to be the nature of the soul. Actually due to the clinging tendency towards the matter, the soul experiences the dual aspect of pleasure and pain which really belong to the matter and not to the soul. As soon as the soul withdraws its contact with the matter, then it is freed from the bonds of the material world and

abides in its intrinsic nature called *kaivalya* (isolation) or *mukti* (liberation) which is the ultimate aim of the soul.

The triple guṇas

The Concept of guṇa in the Samkhya Philosophy is entirely different from that of the Vaśieṣika philosophy where guṇa denotes the attribute of a thing. According to John Davies, the guṇas in Samkhya are a mere hypothesis, invented to account for the manifest differences in the conditions of formal existence.[12] The guṇas are three viz., 1. Sattva-truth or goodness 2. Rajas-passion or foulness and 3. Tamas-darkness or dullness. These triple qualities are latent in the Prakrti in its unmanifested condition and they are held responsible for the varying degrees of joyous, grievous and stupefying nature. They mutually subdue and support each other in the process of evolution. Even the gods of Hindu Trinity are represented as springing from the triple guṇas as seen in the Paripatal line, *"muvuru akiya talaipiri oruvanai"* (13:37). Here, the Commentator elucidates that the Trimūrti, who symbolize the triple qualities are non-different from the Absolute, Tirumāl (-this may be taken as an equvalent to Parama puruṣa in the Upaniṣads). According to Muir, the rajas quality was born as Brahma, the tamas as Agni and the Sattva as Viṣṇu In the place of Agni some versions put Rudra.[13] The influence of the guṇa theory is also found in the writings of the Greek thinker Aristotle.[14]

The Number of Categories

In the history of Samkhya philosophy, there are various stages of development. Caraka (100 A.D.) does not give a place for tanmatras in his exposition of Samkhya system.[15] One school never admitted the concept of Absolute and counted only 24 elements or tattvas taking Puruṣa and Prakṛti as a single category. Another school enumerated 25 elements giving due recognition to Puruṣa and Prakṛti, by counting them separately. When the influence of Yoga system pervaded the realm of Samkhya philosophy, the Absolute principle was included and hence 26 -categories were counted. This school gained currency in the Mokṣadharma, and Bhagavadgīta of Mahābhārata. The Samkhya school of the Tamil tradition

12. John Davies, *Translation of the Samkhya kārikā of Iśwara krishna,* p.24
13. *Ibid.* 25, f.n.
14. *Ibid, p.24*
15. Das Gupta, S.N. *A History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. I. p.213

as preserved in the Paripātal poems goes a step further. *It adds one more metaphysical reality* i.e. *the eternal time which has been conceived as beginningless as evidenced from the text, "mutanmaiyin ikanta kālam"* (13:24-25). *Hence according to this account, not only the Purusa (-both the individual soul and the Cosmic soul) and Prakrti,but the time also has been considered as anāti* (i.e. without origin), i.e. *it was not caused by any one.* If we include the time principle, then the categories as found in Paripātal come to 27. Still in another place while describing the transcendental nature of the Absdute it is said that He goes beyond the threefold divisions of time viz., past, present and futre (13:44-47) and *He exists even before the time (kāla mutalvan 3:61, may also be taken as the chief who controls the time principle),* and thus leads to the conclusion that *the Absolute alone is the Ultimate Reality in the Vaiṣṇava Sāmkhya or theistic Sāmkhya as found in Paripātal.* In this connection, it is proper to mention that the *Absolute in the Bhagavadgīta declares that He is the Time Principle.*[16]

The Upaniṣadic version of the theory of evolution

In propounding the concept of evolution, the Upaniṣads developed their own theories and they widely vary from the Samkhya theory of evolution. According to the Taittrīya Upaniṣad, the process of evolution is as follows:

"When the Supreme Spirit began to evolve Cosmos, He first produced the ether, from ether came out the gaseous condition, from the gaseous, the igneous condition, from the igneous, the aqueous (i.e. liquid or molten) condition, from the aqueous or molten came out the solid state. From the solid earth were produced the herbs, from the herbs the food, from the food was produced the seed of animal life, and thence man."[17]

This accout is also noticed in the Brahadāraṇya and Chandogya Upaniṣads. From this account, it is evident that the five gross elements are not evolved from the five tanmātras as noted in the Samkhya evolution. The Atman (Absolute) is the First cause and from it the first gross element ether came out. From ether the air, from the air the fire (or light), from the fire the water and from the water, the earth came out. *This theory of*

16. Bhagavadgita: "Kalosmi" akshaya kāla : Chap.10.33
17. (a) Ganga Prasad: *Fountainhead of Religion* pp.109-110
    (b) Belvalkar: *History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol.II, pp.335-6

evolution is not foreign to Paripatal which presents a similar account in the opeining lines of second poem (2:5-12). A free rendering of this Tamil passages is given below:

"The ether, which is the abode of the unseen paramāṇus of air and other gross elements came out with its quality of sound. This evolution of ether took a very long time known as ūḻi (i.e. aeon). From the ether, the air that makes all things to move evolved and this evolution took many aeons. From the air, the light (or fire) the dew and rain poured out for many aeons. Finally from the water, the earth (-which had been all along with the previous four gross elements) came out and this took one aeon."

A Comparison of the contents of the above quoted passage of Paripatal and the Upaniṣads reveals the notable difference in presenting the theory of evolution. Modern science posits a very long time for the evolution of each and every gross element and this aspect is astonishingly found only in the Paripatal portion and not in the Upaniṣads.[18] However, the Chief Justice Ganga Prasad admires thus:

"Modern science stops at the gaseous or nebulous state, but our books go back one step further, and describes a fifth state called etheral or Akasa, which is subtler than the aerial or gaseous state, and is thus the first state of planetary evolution."

It is essential to note that the poets of Paripāṭal were fully aware of the various speculations of evolution that were current in their times.

In this connection, it is appropriate to mention that *in the Manimekalai version of Sāmkhya system the five gross elements are not the evolutes of the five tanmātras. From the Buddhi ether came out; from ether the air, from the air the light, from it the water and from the water the earth emerged out. This account does not agree with the one in Samkhya Karika.*[19]

So, the necessity of exploring the Tamil sources is strongly felt to find out the growth of various theories with regard to the evolution of the Universe in the history of Indian thought.

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18. *Fountainhead of Religion*, p.109
19. *Tamilum tattuvamum*, pp.195-198

The Yoga system

The practice of Yoga is Pre-Vedic and goes back to the period of Indus Valley Civilization. The ancient mystics unravelled the depth of the human consciousness and discovered the methods of self-conquest so that the compete merger of the indiviudal soul with the Absolute was made possible. The Yoga system is a practical philosophy advocating physical perfection being a pre-requisite for mental perfection which is the basis for the spiritual progress and salvation. Though this system is included along with the orthodox schools, it exercised a vital influence on the heterodox systmes like Buddhism and Jainism.

The tradition usually credits *Patanjali, a native of Chidambaram to be the founder of the Yoga sytem.* His Yoga sutra is the earliest extant treatise on the subject. The Yoga being a supplement to Samkhya incorporates the metaphysical principles of the latter and it advocates the triple realities viz., God, soul and world. This concept gained currency in the theistic schools like Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The Bhagavadgita recommends the twin systems of Samkhya and Yoga to be the means of salvation. The same idea is also embedded in the Tirumāl poems of Paripatal, composed by the poet-devotee Kaṭuvaṉiḷaveyiṉaṉār whose acquaintance with Samkhya has already been noted and here, his reference to the Yoga system is to be pointed out as found in the opening lines of the 4th Paripātal which run thus:

> "aintu iruḷ aṟaṉikki nāṉkinuḷ tuṭattuttam
> oṉṟaṟṟup paṭutta niṉ ārvalar toḻutu ētti
> niṉpukaḻ virittaṉar" (4:1-3)

These lines according to Parimēlaḻakar describes the perfection of Tirumāl devotees who adore and extol His glory. They have exterminated the darkness (-confusion) of the five senses and purified their mind by the cultivation of the four fold bhavanas (-as prescribed in the Yoga system) viz., *maitri, karuṇa, muditā* and *upekṣā* and stationed in the unique path of absorption.[20] The word Yoga at the first instance means the inhibition of the modifications of the mind and this meaning is clearly understood in the first line of the above passage. It also means 'union' or oneness with the Absolute and this significance is noticed in the Tamil phrase 'oṉṟāṟuppaṭutta' of the second line of the above passage.

20. *Paripatalin kalam,* pp.26-29

This phrase literally means the guiding of the mind to be one-pointed or united with the Absolute and this significance is in the subsequent poem on Cevvēḷ by the same poet denoted by the word *"nocippu"* (5:37) being an equivalent to Samādhi (-absorption). In such an absorption the sages had an infallible vision of the future (5:37). In an earlier portion, the commentator had pointed out that the Yogis perceived God in their mind (i.e. intuition 2:61-68).

The poet's reference to the fourfold meditations is also found in the first chapter Samādhipāda of the Yoga Sutra.[21]

The mind becomes clarified and serene by cultivating constantly the attitudes of friendliness, compassion, goodwill and indifference respectively towards the happy, miserable, virtuous and vicious people. According to the Commentary of Vyāsa, a spirit of friendliness should be exhibited towards those who are happy; a spirit of compassion towards those in distress; a spirit of good-will towards the virtuous people and a spirit of benevolent indifference towards the vicious creatures. This sort of meditations cleanse the mind being eligible to attain the condition of one-pointedness and eventually to attain serentiy. Since these four attitudes purify the mind and endow one with inward beauty,they are also known as *"Citta parikarma"* according to Parimēlaḻakar.

These four meditations are calledBrahmavihāras in the Buddhist text Mahāvastu (100 B.C.). They are prescibed as the primary requisites of a Bodhisattva.[22] In the Buddhist Tamil epic Manimekalai, along with these four meditations, one more attitude viz., Aśubha Bhavana (i.e. meditating on the loathesome nature of the body) is also recommended as the means for the attainment of Nirvāṇa, the Buddhist eternal bliss (XXX 254-60).

The Mimāmsa system

Mimāmsa is one of the ancient systems of Indian philosophy purely based on the Vedas. It is derived from the root 'man' meaning to think,

21. Mukerji, P.N., *Yoga Philosophy of Patanjali,* pp.87-88
22. Kandaswamy, S.N., (a) *Buddhism as Expounded in Manimekalai,* (Annamalai University Publication) pp.376-382.
    (b) *Tamiḻilakkiyattil Pauttam* (Madras University Publication), pp. 281-286

examine etc. Since this system attempts to investigate the intrinsic value of the various rituals and rites as found in the Vedas, it is named so. This system advocates that it is sufficient if the people perform their karmas as per the Vedic injunctions and they will obtain the expected benefits. Since this system deemed that these actions themselves determined the joy or sorrow of the agent, the necessity of the Absolute as a moral governor seemed to be superfluous and hence the concept of god was absent in this system. However, the Mimāmsa wielded its power in the Cankam period as noticed from the various references to the performance of manifold sacrifices.[23]

In Paripatal, the poet Kīrantaiyār reveals his knowledge of Mimāmsa while he describes that the word of the Yajamāna as enjoined in the Vedas assumes the form of Tirumāl, the cow tied to the sacrificial pillar which is also considered to be a symbol of Tirumal becomes his food and the glowing sacrificial fire, grown by the priests who chant the Vedic mantras represents the presence of Tirumāl (2:61-68).

Here again, the commentary of Parimēlaḻakar throws some light on some of the tenets of Mimāmsa. He calls the Mimāmsa Sutra as the Vedic treatise composed by Jaimini-Cayiminiyāl ceyyappaṭṭa Vaitikanūl, and according to him the passage under reference (2:61-68) contains the concluded thoughts found in the Vedic text of Jaimini. With regard to the utterance of the sacrificial teacher (-ācāṉ urai 2:61) being the name of the deity in the dative case (as seen in the commentary), the observation of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan is worth mentioning.[24]

> "The later Mimāmsakas openly tell us that the deity is that whose name is inflected in the dative case. In the formula
>
> "Indrāya Svāhā" Indra is the deity."

The phrase *"uttecattiyakam"* in the commentary denotes the gift submitted to the desired deity in the sacrifice and it is indicated by the word 'Svaha.'

Anyhow, the poet Kīrantaiyār modified the atheistic Mimamsa to suit the doctrine of Vaiṣṇava theology.[25] The name of the poet occurs in

23. *Paripatalin kalam*, pp.20-22
24. Radhakrishanan, S. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol.II, p.429
25. Cilappatikāram, 23:42-54

Cilappatikāram and there also he is portrayed as one of Vedic faith. But it is not definite that the poet of Paripatal and the person in the epic are one and the same person.

In this context, some observations are to be quoted since they indicate the connection of Tirumal with the sacrificial rituals:

1. "In the Mahabharata......it is a place of virtue and sacrificial ceremonies often locally defined and reflected in, or represented by tirthas called Viṣṇupadas, which are sometimes described as Viṣṇu's perpetual residence and as an entrance to His world."[26]
2. "Satapata Brahmana makes him a personification of sacrifice and the most excellent of gods."[27]

It is proper to conclude that the Vaiṣṇavism of Paripātal contains also some Vedic elements as seen in the poem of Kīrantaiyār. It is interesting to note that the structure of the name Kirantaiyar agrees to the prescription of Tolkappiyam.[28] Accordingly, the name is made up of Kiran + tantaiyār, i.e. the father of Kīraṉ, being the name of the poet under reference.

The Cārvakas - the Indian materialists

The Indian materialist schools were variously known as Lokayata, Bhūtavada and Cārvāka. They advocated the life of a hedonist. They rejected not only the Vedas but even the very existance of the supreme being. They had no faith in pre-birth as well as in re-birth. They had no belief in the doctrine of karma. They hated the ceremonies and rituals which they considered to be a means of livelihood for the priestly class.

Brhaspati is regarded to be the founder of the Indian materialism. Original texts of this philosophy became extinct. The chief available sources of this system are only preserved in the polemic writings of the opposite schools which attempted to exaggerate the weak points and to ignore the vital aspects of the Carvakas. The Caravakas existed in the

26. Gonda, J. *Aspects of Early Vaisnavism*, p.2
27. Chattopadyaya, S. *Evolution of Hindu Seets*, p.26
28. *Tolkappiyam, Eluttatikaram* (Kalakam Edition), Cuttiram, 348-350

South during the Cankam period. The poets of Paripātal noted them in two contexts.[29] In one place, they are denoted by the word 'pirar' (2:66) meaning others. The poet says that the god appears in the place of sacrifice making even the atheists to accept His existence (2:66-7' vide, the commentary). In another context, the poet includes those who deny the concept of re-birth and for this reason they are denounced as imbeciles (-maṭavōr) along with the furious, wicked hearted and vicious people who do not offer worship to the sacred feet of Cevvēḷ (5:73-76)

In Puranāṉūru, the Cārvakas are clearly noted as those who deny the doctrine of karma, (i.e. the good and bad actions respectively give good and bad results). The king is advised not to have their company (29:11-12). The same text also refers them by the phrase 'ikal kaṇṭōr' (166:5) - those who protested the Vedic faith. Of course, this phrase also includes the Buddhists and Jains.

In Tirumurukārruppaṭai, they are noted as 'muraṇiṉar' (243), being a synonym of 'ikal kaṇṭōr' who trembled to witness the presence of Lord Muruga.

Thus, we have seen the existence of the Cārvakas side by side with those who have strong belief in God during the Cankam period.

Pāñcarātra System

According to Dr. S.N. Das Gupta, the Pāñcarātra system of Vaisnavism originated in South India.[30] This system is based on the Vaisnava Agamas. Since Narayana, a non-Vedic divinity after performing the five-day sacrifice (i.e. pāncarātra sattra) gained superiority over all beings, the system centering around Him is also named Pāñcarātra.[31] There is one tradition that the Agamas were revealed by Narāyaṇa to the sages during five nights (Pāñcarātri) and hence, the system was so named. According to Ahirbdhnya Samhita[32] one of the earliest Pāñcarātra works, the system recognises the five-fold forms of the god, the Para (transcendent), Vyūha (emanatory), Vibhava (incarnatory) Antaryamin (immanent) and Arca (that which resides in idols and images) and hence,

29. *Paripāṭaliṉ kālam*, p.29
30. *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III, p.19
31. Suvira Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, pp.32-33
32. Ibid, pp.42-43; Also see, Scrader's *"Introduction to Pāñcarātra"* p.25

it is named as Pāñcarātra. This interpretation of the system is generally conceded by the specialists on the subject. In the Tirumāl poems of Paripātal all the five aspects of the Ultimate Reality are found.

The Paratva or the Transcendental form of Tirumāl

Paripātal refers to Tirumāl's transcendental form which is known as Parabrahman or Paravāsudeva.[33] In this state, Tirumal exists in Vaikuntha of the milky ocean reclined on the couch of thousand-headed Śeśa, emitting brilliance from its gems (13:26-29). The reference to His consort Śri is found (1:8). Paripatal is silent about the other consorts Bhūdevi and Lilādevi. References to His celestial weapons conch, discus etc., and to His divine ornaments Kaustubha, the Tulasi garland etc., His vehicle garuda and the serpant ornaments are many.[34] In the paratva form, Tirumāl possesses all the six divine attributes viz., omniscience, strength, sovereignty, valour, creative power and splendour.

Vyūha or the emanated forms

The Vyūha, the grouped form of Tirumāl is fourfold viz., Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumma and Aniruddha. The Vyūha Vāsudeva remains the same as the transcendental Paravāsudeva. The other three are named respectively after the elder brother, the son and the grandson.[35] The Vyūha forms have distinct cosmic functions of creation, preservation and redemption. With regard to their divine attributes, Vasudeva possessses all the six qualities, while each of the remaining three shares individually two, two qualities among the six.[36]

Paripatal clearly mentions all the four Vyuhas in pure Tamil words (3:81-82). In the text *Kāri, Veḷḷai, Paccai* and *Māl* respectively denote Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyaumna and Aniruddha. The commentator describes the colours of these four Vyuha forms with the help of the attributive words that precede these names. However, the first two Vyuha forms with their alternant names Krisna and Balarama are frequently mentioned not only in Paripatal, but also in other Cankam classics.[37]

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33. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor Religious Systems*, p.53
34. *Paripatal*, 1:8-9, 55-59; 2:28-31, 49, 60; 15:54-61
35. Mahadevan, T.M.P. *Invitation to Indian Philosophy*, p. 276
36. *Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor Religious systems*, p.53
37. *Paripatalin kālam*, pp.52-53

Vibhava or incarnations of Tirumāl

In order to protect the innocent, to exterminate the wicked and to establish righteousness, the Supreme Being takes innumerable incarnations at different points of time.[38] However, ten incarnations are usually counted as very important. In Paripatal, the incarnations of Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana and Vikrama, Balarama and Krisna are found.[39] There is also indirect reference to Kūrmāvatāra.[40] The Hamsāvatāra is also noticed.[41] *The absence of the incarnations of Parasurama and Rama is significant.*[42]

Antaryāmin or the immanent form

The transcendent Absolute is also immanent in all beings. He abides in the heart of everyone and is to be realised by the yogis. He accompanies the individual souls when they transmigrate to heaven or hell. Paripātal ovetly mentions the Antaryāmin form (2:24-25). Here, the commentator elucidates the inmanent nature of Tirumāl. *The Paripātal passages that describe the Antaryāmin seem to be original and deserve to be named as portions of Tamil Upanisad* (3:63-68; 4:25-32). A free rendering of one of them is given here under:-

"Thou art the heat in the fire, the fragrance in the flower,
Thou art the gemness in the stone, the truth in the utterance,
Thou art the softness in the virtue, the hardness in the heroism
Thou art the Upanisad in the Vedas, the first element among the Mahabhutas,
Thou art the brilliance in the hot sun, the coolness in the moon,
Thou art all (things), Also Thou art their inner-ruler" (3:63-68)

Arcāvatāra - or the Sacred images

The various idols or images installed in the temples are considered to be the easiest form of the Supreme to be worshipped by the devotees to obtain the ends of life. Pāñcarātra Agamas offer directions to the

38. *Bhagavadgita,* chapter IV, 8
39. *Paripatal kālam,* pp.48-53
40. *Paripatal*, 3:33-34, 59-61
41. *Paripatalin kālam,* p.55
42. *Ibid,* pp.56-57

construction of temples and images.[43] *According to Das Gupts, this sort of worship is purely Non-Vedic and existed even in the 6th century B.C.*[44] In Paripatal, references to idolatry are many. The temple at Tirumāliruñcōlai malai is very ancient and here the images of both Krisna-Baladeva were enshrined (15:36; 64-66). Descriptions of the manifestations of Tirumāl, the devotional addresses to the Divinity and the rituals of worship portrayed in the poems of Paripatal go to prove that the Tamils gave much respect and importance to Arcāvatara.

In the poems on Tirumāl, the universal perspective is noticed. There is no religious animosity (1:43-46; 4:36-41).

For want of space, only a brief sketch of the Vaiṣṇava theology has been attempted here.

9. Śaivism

The worship of Śiva, as the Absolute goes back to the pre-Vedic period. During the period of the Brahmanas, the Siva of the Indus Valley civilization and the Rudra of the Vedic culture merged together representing repectively the love and law aspects of the Absolute. According to Dr. Karmarkar, "*The conception of the proto-Indians regarding Śiva was of a very noble character. Hence, there was nothing in Śiva which could have been refined by the priestly classes...... The Śatarudrīya is a non-Aryan document par excellence. In fact, it shows a keen tendency on the part of the Aryans to aryanize the non-Aryan god Śiva.*"[45] During the period of the Itihāsas and early Purānas, the myths and legends connected with Rudra-Śiva were created. *We find in Paripatal many attributes and epithets indicating the amalgamation of Rudra-Śiva.*

In His essential nature (-Svarūpa lakṣaṇa), the Absolute is formless and nameless. In order to bestow grace on the souls, the Absolute in His general nature (-Tatastha lakṣaṇa) assumes various forms and names - all signifying his boundless compassion towards the triple varieties of souls. In one place, Śiva is depicted as the aweful and powerful one possessing five heads, perhaps to represent His five-fold cosmic functions viz., creation, maintenance, destruction, obscuration and bestowal of grace (1:43-44). In this passage, the function of absorption or destruction

43,44 *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III, p.19

45. *The Religions of India*, Vol.I - *The Vratya systems of Religion*, pp.51-52.

(-maṭankal) is specifically noted. This shows that He, who withdraws the whole universe unto His sacred feet during the period of great deluge to give rest to the wearied souls and to recreate, should be the Supreme Lord. Anyhow, the five-forms of Lord Śiva viz., Satyojata, Vāmadeva, Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa and Iśana (-to signify His omnipresence in all directions) are also mentioned in the Taittriya Aranyaka (10:43-47).

Śiva, as the destroyer of the three castles of the Aśuras is extolled as Tiripurāntaka in the Agamas and Śilpaśāstras. There is a reference to this form in Paripatal (5:22-27). Śiva as Viṣapaharana mūrti is also mentioned (8:127, 9:7). His abode in Himalayas is also noted (9:1-7). The notion of Siva as a Himalayan god seems to have been existed during the period of Indus Valley civilization.[46] There are references in Paripatal to Śiva as Gangādhara (9:4-6, 16:36-37). Since reverence to Nāga is considered to be Dravidian, the Aryas adored Śiva wearing the sacred thread in the place of the ornaments of serpents, and also hailed Him as one who consumed the sacrificial offerings. This description is also found in Paripatal (5:26-27). The Aṣṭamūrta of Śiva is also mentioned in one poem (3:4-5). Since the Constellation of orion (i.e. ātirai) resembled the form of Nataraja, He has been adored as *ātiraiyāṉ* (8:6). The commentator explains in one context that *the priests having erudition in the Śaivāgamas commenced the religiuns festival (-ātirai viḻā) related to the god of Ātirai* (Arudra, 11:74-87). Reference to Rsabhārūdha Mūrti is also found (8:2). Śiva is also as the three-eyed god (11:99-100, 5:29-30), the eyes being the sun, moon and wisdom.

The grace of Śiva is personified as the Mother goddess which is not found in the Vedas.[47] *The worship of the Mother-goddess was prevalent in the Indus valley civilization.*[48] Though the Paripatal poem on Koṟṟavai is missed during the passage of time, references to the Mother-goddess are found in the existing poems (11:99-100; 8:127).

46. Vide, "The Velalas in Mohenjo Daro", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol.XIV, pp.46-47
47. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p.5
48. *The Religions of India*, Vol.I-the Vratya ststems of Religion, p.36, p.95, p.101

The poems on Cevvēl

The worship of Muruga is very ancient and is found in the Indus valley civilization. Dr. Karmarkar identifies Muradeva, the god of the Vrâtyas in the Vedic texts with Muruga of the Indus valley people.[49] Muruga is intimately associated with the life and breath of the Tamils from time immemorial. Due to the amalgamation of the Dravidians and Aryans, the concept of their gods Muruga and Kumara fused together. In the original text of Paripatal, 31 poems were on Cevvēḷ. At present only eight poems are available (5,8,9,14,17,18,19,21). Most of these poems depict Tirupparankuṉṟam, the Hill abode of Lord Muruga. In these poems, the natural scenes intermingled with the love themes are beautifully drawn in the divine background of Lord Muruga. *In such descriptions, we witness that the spiritualism and materialism are coupled with each other.*

The fifth Paripātal contains a myth of the birth of Kumāra-Muruga due to the influence of the Sanskrit Legends. *At the end of this poem, the Vedic deities are shown subordinate and sub-servient to Lord Muruga (5:50-70). In another poem, it is portrayed that all the Vedic deities and the Trimurti paid homage to Lord Muruga (8:1-11) and this clearly indicates the unique and exalted position of the god remained in the perennial Tamil tradition.* References to destruction of the Asuras headed by Śūrapadma and Mt. Krauñca are also found (5:1-7, 9:70-71, 14:17-18, 18:3-4, 19:101-103, 21:8-9; 5:8-10, 8:29, 19:57, 101-103, 21:8-9). The spear and other weapons of Muruga symbolizing the divine wisdom, His consorts Valli and Devasēnā, symbolizing His volitional and conative cosmic powers etc., are also mentioned (5:7, 65-70 etc., etc.; 8:69, 9:67, 14:21-22; 9:8-10, 9:58, 19:6-7, 18:54). Referecnes to His mounts peacock and elephant, the kaṭamba garland, the various ornaments etc., are many in the text [17:48-9; 5:2, 67; 21: 1-2; 5.81; 21:3-11]. To study the cult of Muruga, Paripatal provides a wealth of material.

The sense of toleration was the significant feature in the religious climate as noticed in Paripatal. It is really inspiring to note that the poet Kaṭuvaṉiḷaveyiṉaṉār who adored Tirumāl in two poems (3,4) also exalted the glory of Lord Muruga in the 5th Paripatal. His prayer is superb. He entreats the Lord thus:

49. *Ibid*, pp.49,51,128

"Oh God of wearing the brilliant garland of Katamba flowers!

I beg Thee not the wealth, gold and sensual pleasure (-that are transcient and fleeting),

but Thy grace, the devotion (to win Thy grace) and the virtue (-being the outcome of the two)," (5:78-81).

Such a noble and ideal prayer is really admirable.

However, to have a clear picture of the religious condition of Caṅkam period, the poems of Paripāṭal contribute much. In this paper, only some of the salient aspects of the philosophical and theological concepts as found in Paripāṭal are presented.

Conclusion

Paripātal is not a philosophical text. It is a literature charged with devotional tone. The poets are great scholars having erudition in the composite culture of the Tamil and Sanskrit traditions. Their poems contain interesting portions relating to some of the systems of Indian philosophy and theology as preserved in the Tamil tradition. Those who are interested to reconstruct the history of Indian thought are required to utilise the materials of Paripāṭal.

THE CULT OF MURUKAN̲ IN PARIPĀṬAL

Paripāṭal basically denotes the particualr metre, for which elaborate rules are prescribed in the Tolkappiyam.[1] It is an admixture of one or more of the fourfold primary metres viz., Aciriyam, Veṇpā, Kali and Vañci, interspersed with many of the limbs of Kalipā, such as Eruttu, Curitakam, Koccakam and Arākam. The lower limit of this fascinating metre is noted as 25 metrical lines and the upper limit as 400 lines. Tolkappiyar categorically stated that Paripātal should have for its substance only love themes. However the anthology, named after this metre which is reckoned as one of the eight super collections of Sangam poems, has poems not only on erotic themes but also on thelogical and devotional aspects. Among the 70 poems of the original text, at present only 22 poems with some mutilated lines are available with an excellent but brief commentary of Parimelaḻakar. The learned editor Dr. U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar exhumed some more poems and fragmentary pieces from the commentaries of ancient Tamil classics and also from the collection of Pur̲attiraṭṭu. They run from 32 lines to 140 lines. The internal evidence supports the view that the poems are musical compositions for which the specialists had set tunes. They are classified according to the pattern of paṇs, the Tamil melody. Thus, it becomes evident that the metre is purely native. The anthology focusses mainly on the subject-matter, centering around the landscape of Pāndyadeśa.

The age of this anthology is not settled beyond the pale of controversy. The traditional scholars placed it in the beginning of the Christian era, on a par with other Sangam classics. Prof.S. Vaiyapuri Pillai dragged it down to A.D. 800, mainly on the basis of some linguistic peculiarities. *However, an impartial study would reveal the fact that the Paripatal could not be a product of the Pallava period which witnessed the advent of Bhakti movement and as a result, the creation of Tirumur̲ais and Divyaprabandha. The tone and lexture, the language and style, the portrayal of social and political conditions, the catholicity of outlook, toleration towards other faith, emphasis on a better earthly existence, some philosophical and theological features and above all the unique and unimitative position of the metre Paripāṭal contribute to the suggestion that it should have been composed long before the times of early Alvars and Nayanmars who perhaps should have derived inspiration from it.*[2]

Among the available poems of this anthology, six poems are on Tirumāl, eight on Cevvēḷ and also the same number of poems on Vaiyai. The present study on the cult of Murukaṉ is essentially based on the materials, collected from the poems on Cevvēḷ, another name for Murukaṉ, the source and force associated with the culture and tradition of the Tamils from the pre-historic period to our own times. Due to the amalgamation of the Aryan and Dravidian Cultures, the cult of Murukaṉ and that of Skanda were fused together. Upon the specific characteristics, attributed to Murukaṉ by the Tamils, the fresh features of Skanda as envisaged by the Aryans were thrusted, giving the impression that the two were one and the same. An impartial exercise is essential to identify the native and foreign elements in the syncretism of Skanda-Murukaṉ faith, though for long in the consciousness of the Tamils, the fused form dominated very well. However, even now very rarely the Brahmin parents name their son Murukaṉ, though the Tamils call their offsprings by both the names.

First of all, let us commence our study with a detailed discussion on the names and epithets, glorifying the multi-faceted greatness of Murükan, as found in the poems of Paripāṭal.

Names and Epithets

1. Cevvēḷ

Since the poems on Murukan are given the title, "Cevvēḷ", either by the authors or by the compilers, this name should have some special significance. It is an attributive construction with the head word Vēḷ which means one, who is loved and one who loves. Since the Lord is loved by the devotees and He also loves them, the basic word Vēḷ itself denotes Him [8.61; 9.36; 18.26]. The attribute *cev* or *cemmai* connotes redness, perfection, rectitude, spotlessness, harmony, goodness, greatness, fairness, eminence, beauty, grace and elegance [vide, Tamil Lexicon] which are attributed to be the characteristics of Murukan by our ancients. In the whole of Paripatal, the name Cevvēḷ occurs only once [5.13]. Even in other Sangam poems, this name is found only in Pattiṉappālai [154]. Its related forms Neṭuvēḷ, literally meaning the tall Vēḷ [3.37; 21.50] and Vēḷvēḷ[18.26] i.e. Vēḷ with the lance are also noticed. The former word has already gained currency in Akanānūru [22.6] and Puṟanānūru [55.19]. The name Viṟalvēḷ i.e. the victorious Vēḷ occurs in Patiṟṟu-p-pattu [11.6] and also in Ainkuṟunūṟu [250].

Netiyon, the tallest also indicated Murukan in Paripatal [19.28, 84] and also in Akanānūṟu [149.16]. Its alternant form neṭiyaṉ occurs in Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai [211]. These words are synonymous with Neṭuvēḷ.

Since Murukan was initially the god of the mountaineous region, the rulers of hilly tracts were also called Vēḷ and Vēḷir perhaps in conformity with the Tamil tradition of treating the king on a par with god.

To differentiate Cevvēḷ from the god of love, the latter was given the name Karuvēḷ, the black Vēḷ and Kamavēḷ.

Among the names of the god of the mountain, Murukaṉ stands supreme as evidenced from the frequent usage in the Sangam poems. Let us briefly examine its significance.

2. Murukaṉ

The root word of Murukaṉ is Muruku which means fragrance, eternal beauty, youthfulness and divinity. All these qualities are personified as the god Murukaṉ. In Paripatal, it is used in one context in the sense of fragrance [21.51]: The usage "Aruḷ Muruku', the gracious Murukan is also found [8.65]. Without the masculine gender suffix-aṉ, the root word itself denoted the Lord also in other Sangam anthologies [vide, Kuṟun. 362.1; Akam 28.6; 118.5; 138.10; 181.6; 232.14; Puṟam 16.12; Porunar 131, etc.] However, the usage Murukan occurs twice in Paripāṭal [5.50; 8.81]. The lengthy epithet **"Perumpeyar Murukaṉ"** [5.50-] indicates His exalted glory and this form is also found in Tirumurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai [269]. The word Murukaṉ has the divine potency and efficacy, and hence the Tamils hold it a mantra.

According to A.P. Karmarkar,[3] the worship of Murukaṉ was as ancient as the Indus Valley civilization. He opined that the expression Muradevah, used in the Rig Veda to denote the god of the Vrātyas i.e. Non-Aryan, denoted Murukaṉ. The authenticity of his view requires solid evidence, apart from the flimsy suggestion.

Next, the significance of the name Cēy is considered.

3. Cēy

Tolkappiyar stated Cēyōṉ, to be the god of hilly tract, where the primitive life of the people is supposed to have commenced. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar elucidated that the word Ceyyavaṉ, the Red one, has

elongated as Cēyōn̲. In the Sangam classics, His form, garland, apparel and such other things were portrayed to be red in colour. Also in Paripatal, His dress and Kaṭampa garland are described as red, while His weapon is radiant like the marine plant red coral and His effulgent colour likens the blazing fire. Further,, His face is compared to the rising sun [19.97-100]. Instead of Cēyōn̲, the basic word Cēy appears in Paripāṭal: Cēy kunram in the same sense [6.69], and also in Kur̲untokai (1.3), Aiṅkur̲unūr̲u (242) etc. With His beautiful and ever fresh ornaments, He is praised as Pacumpūṇ Ceey in Paripatal [21.53], Paimpūṇ Ceey in Perumpāṇ [458] and Cuṭarpūn Ceey in Kur̲iñcippāṭṭu [51]. In all these contexts, Cēy was a personal name without any over tones of kindredship. Nevertheless, it is also used in the sense of child or son in Paripatal itself. He is said to be the child of the god of destruction, "Kāy kaṭavuḷ Ceey", evidently referring to Siva [5.13]. Theologically, this usage gains significance. He is also extolled as "Ōṅkuvir̲al Ceey", the exalted and victorious Ceey. Because of eternal youthfulness, this usage was continued also in the subsequent Tamil works.

The name Kumaran̲, an equivalent to Cēy is also found in Paripatal [9.82]. The eminent Dravidiologists like M.B. Emeneau and T. Burrow treated *"Kumaran̲"* as a Dravidian word from the root kom[mai] meaning the youthful and beautiful. It is not certain that the usage is due to the influence of Kumārasambhava, since many Sangam poets who lived long before Kalidāsa bear the name Kumaran̲ār for instance Maturai-k-kumaran̲ār, Cēntan̲ Kumaran̲ār, Nākan̲ Kumaran̲ar, Kūr̲r̲aṅ Kumaran̲ār, Calliyaṅ Kumaran̲ār and others.

Another epithet Celvan also means son or a wealthy person found in Paripāṭal.

4. Celvan̲

Murukan̲ is denoted by this word in the following passages with some preceding attributes.

i) Kaṭampu amar Celvan̲ [8.126]

The Lord is seated beneath the Kaṭappam tree [-Anthocephalus cadamba] and hence the epithet. It reminds us Siva, being known as Ālamar Celvan̲, since He resides under the banyan tree. Before the construction of temples, the ancients worshipped the Lord under the shade of a specific tree. Such a primitive tradition is also found in Paripatal.

ii) Ceruvēl tāṉai-c-Celvaṉ [18.54]

Here, Celvaṉ is used in the sense of mighty youth with javeline as his weapon , commanding the army for a battle, perhaps denoting His military expedition against the wicked titans, called avuṇas and aśuras, to protect the virtuous. *In this context, it is proper to refer to Sri Krishna's statement in the Bhagavat Gita that among the military generals, he was Skanda [10.24].*

Even otherwise, the ancient Tamils should have treated their tribal hero of the Kuriñchi region to be the leader of their group to fight against the foes and to guard them. Perhaps, that hero might have been raised to the supernatural status, assuming godhead, at a subsequent period.

iii) Oṉṟār-t-tēytta Celvaṉ [21.70]

This epithet refers to Murukaṉ who has rubbed and smashed completely the enemies. Such a phrase is also found in Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai [5].

iv) Veṉṟi-k-koṭi aṇi Celvaṉ [21.17]

Parimelaḻakar interprets this appellative to mean the Lord who endowed beauty to the flag, because of his significant victory in the battle.

One of the popular names of the Lord is Vēlaṉ in the Tamil tradition. The poets of Paripatal addressed Him by this name also.

5. Vēlaṉ

Murukan is also known by His weapon *Vēl,* which means lance, javeline or spear. The root of this word is *vel* to conquer and to win. Wielding this weapon, He completely annihilated the unethical and superhuman titans and hence, He came to be called Vēlaṉ.[4] Some researchers are of the opinion that when the metallic age was ushered in, the tribal people invested the metallic weapon i.e. spear to their old hero god who was thus elevated to a high position, to meet the challanges from large armies and to provide safety and security to those who invoked Him.

In Paripatal, Vēlaṉ in isolation and with attributes has been addressed by the votaries [8.29; 9.68; 18.4; 19.36]. In other Sangam poems also, Murukaṉ is known by the name Vēlaṉ [Ainkuṟu 241, 248, Kali, 27].

Not only the Lord, but the priest, who carries Vēl and performs Veri dance is also called vēlan̲ [5.15]

There are some more appellatives. Let us consider them.

6. Other Appellatives

Lord Muruka is eulogised as *"maal marukan̲"* [19.5], the son-in-law of Tirumāl or his nephew. This kindred term is really surprising, since it is not found in other Sangam poems including Tirumurukār̲r̲uppatai. There is a direct reference that Murukan's consort Devaśena was Indra's daughter [9.9] and therefore the epithet Maal Marukan̲ clearly meant the nephew of Tirumal. His mother Umā [8.126-7] is said to be the sister of Tirumāl in the ancient Purāṇas and hence the kindred term, as noted above.

He is praised as Kālātīta like His father who destroyed the god of death [8.86]. In the liturgy of the priest Vēlan̲, the name Cālvan̲ finds a place. It means the exalted Lord with full of auspicious qualities. He is venerated as a war god and hence the descriptive appellatives, Aṭumpōrāḷan̲ [9.71], Velpōrir̲aivan̲ [17.48-9], the god who conquers the war and Vir̲alveyyōn̲ [8.67], the lover of victory. He was an expert in the game of dice [18.41-2]. His spouse in sulky mood designated Him as Māyan̲ [9.30], a deceitful person, not in the derogatory sense but as an expression of endearment. Since He accepted the prayer of the frenzied Vēlan̲ and his dance, Ver̲ikontān̲ became one of His names [9.44].

The epithets mutalvan̲ (8.17), talaivan̲ (5.14), ir̲ai (8.79) and ir̲aivan (17.49) denote His overlordship. The phrases, "Ē̱lulakum Aḷi" (8.64) - the moral governor of the sevenfold worlds and **"nīyēvarampir̲r̲u ivvulakam"** [5.17] - this world stands on your support, - explicated His supremacy, also confirmed by some more anecdotes in the text. *Vishnu, Siva, Brahma and other gods along with the retinue of celestials descended from their heavenly abodes to pay homage to Lord Murukan, enshrined at Tirupparankun̲r̲am, which actually resembles Himalayas, being the residence of the gods [8.1-11]. Similar status is accorded to Him also in Tirumurukār̲r̲uppaṭai which describes the arrival of all gods to worship the Lord of Tīruvāvinankuṭi* [148-176].

In becomes very clear, that *by the times of Paripatal, Lord Muruka was not at all the tribal god, regional deity or a minor deity, but the Absolute Reality, sought after even by the great gods of Vedic pantheon.* The text

provides sufficient references to His personality, apparel, ornaments, royal insignia and other parapharnalia, which are exmined here under.

Divine Personlity

The beautiful personality of Lord Muruka is depicted in many poems. The effulgence of His body resembles the bright sun [5.12]. His tender heads are six. His drum-like shoulders are twelve [5.10-11]. His chest is like the mountain [9.98]. He is portrayed as the Sun on the fast flying peacock [18.26-7]. *The Vedic gods became subordinate and subservient to Him, submitting the gift objects viz., the goat's kid, peacock, cock fowl, bow, club, sword, pike, axe, battle-axe, sun-like arm, garland and bell which were held in His twelve arms. He surpassed the greatness of Indra, the Vedic god even while He was a new born babe* [5.63-70; 14.21; 21.67]. *In this list, His characteristic mount elephant is left out. It is to be borne in mind that nowhere in the Sanskrit sources, elephant as the mount of Murukan is mentioned.* In this connection, it is pertinent to note that a different type of description of six-fold faces and twelvefold hands is drawn in Tirumurukārruppaṭai [90-118], all showing His all powerful and all pervasive nature.

Since references to this grand Cosmic Personality with many faces and shoulders of Murukan are not found in other Sangam poems, some researchers concluded that Paripatal and Tirumurukārruppatai should have been composed at a very later period. *However, numismatical and epigraphical evidences are abundantly available to support the view that such a descirption was contemplated even in the pre-Christain era down to the golden age of the Guptas.* On the Ujjayani coins Kārtikeya, holding a spear is shown with three heads while the other three are behind, and naturally not represented because they cannot be seen.[5] The Yaudheyas, who defeated Kuṣāṇas, were ardent devotees of Kārtikeya. The Kanakhera inscription of Sridharavarman reveals that the Saka Chief was a stauch devotee of the same god. His grace was needed for these northern kings to fight against the invading kings and to establish their position. A.P.Karmarkar[6] indicated that the reverse of the coins of the Kushāṇa prince Kanishka contains the names in greek letters of Skanda, Mahāsena, Kumāra and Visākha. The assimilation of Skanda and Visaka, and then with Mahasena and Kumara has been dicsussed by many scholars. In the Mahābhāṣya, Patañjali refers to the images of Śiva, Skanda and Visāka, meant for worship. In the Arthaśāstra also, references are found to the temples of Śiva, Skanda and others.

S. Chattopadhyaya[7] concluded that though the Skanda or Kartikeya sect was an amalgam of several minor sects, as detailed out in his study, it never became an important religion in the north. *However, it is a perennial living faith very popular in the Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka from very ancient days,* assimilating the native and foreign elements,as evidenced from the description of the Lord in the Paripāṭal and Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai.

Next, let us consider the royal emblems of the Lord.

Royal emblems

Since Lord Muruka is the Sovereign ruler of the universe, His royal emblems are given a reverential status. They are essentially chosen from the flora and fauna, peculiar to the mountaineous region for which He was the presiding god. His prominent mount is the elephant with the brilliant coat of armour on its forehead, with full of glory of conquering the battles [21.1-2]. It is also known as *Piṇimukam*, since it had a spotted face [5.1-2]. The trumpeting of the mount becomes a comparision to the thundering of clouds [8.17-18]. Also in other Sangam poems, the elephant as the vehicle of Murukan is noted [Kuṟun. 1.2; Akam.1.4; 138. 11; Patiṟṟu. 11.6; Muruku 78-82; 110]

Paripatal has also a reference to the peacock mount [8.67]. Though the myth mentions, that it was created by Indra out of a part of his body and gifted as a tribute to Muruka accepting His overlordship, even while He was a new born child, after badly defeated by Him, it has been reckoned as the prominent and beautiful bird, associated with the Kuriñci region, haunted by Him. Hence, its native origin as the mount of Murukaṉ can not be overlooked. In other Sangam poems, this mount is also mentioned [Puṟam 56.7; Muruku 210]. Goat, the gift of Yama also became the mount of Murukan [5.61]. According to the Kandapuranam, on the advice of Śiva, Narada commenced to perform the sacrifice. In its fire, some titanic force in the form of a goat was emanated. The miraculous goat terrified all the beings in all the worlds. The celestials approached Lord Muruka to protect them from the onslaught of the goat. He sent His army chief Viravāku to fetch the ferocious goat on which He rided, suppressing its ferocious power, felicitating Narada to continue and complete the sacrifice successfully. However, it seems that this legend was not familiar with the poets of Paripatal and hence, a different version of the origion of goat, as a mount is noted. Also in Tirumurukarruppatai, the epithet

'takaran' [210] denoting the Lord with this mount is found. In other Sangam classics no reference to this legend is noticed. It is the Tamil tradition that admitted the flag to form one of the royal emblems.

The Lord's flag is glorified as the victorious one, hoisted in the banner [21.17; 9.80]. The emblem, inscribed on it was the cock fowl [5.64; 8.19]. In one poem, the peacock flag is celebrated [17.48]. In one reference, it is inferred that elephant flag was also owned by Him [4.40]. However, in the Sangam poems the peacock flag was lauded [Akam, 149.14-16; Muruka 122]. In Tirumurukā<u>rr</u>uppaṭai, the cock fowl flag is also mentioned [210-211]. Curiously enough, the Lord's sandal, made up of pink coloured fine hide to suit His lotus feet is noted in Paripāṭal [21.3-7]. Nowhere such a reference is found.

The Lord's chariot was fashioned with due deliberation [18.14]. His *muracu* [-drum] resounded his victory in the hills [21.38]. Apart from the weapon Vēl [5.7; 8.67; 18.26; 21.8-9], e<u>k</u>ku was also held by Him [9.79]. The word ekku generally denotes any weapon made of steel. It is also used in the sense of lance, sword and discuss. In Ku<u>r</u>iñcippāṭṭu, e<u>k</u>ku is found to be the weapon of Muruka<u>n</u> [51-2]. Among the other weapons bow, club, sword, pike, axe etc. are gifted by the celestials to the child Skanda, which are not mentioned in any other Sangam poem. Nevertheless, in Tirumurukā<u>rr</u>uppaṭai the bow is stated [260]. The most popular weapon Vēl does not find a place in the enumeration of gift objects [5.63-70], while it is held the most celebrated weapon of the Lord, as mentioned in many of the ancient poems. Therefore, in the process of synthesizing the Tamil god Muruka<u>n</u> with the Sanskrit god Kumara the mount, weapon the consort and the like were also involved. *The Kaṭampa flower was favoured by Muruka<u>n</u>* [5.81; 21.11; 50.1]. *In the Sanskrit tradition, it is not found.*

The Lord's favourtie abode is the exalted Tirupparaṅku<u>nr</u>am [21.15], praised in other Sangam poems also [Akam 59.10-12; 149.13-16; Kali 27.15-6; Muruku 70-77, etc.]. *Marutaṉiḷanākaṉar refers to the hill, glorified by Antuvaṉ [Akam 59] actually referring to his poems in the Paripāṭal [6,8,11,20].*

Next, let us proceed to discuss the purānic story, narrating the birth of Skands in Paripatal, then assimilated with the native god Muruka<u>n</u>.

The Advent of Skanda - Muruka

In the Sanskrit Ithihāsas, Kāvyas and Puranas different myths with regard to the birth of Skanda are narrated. He has been presented as Agnikumara, Śiva kumāra, Kārtikeya, the son of six mother-stars and Gangeya, the son of the River Ganges. But, the ancient Tamil tradition as preserved in the Sangam poems maintained that Murukan is the son of Mother goddess. Some references are enough:

1. *Paimpūṭ Ceey payantamā mōṭṭu*
tuṇaṅkaiyaṅ Celvikku aṇaṅku noṭittāṅku
[Perumpāṇ. 45.7-9]

"The beauteous queen that treads the devil dance whose great womb bore the red god well adorned" In this passage, the Mother goddess is denoted by the word Celvi; In Cirupāṇārruppaṭai [97] the Father god i.e. Siva is noted by the word Celvan.

2. *"Malaimakal Makan"* [Muruku. 257] - the son of the Mountain daughter i.e. Pārvati.

3. *"Verrivelpōrk korravai ciruvan"* [Ibid. 258], the son of the victorious war-goddess.

4. *"Palaiyol Kulavi"* [Ibid. 259], the offspring of the Ancient lady i.e. Mother goddess.

Some poems refer Him to be son of Śiva:

1. *Ālakelu katavul Putalvan* [Muruku. 256] - the son of the god, seated beneath the banyan tree.

2. *Ālamar celvan aṇicāl Peruviral* [Kali.81.9] - the great victorious son with jewelled ornaments of the God, seated beneath the banyan tree.

3. *Ālmar celvan aṇicāl makan vilā* [Ibid. 83.14] - the festival of the beautiful son of the god under the banyan tree.

In the Paripatal, *Kaṭampamar Celvan* i.e. Murukan is said to be given by the immaculate Mother - goddess through the Blue throated God [8:126-7]. The poet combines in this passage both the mother and father, mentioned in isolation in other Sangam poems. Apart from these references, no birth myths associated with Murukan are found in the

Sangam poems, except Paripāṭal and Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai. The story of Skanda's birth is vividly portrayed for the first time in these two poems. First of all let us pressent the Paripāṭal version.

Lord Śiva, who once demolished the triple castles and accepted the offerings of Vedic sacrifice engaged in an unusual copulation with His consort Uma when Indra intervened and requested Him to give up the union and to abort the foetus. Śiva yielded to his request and smashed it into pieces, which were handed over to him. From him, the sevenfold sages received them, fully realising through their yogic contemplation that the child, born out of the distorted foetus, would be capable of commanding the celestial army against the aśuras and avuṇas. Thinking that their women could not consume them directly because of its heavy weight, they put them as oblation in the sacrificial fire which consumed to the possible extent. The residue [*-miccil*] was distributed to all the consorts of the sages, except Cāliṉi i.e. Arundhati, the paragon of chastity and wife of Vaśiṣṭa. They devoured them. Ultimately they conceived and simultaneously delivered the six sons on the lotus flowers in the Saravaṇa lake of blue lilies on the top of Himalaya.

Indra, transgressing his boon to the sages, out of jealousy thrust his fire emitting thunderbolt at the new six babes which became one, defeating him with His bare hand in the subsequent battle. The Vedic *gods accetped Him as their Lord.* His birth on the lotus flower is mentioned more than once [5.12; 8.12-13].

The same story is briefly presented in Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai [57.61; 253-5]. The commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar has quoted the Paripatal under reference and further stated that there were people who expounded various purāṇas of the Lord's birth [Ibid. 58]. Parimēḻalkar, while commenting on the passage *"payantōr eṉpa"* [5.49], clearly mentioned that the Pauranikas narrated thus [the story]. Since the two commentators implied that the story was an import from the Purāṇas to Tamil, its origin in the Sanskrit Mahāpurānas and also Ithihāsas deserves to be studied in a separate paper. Meanwhile, it is enough to mention that the Vāyu purāṇa, Padma Purāna and Skandapurāna presented the birth story of Skanda. The Balakanda of Ramayana and Mahabharata elaborately narrated the birth of Kartikeya, as the son of Agni and Ganga.

The Kumarasambhava, one of the five great kāvyas in Sanskrit is basically meant to narrate the good birth of Kumāra. In its present form

it has seventeen sargas, Actually, the story is found only in the 9th, 10th and 11th sargas. However, the great Sanskrit specialist M.R. Kale, who rendered only the first eight sargas and also their commentaries of Mallinathasuri into English, observed thus in the preface to his translation.[8]

> "As regards the additional cantos (9-10) found in some copies of the Kumarasambhava, scholars are now generally agreed that they are suprious, being the work of other poet."

Some scholars opined that a very late poet Sitarāmakavi has composed the additional contos. However, notable changes in the version of Kumārasambhava and that of Paripātal are found.[9] Agni, assuming the form of a dove entered into the bed chamber where Śiva and Pārvati were in happy union. On seeing him, Śiva stopped His copultion,but angrily handed over the semen to him, which he could not bear because of its excessive heat, and left the same in the Ganges. She too could not bear it, but left the same with the six Krttika women who after taking bath felt the presence of the foetus in their womb. Ashamed of this, they proceeded to the summit of Himalayas and ejected the same in the Saravaṇa lake. The six pieces of the ejected foetus grew there with six faces. The Ganges first fed them milk. On their visit to the lake, Parvati witnessed the six-faced babe and asked her consort Siva to reveal the truth. Consequently Siva narrated the whole thing and finally said that it was Her own child. Then, Parvati embraced the child and fed it with Her milk. Thus goes the stroy, which in all probability should have derived from the Sanskrit Skandapurāna or some other myths.

In the Paripātal, there is another story which briefly indicates that Skanda was born to the blue throated god [-Śiva] and the constellation of Krttikā stars [9.7]. However, one of the tribal chiefs associated with Nāñcil Hill is known by the descriptive epithet, *"valvēl kantaṉ"* in the Puṟanāṉūṟu [380.12], supposed to be the earliest than the Paripātal. The word Kantaṉ, preceded by the attributte "valvēl" - strong lance suggests Lord Murukan. But, it is different from Skanda. The Tamil word Kantaṉ is made up of kantu + the masculine suffix - aṉ. Kantu means prop and support. The Sanskrit Skanda denotes one who is assembled together. Sangam poets had the names Uraiyūr-c-cirukantaṉar, Miḷaikkantaṉ, Miḷai-p-peruṅkantaṉ and others. So, native origin of the word Kantaṉ deserves to be considered.

However, the Paripatal version and the Kumarasambhava story are not one and the same. Not two versions totally agree. A study on the evolution of the stroy is left out due to want of space.

The purpose of the advent of Skanda-Murukan̲ is indicated in the course of the poem in Paripatal, to root out the atrocious and unethical aśuras and avuṇas and to offer protection to the deserved [5.1-7]. It is in comformity with the concept of incarnation, proclaimed by Sri Krishna in the Bhagavad Gīta. Hence, the exploits and martial achievements of Lord Muruka are to be studied subsequently.

The Martial achievements

Muruka like Skanda was a born warrior. His major military exploits, adumberated in the Paripatal are two-fold. The first one was against the Avuṇas, headed by Cūrmā, known as Śurapadma. Due to their performance of severe penance and rare boons, they were classified along with the virtuous beings. They were virtuous only for namesake, but practically vicious. They were not afraid of killing and eating others. They had developed magic powers and great adepts in sorcery and witch craft. They deserved to be totally uprooted. Mounting on His extalted elephant, Muruka entered into the expanded freezing sea, reduced the rocks amidst the sea into dust, fought a fierce battle discharging His javeline that emitted sounding flames against the grief inflicting Cūrmā [-Śurpadmā] and destroyed him root and branch and also annihilated his deceptive avuṇa race [5.1-7; Also vide 9.70-1; 14.17-18; 18.1-4; 19.101; 21.8, 28-9]. This martial achievement became a legend among the Tamils even in the prehistoric period and hence the Sangam poets extolled this unique victory of Muruka in many poems [Akam 59.10-12; Pur̲am 23.4; Patir̲r̲u. 11.5-6; Perumpāṇ 457-8; Kali, 27.15-16; Muruku 57-61, 275 etc.]

According to some scholars, the Tamil word Cūr etymologically means fear, affliction, trembling, cruelty, deceit etc. Its equivalent Tamil word aṇaṅku also conveyed more or less the same sense. In a broader connotation, Cūr represented the cosmic calamity and turmoil, while Murukan̲ stands for limitless power, wisdom and grace. The fight against Cūrmā is symbolical, indicating the destruction of cosmic calamity. However, such an interpretation seems to be ingenious and also interesting.

With regard to the deceptive form of Cūrmā [-Śurapadma], other Sangam poems furnish some details. He had two forms with one monstrous body [Muruku.57; Kali 93.25]. Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar comments on the first reference that Cūrmā had both human and animal forms in one gigantic body. The same commentator while annotating the second reference elucidates that the aśura with unfailing austerity assumed the

face of a horse and the body of a human being. In another passage of Tirumurukārruppaṭai, he is described to have assumed that form of a mango tree with its bottom, turned upwards and its flowers down cast [59-60; see also Patirru. 4-5]. this kind of description is also found in the Kallāṭam and Kandapurāṇam.

In Kandapurāṇam, the mysterious mango form of Cūra was cut into two by Muruka's lance. His cleft body became cock and peacock which the Lord accepted respectively as the emblem of His flag and mount. This account is not found either in Paripātal or in other Sangam classics.

So far many schoars opined that the myth of the destruction of Cūran by Lord Muruka is found only in the ancient Tamil classics and not mentioned in the early Sanskrit works. However, in the *Bālacarita* of Bhasa, [300 B.C to 100 B.C.] who is considered to be a southerner mainly because all his 13 plays were unearthed in Travancore a reference to Śurapadma, slain by Muruka who by his time was identified with Kārttikeya is noticed. The portion under reference from the translation of Bak Kunbae is reproduced here below.[10]

> Sula, a female attendent of Kātyāyini declares that after having slaughtered Kamsa in battle, I shall drag him about like Kārttikeya, the god of war who dragged the tree out of the sea.

Some scholars indicated the occurrence of the same episode in the Mahābharata which too contained many southern elements.

The next military exploit which is also often mentioned in the Paripāṭal is the destruction Tārakaśura.

In the norther part of Jabudwīpa, there was a mountain known as Krauñca. According to Kandapurāna, it was surrounded by the ocean of milk. Tāraka, one of the brothers of Śurapadma made it his stronghold and disturbed the celestials. Muruka pierced the mountain by His javeline and created a path way killing the aśura, even when he was a child [vide, Pari 5.8-10, also see 8.29; 19.36, 102-3; 21.9]. Krauñca denotes the Indian love-bird. It was known to the Tamil by the name *anril*. The Paripatal poets called the Kraunca mountain by the lengthy phrase, *"kurukoṭu peyarperra mālvarai"* [5.9], and simply by the word kunram [8.29] and kuruku [19.36] which respectively meant the mountain and the aquatic bird. This name was given to the mythical mountain, perhaps due its appearance of the bird, under reference. This rare feat of Muruka is also

eulogized in Tirumurukārruppaṭai [266-7]. However, Tāraka is not mentioned in these poems by his name, but only the mountain which form he assumed.

In the dramas of Bhāsa, especially Bālacarita [II.23, III.9], Pratijñā Yaugandharāyana [V.12] and Abhiśeka [I.24; VI.7], Skanda's rare feat of destroying Krauñca and also Mandara is mentioned as an allusion.[11] A passage from the translation of Bāla carita is presented hereunder.[12]

> Nila, similarly speaks that she shall slay the ill-behaved Kamsa in batlle, as the most exalted lancer, Karttikeya pierced the Mt.Krauñca through.

In the interpolated portions of Kumārasambhava, this episode is also found. In the Kandapuram, Tāraka, who had the elephant face, is said to be the younger brother of Śūrapadma. To alleviate the agony of the celestials and their king Indra, the sage Nārada requested Muruka to kill Tāraka first, so that the destruction of Śūra and others would be rendered very easy. In 203 poems, Tārakavata is narrated in this grand epic. However, in the Paripātal, the destruction of Cūrmā is mentioned first, and next only the slain of Krauñca [-Tāraka] is noted. Some passages in the Paripātal made a general reference to the destruction of the enemies by Muruka [17.21, 49; 21.66, 70].

Next in order, the wedding of Murukan̲ with Vaḷḷi and Devasena is to be discussed.

The Consorts of Murukan̲

The wedding of Murukan with Vaḷḷi, the damsel of hunter's tribe of the hilly tract seems to be more ancient, though the Paripatal indicated that it took place only after the marriage of Devaśena. When Muruka married Vaḷḷi with winking and collyrium-fed eyes, the flower like eyes of Devaśena, the daughter of Indra showered tears like the seasonal rain [9.8-10]. It is common with the womenfolk that they could not tolerate others, sharing their privileged love with their partners.

Vaḷḷi is depicted as the daughter of mountaineer [8.67; 9.67; 19.95]. She was like a creaper [19.7; 95]. She was beautiful and graceful like a peacock [19.7] and also like a fragrant flower [14.22]. She was bedecked with ornaments [9.39]. In one poem, she is said as the young

fawn [9.8], a poetic expression to indicate her charm and bewildered look. In the Kandapurāna, Kacciyappar has narrated her strange birth story. She was born to a deer, due to the infatuated look of an ascetic. She was the daughter of Tirumāl with the name Sundari yearning to get Murukan̲, entered into the womb of the deer and then was born in the yam bed, nursed by Nampirācan̲, the chief of the hunters of hilly tract who named her Vaḷḷi. Then the elaboration of her youthfull life and her marriage with the Lord are narrated in the above Purāṇa. Such legends are unknown to the Paripāṭal and other Sangam poems. However, in a natural way the union of Murukan and Valli is glorified in Nar̲r̲iṇai [82.4] and Tirumurukār̲r̲uppaṭai [101-2]. *In the Sanskrit works, there is no reference to this wedding, thoug a modern pandit has compsed a literary piece with the title, "Valli parinayam".*

After the amalgamation of Skanda - Muruka, the wedding of Devasenā attracted the poets of Paripāṭal and Tirumurukār̲r̲uppaṭai [117; 264]. *Her wedding with Muruka seems to be metaphorical. The word Devasenā directly means the celestial army of Indra. Normally the -ā ending words in Sanskrit belong to feminine gender, and thus the commander of the army was committed to be the husband of Devasenā.* The myth makers colourfully depicted this damsel to be the daughter of Indra, having 1000 eyes in his body [Pari, 9.9]. She is also said to be the daughter of the celestial [9.58]. She belonged to the heavens [19.6]. In some Sanskrit sources, she is mentioned as the adopted daughter of Indra.

The compassionate Muruka endowed on the celestial votaries immense grace through His wedding with Devasenā. Likewise, He aspired to extend the same favour to the terrestrials through His wedding with Vaḷḷi [19.1-7].

The Paripatal illustrates the traditional Tamil concept of love, comprising the aspects of Kaḷavu - the premarital love and Karpu, the post-marital love through the union of Murukan with Vaḷḷi and Dēvasenā. Kaḷavu literally means stealing. But in the technical Akam aspect, it means the secret love, materialized through providence. Kar̲pu means chastity . But in the technical Akam aspect, it denotes the wedded life, adhering to the advice of the elders and parents. The former aspect becomes significant, for the lovers without any previous arrangement naturally meet and enjoy, while the latter aspect gets its greatness due to love- quarrel, picked up by the lady love in her sulky mood, finding fault

with her husband, involing with some extra marital relation with the harlots. But in the Paripatal, the quarrel arises not because of such relationship, but because the hero has to serve two consorts.

Hilarious Scene

Separated from Vaḷḷi, Muruka proceeds to meet Devasenā at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. She abuses Him a cheat and a deceitful person due to her aversion to Valli. However, the Lord endeavoured to appease her anger and to please her. He did not hesitate even to prostrate at her feet, placing His head, adorned with chaplet just to pay tribute to the winner, His spouse. The Akam tradition allowed the humiliation of the hero and the exaltation of the heroine, only in such situation, *ūṭal.* Ultimately, Devasenā was compromised and tamed. Regretting for her ignorance, she consoled Him and gave her chest to Him for a sweet embrace. On witnessing this, Vaḷḷi began to sulk, tied His hands, beat Him with Her garland as a stick and reprimanded Him not to go with Devasenā. Beholding the precarious condition, the peacocks of the two ladies began to fight with each other, and their pet parrots chided each other in their prattling language, while Valli's beatles of the groves in Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam pounced upon the beetles, hovering over the flowers adorning Devasena's head.

Their quarrel did not stop there. The lady companions of Devasena swayed forcefully their garlands and balls on those of Valli's confidantes. Further, they hurled their corslets as hammers on their opponents. However, the attendants of Valli were heroic by birth, assumed the characteristics of frenzied elephants. They practised the gait of victorious horses. As a row of chariots, they marched forth with reins and ropes. They bent their bows, close to their chests. They fought like the swordsmen. They threw their arm-lets as discus on the companions of Devasenā.

The poet picturesquely portrays the heroism of four-fold traditional armies, possessed by the brave women of Valli side.

Afraid of the aggressive martial acts of Valli's companions, those of Devasena encircled Lord Muruka. They engaged in sportive play in the fragrant pools and springs in Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. They transformed themselves into honey-sucking bees in the nearby fountains and hummed

like a stringed musical instrument. They manifested the form of peacock and danced, spreading the feathers. Also, they assumed the form of koel birds and cried melodiously. Thus, they were agitated and excited expressing their emotion.

Finally, the victory goes to Valli side and the sportive battle is described as *tumpai,* a technical term of Puṟam tradition to denote the decisive batte. All these plays are depicted to have occurred on the hill abode, the favourite resort to Murukaṉ.

Innovation in Description

It is really interesting that the poet of Paripatal, has brought the Lord and His consorts with their companions down to the earth and also glorified the Akam tradition, termed as "Poruḷiyalpu" [-Poruḷilakkaṇam]. Though Poruḷ means both Akam and Puṟam, it predominantly denotes the former, as evidenced from the bulk of chapters, alloted for the description of this subject in the Poruḷatikāram of Tolkappiyam and also from the increased number of Akam poems in the Sangam classics. However, in the above portrayal, the Puṟam aspects with the heroic activities of the companions of the Lord's consorts are beautifully delineated and the technical Puṟam terms *Nūḻil* and *Tumpai* find a place to indicate their brave sport. It is pertinent to note that in other Sangam Akam poems, no reference either to the love-quarrel involving two consorts of a particular hero and the ongoing fight between their companions is found. Such descriptions, which are fresh and new, breaking the tradition are deliciously drawn in the Paripatal. Further, they bear evidence to the poet's innovative and imaginative skill, creative genius, romantic spirit, sense of homòur and aesthetic sense.

It is pertinent to note that Sūdraka, the author of the Sanskrit play Mṛcchakaṭikā, seems to have misunderstood the sense of Kaḷavu through which Murukan united with Vaḷḷi, introduced Sakara, a theif as one of the characters who invoked the blessings of Skanda before starting his business, since He was ascribed to be the author of Stheyaśāstra, [-Kaḷavunūl] i.e. the treatise on stealing.

Next, let us proceed to focus on the objects of worship, as delineated in the Paripatal.

Objects of Worship

The Divine Hill

Since our ancients lived in the company of the various manifestations of nature, they preferred to find divinity in them. They never treated the empirical life as against the spiritual way of life. Votaries of Murukan̲ paid equal reverence to His abode Tirupparaṅkun̲r̲am, which was praised and worshipped [17.51; 19.36-7]. None of them never worried of getting a residence in the celestial world, but aspired to spend every evening at the foot of Tirupparaṅkun̲r̲am, where the devotees brought with them flam beaus, musical instruments, incense and perfumes, the smoke of akil wood and banners. In addition honeyed flowers, sprouts, floral designed apparels, bells and spears were also carried by them to the Hill. The priest Vēlan̲ sprinkled the sandal mixture on the goat and tethered it to the guardian tree, kaṭampu. They rendered melody in praise of the sacred tree [17.1-8]. The bewitching beatuy of the natural scenaries of this hill abode have been interestingly depictd in many poems [8.12-35; 90-95; 17.9-27; 17.32-46; 18.30-50; 19-58-84].

The elegant and exuberant art gallery, exhibiting precious and beautiful paintings [-e̲lutue̲lil ampalam] existed on one side of the Hill. It has been compared to the military warehouse of Cupid, perhaps they represented many love and amoruous scenes [18.27-9]. It was also known as E̲luttunilai maṇṭapam which displayed the rare paintings of sun, moon other planets and constellation of stars, besides some legends of popular interest, such as the story of Akalya [19.45-57]. There were many such art galleries on the Hill [19.53]. The pilgrims spent their time in various amusements. They were answered when they required elucidation with regard to a particular painting. Some of them fed the monkeys with edibles while others gave sugarcane to the balckfaced monkeys. Some others enjoyed the music of flute, harp and drum [19.38-45]

The hill formed the enchanting natural beckdrop also for the young lovers, who spent their time merrily there. Many scenes of the lovers and their erotic and interesting dialogues are also projected in many poems [8.36-889; 112-113; 18-17-21; 21.18-65, etc.]. References to the competitions on performing arts and amusing pastimes are also found [9.72-80].

Thus, spiritualism and materialism are coupled with each other in the life of the people. The Paripāṭal declares that Parankuṉṟam stands supreme on an equal footing with Himalayas [8.1-11, 18.5-6].

The Mount elephant

The devotees also accorded due reverence to the Lord's Mount,the Elephant, which supported His hoisted cock-banner on the frontal globe of its forehead, decorated with saffron and made it consume sweet water with flowers, placed the yak-tail fan around its ears and lifted above its head the beautiful umbrella with flowery staff, studded with pretty corals. With unabated devotion, they prayed. The ardent people had a strong belief that the remnants of the food, offered to the elephant had some divinity. If they were piously eaten by the ageing unmarried women,they would get suitable husbands, while the young married women were assured to win the love of their partners [19.85-94].

The Shrine on the Hill

The Lord's temple on the Tirupparankuṉṟam is noted as *"kaṭinakar"* [8.126; 18.28-9], the fortified shrine. The word *nakar* meant in the Sangam poems a town [Puṟam.23], mansion [Akam.15] and also a temple [Puṟam.6; Muruku 238, 244]. Even in the hymns of Devāram, Siva's shrine is denoted by the word Nakar [I.61.10]. The old Sangam tradition of naming the temple continued also in the Pallava period. Though the particulars of the structure of the temple are not vividly presented in the text, it should have been a reasonably big one. One poem idicates that Muruka was seated beneath the Kaṭampa tree, perhaps that was the old type of shrine [8.126]. In another poem, there is an implication that the Lord with His six faces and twelve shoulders was installed in the abode [21.67-9]. Similarly, it is inferred from one poem that He was enshrined on both sides with Vaḷḷi and Devasenā [8.91-2]. However, the Lord alone was invoked and eulogized in all the poems.

We have already seen that there were many an art gallery in the premises of the temple, fulfilling the aesthetic as well as educative puposes. One poem elaborately presents a panoramic view of the temple and hill, frequently visited by the Pandya king with his queens, followed by the ministers, high officials, and also the rustics as well as the denizens of the city Maturai, to offer worship to Lord Muruka [19.1-29]. In this context, it is essential to note that in the 7th century A.D., Tirupparankuṉṟam was

a Sivasthala, visited by Tiruñānacampantar in the company of Pandya Neduma̱ra̱n, as evidenced from his hymns [I.100]. He has glorified the Hill abode as "nan̲nakar", the good resort of Siva whose half is shared by Umā [I.100, 1,2,5, etc.]. *So, the literary historians are bound to take note of the development of the temple premises before making a vain attempt to bring down the age of Paripāṭal.*

References to the different stratas of devotees are sufficiently available. They belonged to various groups. There was neither gender nor professional prejudice. Both the gown and the town merrily mingled together in taking the pilgrimage to the Hill shrine, even before dawn. Relatives, friends and family people evinced interest to undertake a journey to worship the Lord of the Hill. Their ascending to the Hill temple is compared to the virtuous people, going upward to the heavens [19.10-11]. The concept of heaven on earth is fully agreeable to Tirupparaṅkun̲ṟam, where the celestials descended to get His grace. Eventhough such portrayal may be set aside as mythical and legendary, it adds to the glory of the abode [8.125-6; 9.84; 14.21-2; 17.52; 18.56; 19.105; 21.68-9].

References to the lovers, swearing on the sands of Vaiyai river, slopes of Paraṅkun̲ṟam, antaṉar, the spear and also Murukaṉ and Vaḷḷi are available [8.51-69; 6.68-74; 94-5; 12.62-66].

Among the eight poems on Cevvēḷ, seven are directly connected with Tirupparaṅkun̲ṟam [8, 9, 14, 17, 18,19,21]. Though there is no reference to this Hill in the 5th poem, it should also be classified along with them. The last line of this poem corresponds to the 11th and 50th lines of 21st poem which is addressed to the Lord of the Hill. Hence, it may not be a mistake to consider the 5th poem also is addressed to the same Lord. In this significant poem, the characteristics of genuine devotee are projected. They were the ethical persons who received the Lord's grace and also those who performed great austerities [5.71-2]. They were assured salvation. The imbecile heretics, who rejected the concept of re-birth, the ignominous persons who reared the dangerous anger, deviating from the virtuous way and the degenerated and immoral ascetics were not eligible to get the Divince Grace [5.73-6]. Therefore, it becomes very clear that the theism of Paripāṭal stressed the need of ethical preparation to win the grace of god.

The important accessories for the worship of the Lord are also mentioned in many poems. Flowers, incense, lamps, musical instruments and the like were carried by the devotees to the Hill abode [8.80-2; 96-101; 14. 19.32; 18.52. 5 etc.]. The Lord was believed to be found of enjoying the songs and also dance [8.109-111; 18.52.5]. He is described as *pāṭṭamarantāṉ* [14.24] and vāḻttu - uvappāṉ [19.66] - He who likes and enjoys the pleasant prayer songs. The word Curuti is connoted by Parimēlaḻakar to mean the Vedic sound [18.52]. Since it is preceded by instrumental and vocal music [narampum iyalum], *curuti* may be taken to mean the auxiliary tune, supporting the musical rendering [18.51-4].

The hero, to appease the heroine who was in a sulky mood called the friends and attendants for a congregational worship, characterised by flower and food [-avi] offering, singing to the accompaniment of small drum [8.78-82]. So, the word *avi* did not mean the sacrificial oblation, but the cooked food [*-avikkappaṭṭatu, aviyal* etc. vide, Tirumuṟai XI, 28.7:4]. So, it is a Tamil word.

However, there is one vital reference which indicates that the Lord is pleased also to the sacred performance of the twice born Antaṇar [14.28-9, vide, Muruku 95-6]. Similarly the Lord accepted the rustic worship, performed by the priest Vēlaṉ, and hence He is eulogised as "Veṟikoṇṭāṉ"[9.44]. The word Veṟi not only denoted the dance of Vēlaṉ, possessed by Muruka, but also his characteristic song [5.15]. References to special worship associated with some festival are also found [8.96; 17.42]. *There is no clear reference to the intermediary agent between the worshipper and the worshipped in the temple service.*

Group worship is the hall mark of Paripatal theism. The congregated devotees entreated the Lord to bestow on them His divine grace to worship Him over and again [9.92; 14.29-32, 21.16; 66-9], to get secure life [17.48-53] and not to be separated from their kinsfolk [18.52-6]. Most of them were this worldly. *The request for the removal of one's karma effect, a frequent theme in the hymns of Saiva Apostles is totally absent in the Paripāṭal and hence its relative antiquity may be surmised.*

The prayer of women is interestingly noted in one poem. The unmarried girls invoked the Lord on the Hill to the arrival of fresh floods in the river Vaiyai so that they could unfailingly get their lovers, whom

they touched in their dreams to sport in the waters. The wedded but barren women proposed to observe some vow of offering to the Lord so that they would be blessed with conception. Other women prayed for their husbands to amass wealth. Still others entreated that their partners should become victorious in the war [8.102-108]. All these indicate the women's interest in the domestic and national well being.

In this context, it is important to note that Paripatal did not favour what Tiruvalluvar said about household woman, not to worship god but her own husband [Tiruk.55]. However Tolkāppiyar recognised the wedded woman to be god-fearing [Poruḷ. 268].

Apart from many a prayer for the fulfilment of material requirements, one poet submits a rare but evolved type of prayer to the Lord:

> *"What we beg you are not the wealth, gold and sensuous joy;*
> *But your grace, our love for you and virtues only"* [5.78-81]

This rare prayer reflects the spiritually advanced mind of the devotee.

The poems reveal various layers of consciouness in the human organism, aspiring according to the levels of maturity and also necessity. They are conspicuous especially of a healthy hedonistic life, bound by norms and faith in god. They present a real picture of the theistic life, as practised by the people, who were down to the earth, though some advanced souls aspired for an ideal and serene spiritual life.

As a result of the study, carried out in the fore-going pages, the significant conclusions are enumerated here below.

Conclusions

1. The names and epithets of Lord Murukaṉ occurring in the Paripāṭal glorified His multifaceted greateness and unique position in the hierarchy of gods. He has been depicted the Absolute Reality.

2. The names *Kumaraṉ* and *Kantaṉ* occurring in the Sangam poems are native words, little to do with their Sanskrit counterparts.

3. Some aspects of Skanda with regard to his birth, six faces, wedding with Devasenā, killing Tāraka etc., were fused with

the native features of Murukaṉ, resulting in their amalgamation as one god by the times of Paripātal and Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai.

4. The consort Vaḷḷi, the Mount elephant, the Kaṭampa garland and such other parapharnalia of Murukaṉ are not found in the Sanskrit texts.

5. The concept of Murukaṉ as war god was already evolved in the Tamil tradition, independent of the Sanskrit influence.

6. The concept of Kaḷavu and Kaṟpu, peculiar to Tamil tradition has been illustrated deliciously and descriptively through the Lord's wedding with Vaḷḷi and Devasena in the Paripātal.

7. Murukaṉ, as the son of Mother-goddess Koṟṟavai and also Śiva is well-established in the Sangam poems, without any trace of Sanskrit influence.

8. The legend of the destruction of Śūra, done by Murukaṉ was attributed to Skanda by the times of Bhāsa, who lived long before Kalidasa.

9. Similarly, the legend of the destruction of Tāraka performed by Skanda as found in the Sanskrit texts has been ascribed to Murukaṉ, by the times of Paripāṭal and Tirumukāṟṟuppatai.

10. During the period of Paripāṭal, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam was the celebrated abode of Lord Murukaṉ and not of Śiva, as evidenced from the hymns of Tevāram.

11. There was no intermediary agent between the worshipper and worshipped in the devotionalism of Paripātal.

12. Spiritualism and Materialism were coupled with each other in the life of the ancient Tamils, as depicted in the poems of Paripāṭal.

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DEVOTIONALISM IN THE JAIN AND BUDDHIST TAMIL POEMS

Vedic vs Non-Vedic Systems

All the systems of Indian philosophy are conveniently classified into two groups viz. Homogeneous and Heterogeneous which are otherwise known as Vedic and Non-Vedic systems. They are also called as Āstika and Nāstika darśanas respectively. The former group closely followed the Veidc traditions whereas the latter opposed them vehemently. Though the twin systems of Samkya and Yoga were included in the category of homogeneous systems, their leanings towards the Non-Vedic group and their germination from the pre-Aryan sources deserve a separate discussion. Among the heterogeneous systems of Indian thought, Jainism and Buddhism occupy a predominant position in moulding the mental and moral makeup of the society. These two isms are named after their founders Jina (-Mahavira) and Buddha respectively. These two historical persons are supposed to be preceded by a hierarchy of twenty four even more propagators of the faiths, most of them are supposed to be legendary.

Jainism and Buddhism-some common aspects

Jainism and Buddhism have certain general features to share with. The historical founders of these two religions, Mahavira and Gautama Buddha belonged to the warrior tribe (i.e. Kshatriya clan) or Non-Aryan ruling class dominating the Magatha empire, extended in the North - Eastern portion of the Gangetic plain, whereas the Vedic seers belonged to the Aryan tribe living mainly in the North - Western region of India. The irony lies in that, that the Brahmin priests preached the potency of Vedic sacrifices in which animal slaughter including that of human beings found a place, whereas the spiritual leaders of the fighting community pleaded for the non-injury and abstinence from killing living beings even in a sacrifice. The two Non-Vedic religions totally rejected the authority of the Vedas, refuted the priestly spremacy, repudiated the rituals and ceremonies and ridiculed the superstitions and blind faith as obstacles on the path of spiritual progress. They condemned the caste-system based on Varnāśramas as enunciated by the Vedic Brahmins, and

advocated social equality for the first time in the history of mankind. They laid stress on the doctrine of karma. According to them, only the deeds not the accident of birth in a particular caste, are responsible for the superior or inferior status of a person. The founders of these two religions promulgated a code of ethics for the salvation and liberation of mankind. Unlike the Vedic systems which employed Sanskrit, the unspoken language and the media of the intelligentia only, the two revolutionary religions adopted Prakrit and Pali respectively, the living languages of the people for the easy understanding of all.

Theology in the two religions

To start with, the revolting religions Jainism and Buddhism never admitted theology. In the case of Jainism, it never accetped the existence of God, the creator of the Universe. But in the case of Buddhism, the founder Buddha set aside the questions raised by his disciples regarding the creation of the universe and its creator. Buddha's silence towards the metaphysical queries induced some thinkers to suggest that he was an agnostic if not an atheist. Anyhow, the two religons were speedily spread all over India and Ceylon, because of their moral appeal and concern with the day-to-day affairs of humanity. Among the two, Buddhism commanded the rare privilege of traversing even to foreign countries both in the East and West.

The common man never satisifed with the ethical rules only and expected a Supreme Almighty to bestow his pleadings, to get extricated from the clutches of pains and perils, and to be blessed with plenty and pleasure. At times, even the so called elite and enlightened section of the society are sailing in the same boat along with the illiterate and innoncent brethren in the religious matters. To satisfy the demands of the people, the apostles of Jainism and Buddhism gradually introduced the worship of the founders and leaders of these faiths who were actually liberated persons from the cycle of transmigration, after annihilating the effects of karma and attaining eternal bliss. Thus, the worship of Tīrthaṅkaras and Pañcaparameṣṭins the Buddha and Bodhisattvas came into vogue. Even the gods and godlings of the Hindu pantheon were admitted in refined garb into Jainism and Buddhism, just to accommodate and please the converts from Hinduism. These Hindu celestial beings were made subordinate and subservient to the exalted Mahavira and Buddha, who in the long run enjoyed the unique position occupied by the Para-Brahman

of the Hindus. The theological development in the two religions opened new vistas in the realms of poetry, sculpture, architecture, painting, etc. The net result was the outcome of devotional poems, in addition to many a s shrine, cave temples, pillars,fresco paintings etc. The artistic perfection of Indian genius is seen in the Buddhist relics at Sāñchi, Sāranāth, Ajanta, Ellora etc, and the Jainistic monuments at Ajanta, Aurangabad, Śravanabelagola etc. It is pity to state that most of the supreme sculputures and masterpieces of literature of the two religions were demolished and destroyed in South India leave alone the North, due to the merciless persecution of the monarchs of Vedic - fold, and due to the invasion and vandalism of the foreigners, especially the Moghals. The Hindu monarchs were impelled to transform many a Buddhist and Jain shrine into Śiva or Vishnu temples.

Neglecting the torture and turmoil from the Vedic camp, the spiritual vanguards of the two religions marched to the nook and corner of India, bearing the torch of their faith, mastered the regional languages and preached their principles through them. They were instrumental to the opening of fresh dimensions in the literary development on the historical march of the languages. Even they had powerful command over the Vedic media Sanskrit and contributed much to the advancement of that language also.

The two religions came to Tamilnadu at least three centuries before Christ. Their impact and influence in the post Sangam poems can not be under-estimated. This paper limits its scope to trace the evolution of devotionalism as enshrined in the Tamil poems, composed by the Jain and Buddhist native scholars. First and foremost let us concentrate on the Jain devotionalism.

Devotional elements in Jainism of Sangam period

Though the period of the early Pallavas (300 A.D. to 700 A.D.) was the hey-day of Jainism, references of the Jaina worship were not wanting in the ancient Sangam calssics. A graphic picture in Maduraikkāñci (lines 475-87) portrays the Jina temple at Madurai ("vayaṅkuṭai nakaram" : 484) with attached monasteries in the womderful environs of groves, which were as cool as ponds, depicts the copper-coloured walls where paintings were drawn (-perhaps representing some scenes from the life-sketches of the Tirthankaras) and they were tall enough

to be unseen by the onlookers. In the monasteries, there were the congregation of Jain ascetics and anchorites (-they should be śāraṇas as seen form the description), who obtained perfect knowledge of the past, present and future, clear understanding of the heaven and earth, possessing perfect doctrines with unbending frame of body, having deep insight and self-conquest, carrying flasks (kuṇṭikai) in many threaded loops, looking as if they were chiselled out of stones. To the same monasteries the Śravakas (i.e. the householders of Jainism) proceeded to pray (the Jaina and Śārana) by offering fragrant flowers and incense (-"pūvum pukaiyum cāvakar paḻicca"). The Tamil word 'paḻicca' is a clear proof that the worship should have included the various names and epithets attributed to Jina and other holy beings, extolling their glory and greatness, probably in the form of some songs, coming under the category of Devapāṇi, resembling their counterparts in Tirumurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai and Paripāṭal, the earliest available hymns in Tamil.

Devotional aspects of Jainism in Cilappatikāram

Cilappatikāram, the earliest extant Tamil epic (300 A.D.) projects a panorama of various faiths and religious practices prevalent perhaps at the end of Sangam period, breathing the spirit of relgious toleration. Iḷankō Aṭikaḷ, the author of the epic being a Chera prince is considered by some schoars to belong to Jainism. Though it is not proved beyond the pale of controversy, the epic provides with enough materials to strengthen the proposition that Jainism was one of the dominant religions during the days of the poet. The character of Kavunti Aṭikaḷ, a Jain nun of strong conviction, who guided and conducted the chief characters of the epic Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṉ to Madurai, and the role of Śaranas, who ascended the higher rungs of the ladder of spiritual journey, represented in the epic clearly suggest the paramount position that Jainism enjoyed in the South. References to the existence of Jaina temples, monasteries and nunnaries in the capital cities like Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭiṉam, Uṟaiyūr, Madurai etc. and also in the rural areas, as in the case of Śrikoil, situated in the northern bank of Kāveri, at a distance of a Kāvatam (i.e. equal to 6 miles) from Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭiṉam, are many in the epic.

Jina temples in Cilappatikāram

Iḷankō Aṭikaḷ denotes the Jina shrines by the pharases *"puranilai-k-kōṭṭam", "nikkantak kōṭṭam"* and *"aivakai niṉṟa aruka-t-tāṉam"*. Though the word kōṭṭam was a common name indicating a shrine of any god, it

was particularly denoting a *Jinālaya,* as inferred from the commentary of Aṭiyārkkunallār, who connotes the phrase *"kuṇavāyil kōṭṭam"* occuring in the Padigam (-where Ilaṅkō took his renunciation) to mean the temple of Arhat of Tirukkuṇavāyil, a place east to the Chera capita, Vañci.

Let us briefly discuss the significance of the aforesaid three denotations of Jinālaya. The semanteme of *"puṟanilai-k-kōṭṭam",* a shrine of Jina is to be understood in the light of its antonym, *"ūrnilai-k-kōṭṭam"* a shrine of Śiva. The former shrine belonging to the foreign faith naturally was erected in the outskirts of the city Pukār, while the latter temple belonging to the local faith was constructed in the heart of the city (*"ūruḷ kōṭṭam"*). The word *'puṟanilai'* meant that which stood outside the city.

Nikkanta-k-kōṭṭam, a synonym of *"puṟanilai-k-kōṭṭam"* means the temple of one who was freed from the bonds of birth and death, i.e. the unfettered and liberated Jina. The word **Nikkanta** is derived from the Prakrit word **Nigganṭha,** or from the Sanskrit word Nirgrantha which means one who has no bonds and also cloth, denoting a Digambara Jain. Ilaṅkō records in his epic the worship of a Brahmin woman of Vedic faith, Devanti at the alter of this Jinālya just to get back her deserted husband, thereby hinting the popularity of Jainism, accepted even by its opposite camp.

The next phrase in the epic *"aivakai ninra arukat-tāṉam"* is important one, since it conveys the existence of fivefold shrines for Pañca-parameṣṭins, the five Supreme beings, revered and respected by the Jains from ancient times. The word, *"arukkatanam"* has its alternant form, *"arāntāṉam"* in Manimekalai and Perunkatai.

The Pañcanamaskāra

The chanting of Pañcanamaskāra mantra, representing the Pañcaparameṣṭins was customary with the Jains during their journeys, rituals etc. Kaunti Aṭikal seeks the succour of this magic spell to her sojourn to Madurai along with Kannaki and Kōvalaṉ. It is known as "aimpatam" (-five syllables) in Tamil and with the help of this potential mantra Cīvakaṉ was able to revive the heroine Padumai from the deadly poision of snake-bite and to restore the divine form of Cutañcaṇaṉ out of the cursed dog. According to the commentries of Cilappatikāram, the mantra is made up of the first lettrs of the five Supreme beings namely, Arhat, Siddha, Ācharya, Upādhyaya and Sādhus who were graded in order in the spiritual supremacy of Jainism. Aruṅkala-c-ceppu, a terse Jaina

treatise of 12th Century A.D. proclaims that those who meditated chanting the Pañcanamaskāra would certainly become supreme Indra among (innumerable) Indras. The couplet runs thus:

> "mantiraṅkaḷ aintum maṉattilvara-c-coṉṉārkaḷ
> intirarkkum intirarē eṇ" (150)

In the religious works of Kuntakuntāchārya of the Digambara sect (B.C. 50 A.D. 50) and of Umāsvāmain of the Śvetāmbara sect (50 A.D.) and in the works of subsequent authors, Nemichandra Amrta Chandra Suri and others, the invocation songs to the Pañcaparameṣṭins are enshrined. Inscriptional evidences to the worship of the Five Supreme beings are clearly brought out by Dr. S.B.Deo.[1] It is to be noted that the Pañcamantra should not be confused with the Pañcākṣara of Śaivism.

String of Synonyms of Jina's name

In the history of devotional literature of any faith, the several names and attributes signifying the spiritual and heroic sports of the god concerned were harmoniously and colourfully enlisted like the fragrant flowers in a garland so as to enable the votaries to recite them earnestlywith ardent fervour to invoke the blessings of the Supreme Being. Such strings of divine synonyms are called nāmāvalis (lit. the series of names) which are usually counted as Sahaśranāmam (-Thousand names) and Aṣṭotra nāmam (-108 names). It seems that the latter is a contraction or abridged version of the former, perhaps formed to adjust time factor in the fast going business world. In the category of devotional literature, there is a place of sahaśranāma. Hence, let us trace the evolution and expansion of Sahaśranāma both in the Vedic-cum-Agamic faiths and in the opposite faith.

In the Vedic schools, Sriviṣṇu sahaśranāma and Srilalitā sahaśranāma are considered to be the only survivals of high antiquity. Among the two, the former seems to be more ancient, and it occurs as a portion in the Chapter 149 of Anuśāsanika Parva of Mahabharata in the conversation between Bhishma and Dharma. Since Adi Śankara (700 A.D.) has commented on Śri Viṣṇu Sahaśranāma, its relative antiquity may not be overlooked. In the introductory śloka of his commentary, he suggested that since the cosmic purusha possesed heads, eyes, feet (and other limbs) in thousands, it was proper to give thousand names to the Almighty. Śaṅkara's elucidation seems to be influenced by the following hymn of Saint Appar.

"āyiram tāmarai pōlum āyiram cēvaṭiyāṉum
āyiram poṉvarai pōlum āyiram tōḷuṭaiyāṉum
āyiram ñāyiṟu pōlum āyiram nīḷmuṭiyāṉum
āyiram pērukantāṉum ārūr amarnta-v-ammāṉē" IV.39

The substance of the poem is this: The Eternal Lord, enshrined at Tiru-v-ārūr has thousand reddish feet, resembling thousand lotus, thousand shoulders like the thousand golden mountains, thousand long crowns like thousand suns, and has thousand names and epithets. The number denoted the limitless nature. It should not be taken in the literal sense. Saint Appar in another context extols Lord Śiva to be worshipped by the Heavenly Celestails reciting His thousand names:

"pērāyiram paravi vāṉōr ēttum pemmāṉai" VI.548

Saint Manickavasagar expresses that the Lord, devoid of a name and form is to be adored by singing His thousand divine names (-āyiram tirunāmam pāṭi). Saint Arunagirinathar refers to the many crores of name of Lord Siva thus: "veku kōṭi nāma sampu kumāra! namonama". Coming to the Tamil Vaiṣṇavite lore, Nammāḻvār mentions thus: "Our Saviour is the great Lord Narayana whose greatness is sung by thousand names, each of which is thousand by itself and has the power of guarding the entire universe."

Perhaps the names of God occurring in a series addressed to Lord Muruga and Tirumal respectively in Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai and Paripātal may be considered as early specimens to the formation of nāmāvaḷi in later periods. The illustrations cited above are sufficient proof to the existence of namavali literature in Hinduism. But, is it not a surprise to notice that an atheistic religion like Jainism has faithfully adopted the same technique in paying homage to its Supreme head, the Jina! The following lines in Cilappatikāram perspicuously portrays the singular devotion of Kavunti Aṭikaḷ to Jina:

"kāmaṉai veṉṟōṉ āyirattu eṭṭu
nāmam allatu navilātu eṉṉā" (X 196-7)

Due to her staunch devotion to Arhat, she expressed without any reservation that her tongue would not utter any name (of the other gods) except the Thousand and eightfold names of the Jina, who conquered Kāmaṉ, the evil embodiment of lust. Here, we witness that an additional eight names are appended in the literary genre of sahaśranāma. The source

for the Jina-sahaśranāma is unable to trace in the accessible Prakrit and Sanskrit works of Jainism. But, the portion in Cilappatikāram that precedes the lines cited above contains a nāmāvali, uttered by the Śāraṇas attracts our atention. Hence, it is given here:

"ar̲ivan̲ ar̲avōn̲ ar̲ivuvarampu ikantōn̲
cer̲ivan̲ cin̲entiran̲ cittan̲ pakavan̲
taruma mutalvan̲ talaivan̲ taruman
poruḷan̲ pun̲itan̲ purāṇan̲ pulavan̲
cin̲avaran̲ tēvan̲ civakati nāyakan̲
paraman̲ kuṇavatan̲ parattil oḷiyōn̲

tattuvan̲ Cātuvan̲ Cāraṇan̲ kāraṇan̲
Cittan̲ periyavan̲ Cemmal tikaḻoḷi
ir̲aivan̲ kuravan̲ iyalkuṇan̲ eṅkōn̲
kur̲aivil pukaḻōn̲ kuna-p-perum kōmān̲
Caṅkaran̲ ican̲ Cayampu Catumukan̲
aṅkam payantōn̲ arukan̲ aruḷmun̲i
paṇṇavan̲ enkuṇan̲ pāttil paḻamporuḷ
viṇṇavan̲ vēta mutalvan̲ viḷaṅkoḷi" (176-189)

A free rendering of the above nāmāvaḷi is presented here below:

"The Omniscient, the Embodiment of Virtues,
He who transcended the limited ken of cognition,
The Intimate Friend to all, the Conqueror of Eightfold karmas,
The Accomplisher (of the deeds to be done)
Bhagavan (-who acquired the supreme knowledge)
He, the root of all virtues, the supreme Head (of all celestials)
The personification of Righteousness,
He-the esoteric essence (of the tweleve Āgamas),
The Sublime One, the Ancient One (-Ādinātha),
The embodiment of wisdom (-the One, wiser than all),
He who subjugated rancour, the Deva (the
First among the Devas), the Lord of Eteranl Bliss,
The Supreme and exalted being,
The Deliveror of the three-fold vratas (-
or the owner of all virtues), the Luminary
that generates light to the higher world,
The Philospher (or the possessor of elements),

The Saint (or the All Humble), the Dweller in
the sky, the Root cause of all, One who
created the eight-fold attainments,
The Great, the Lord-head, the great light,
The In-dweller of all things, the Preceptor
The One who possessed Nature as His quality
Our Lord, the One full of fame,
The Sovereign of the wealth of virtues,
The One who provides pleasure,
The possessor of all opulence, the Self-born,
The Four-faced (-Brahma), the Bestower
of Angāgamas, the Arhat (-the One
worthy of worship), the Gracious Saint,
(Lord Śiva according to Adiyārkkunallar)
The Divine melody, the owner of
Eightfold qualities, The indivisible
Ancient substance, The Dweller in Heaven,
The Head of the Vedas (-Jināgamas), the Bright
Light-that dispels the darkness of ignorance".

In the spiritual and devotional outpourings, some of the names of Jina are repeated. For instance the name Cittaṉ (X 177, 183) occurs twice, while aṟavōṉ and tarumaṉ, tikaḻoḷi and vilaṅkḻ oḷi are semantically same. Nevertheless, the learned commentaror Atiyarkkunallar cleaverly has given different interpretations to such repetitions, just to bring forth the estoteric significance of the individual names. It is essential to denote that even in Sri Viṣṇusahaśranāma 84 names were repeated twice and some 11 names thrice. To all these repetitions, Adi Sankara and Bhattar, the disciple of Ramanuja gave different connotations to convey the different shades of meaning in their commentaries.

The good results accruing from the chanting of nāmāvaḷi

Ādi Śaṅkara in his commentary on Viṣṇusahaśranāma has pointed out that the devoted utternance of the divine names endows one with the four-fold Purushārthas viz. virtue, wealth, enjoyment and eternal bliss. But in Jainism, realisation and illumination of the Jināgamas alone could assure one salvation. Hence the śāraṇa uttered thus:

"arivan. . . . .
viṇṇavan veta mutalvan vilankoḷi
ōtiya vētattu oḷiyurin allatu
pōtār piravi-p-potiyaraiyōr" (X 176-191)

Only those who get enlightenment due to the study of the Jināgamas, bestowed by the Luminary (-Jina) are capable of getting liberation from the lock up of birth-cycle. The keynote of Jainism is the instruction that every one in bondage is eligible to follow the example of the Jinas, in obtaining (like them) the perfect knowledge, power and bliss, thus laying stress on absolute self-confidence and self-training, directing everyone to be optimistic to work out one's own salvation.

Vedic Gods in the Jina Nāmāvaḷi

In the enlisted names of Jina, Civakatināyakan and Caṅkaran (i.e. Śivagatināyaka and Śankara) clearly indicate Lord Śiva. While Vedamutalvan and Caturmukan denote Brahma. Though the word Īśan was a common one, it gets a higher frequency as evidenced from Nālāyiram to denote Viṣṇu. Cinentiran (Jinendra) and Pakavan (Bhagavan) also go to Bhagavan Buddha. *Thus almost all the heads of other religons are invariably identified with Arhat Parameṣṭin, suggesting the catholicity and accommodating spirit of Jainism. This sense of toleration is to be traced from Sanskrit and Prakrit Jaina devotional literature.*

Manatunga's (300 A.D.) *Bhaktamara-Stotra* which enjoys a great reputation among both the Svetambaras and Digambaras praises the Jina Rṣabhadeva on a par with the highest deities of other faiths and his name is invoked as a shield to alleviate disasters. The 25th hymn of his work is presented here just to justify the hypothesis that the same spirit of religious toleration witnessed in the above mentioned Tamil poem is also noticed in the writings of Mānatunga: The hymn is thus translated by Winternitz:

"Thou art *Buddha,* because the gods praise the
awakening of thy mind,
Thou art *Śankara,* because thou workest out the
Salvation of the three worlds:
Creator (-Brahma) art thou, because through thy
doctrine thou hast created a pathyway to salvation,
Thou, O Lord, are Purushottama, the highest of all
the beings"

Another Jaina devotional poet Siddhasena Divākara (200 A.D.) composed a hymn to Vardhamāna Mahāvīra known as *Dvatrimśikastotra* or *Vardhamana- Dvatrimasika* where the names and epithets of the Hindu Gods were attributed to Mahavira. The translated passage of the Stotra is given hereunder to endorse the above hypothesis[3]:

"He is the Lord of the three worlds
The Knowner of the three times,
He is Śiva (-the Bringer of Salvation)
He is Buddha (-He who has awakened to knowledge)
He is the Ancient one and Manifold
Though he is but one.
He is Hṛṣikeśa, Viṣṇu, Jagannātha, Jiṣṇu
But he has no trident, no bow, no disc,
No bird, no lion, no bull;
There is no Ganga on his head, he has no Lakshmi, etc."

The attributes to Jina in Cilappatikāram seem to be the echo of those found in the poem of Mānatunga and Siddhasena Divakāra. It is interesting to note that the epither "Cayampu" (Svayambu) in Cilampu (X-186) meaning sefl-existent also occurs in *Brahat-Svayambu Stotra* by Samantabhadra who praises the first Jina (-Ādinatha) as Svayambhu. The Tamil Jaina authors who came after Ilanko never failed to nurture the same spirit of toleration by assimilating the names of Hindu Gods to denote Jina. A wealth of devotional poems on Jina, by a number of poets are accessible to us from 300 B.C. onwards. Winternitz, the renowned Sanskrit literary historian observes[4]:

"Since ancient times, the Jains have vied with the poets of other sects in another literary form also, namely the sphere of religious lyric poetry. There is a large number of hymns (Stūtis, Stotras) in praise of Mahavira, the other Jainas and some to the ancient Jaina teachers also, both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit. The earliest known hymn is Uvasagga harastrotra, a hymn to Pārsva in five stanzas, ascribed to Bhadrabahu".

Hence, it was quite natural that the erudite poet of the Tamil epic Cilappatikaram, while presenting a vivid picture of Jainism that was current in his period preserved the high traditions maintained by his predecessors in the realm of devotional lyrical poetry.

The proto-type of Angamālai in Cliappatikāram

Angamālai is a garland of poems, each of which is devoted to delineate tha pious deeds to be performed by aparticular limb [Anga] of the body from top to toe. The best specimen of this piece of devotional literature is found in the IVth Tirumurai, 9the hyman (82-83) by the Saiva Saint Appar (575-651 A.D.). It seems that while he was a Jain, he should have studied the proto-type of the Angamālai, occurring in Cilappatikāram where the Jain nun Kavunti Aṭikaḷ, after listening to the spiritual sayings of the Śārana, began to adore and admire in all reverence the Jina, expressing that her limbs of body were exclusively devoted to the service of the Jindenra. The portion under reference is given hereunder:

"Cāraṇar vāymoḻi kēṭṭu-tavamutal
kāvunti kaitaṉ kaitalai mēṟkoṇṭu
orumūṉṟu avittōṉ ōtiya ñāṉat
tirumoḻikku allateṉ ceviyakam tiṟavā:
kāmaṉai veṉṟōṉ āyirat teṭṭu
nāmam allatu navilātu eṉṉā;
aivarai veṉṟōṉ aṭi-y-iṇai allatu
kaivarai-k-kāṇiṉum kāṇā eṉkaṇ;
aruḷaṟam pūṇṭōn tirumeyk kallatu, eṉ
poruḷil yākkai pūmiyil poruntātu;
arukar aṟavaṉ arivōrku allatu, eṉ
irukaiyam kūṭi oruvaḻi-k-kuviya;
malarmicai naṭantōṉ malaraṭiallatu eṉ
talaimicai ucci tāṉaṇi-p-poṟaatu
iṟutiyil iṉpattu iṟaimoḻikku allatu
maṟutara ōtiyeṉ maṉampuṭai peyarātu" X. 192-207

A faithful English rendering of this passage is presented here from the translation of the epic by Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar[5]:-

"Hearing these truthful words of the Cārana, Kavundi pre-eminent in penance, joined her hands on her head, and said: "My ears will not open themselves to hear anything other than the words of wisdom revealed by Him who vanquished the Three (Desire, Anger and Delusion). **My tongue will not say anything other than the 1008 names of the Victor of Kāmā.** My eyes will not see though they seem to see, anything other than the pair of feet of Him who overcame the five (senses). My

useless body will not touch the earth except before the holy body of him who has taken upon himself, virtue, out of His grace. My two hands will not join together to reverence any one other than the Knower who expounds dharma to Arhats. My crown will not suffer any flower to be placed on it except the flower-like feet of Him who walked upon flowers. My mind will not permit me to learn by heart anything other than the sacred words uttered by the God of interminable bliss".

The modes of worship, the total dedication and complete surrender unto the feet of Jina, the pious outpurings coated with sincere and austere tones, etc, are clearly marked in the above passage. It forms the earliest specimen of Angamālai.

Specimens of Jaina Hymns in C̄ivakacintāmaṇi

In the words of Dr. G.U. Pope Civakacintāmani is the prince among Tamil epics. It was composed in the 7th or 9th century A.D. with a view to popularising the doctrines of Jainism by unfolding the life-story of C̄ivakan̲ (Jivaka), the Jain hero. The author of this epic, Thiru-takka Tevar is considered to be a prince of Chola origin. But he entered into the monastic order of Jainism at his youthful palmy days. He introduced for the first time in his epic the invocation songs on personal deity to be blessed with the power of poetic excellence so that the literary venture would get prefection and fruition. He pays glowing tributes to the Four holy beings viz., Arhat, Siddha, Dharma and Sādhu, in the initial three poems of the epic. As against the ancient tradition of offering worship to Pañcaparameṣṭins[6] the prayer to the aforesaid Four objects gained currency early in the Prak̄iraṇas of the Jain scriptures of A.D. 300-400 A.D.

The epic furnishes enough evidences to the existence of many Jinalayas, known as Cin̲akaram (1248) and Camavasaraṇam (2999-3016) and also bears many hymns (stotras and sthuthis) in praise of Jina. Most of them are put in the mouth of the epic hero C̄ivakan and they stand of an equal footing of the hyymns of the rival religions viz. Saivism and Vaisnavism. Some specimens are presented here as best illustrations of devotional excellence:

1. āti vētam payantōyn̄i alarpey mār̲i amaintōyn̄i
   n̄iti ner̲iyai uṇarntōyni nikaril kāṭci-kku ir̲aiyōyn̄i
   nātan̲ en̲n̲ap paṭuvōyni navaicey pir̲avi-k-kaṭalakattun̲
   pāta kamalam tol̲uvenkaḷ pacaiyāppu avil̲a-p-paṇiyāyē. (1242)

2. inna-p piravi ikantoyni inaiyil inpam utaiyoyni
manna ulakam maruttoyni varampil katciku iraiyoyni
ponnar inci-p-pukalvente poriyin vetkai-k-katal alunti
onna vinaiyil ulavenkal uyappom vannam uraiyaye. (1243)

3. ulakam munrum utaiyoyni onpon inci eyiloyni
tilakam aya tiraloyni tevar ettap patuvoyni
alakai illak kunakkatale yarum ariya-p-patayati
kolaiyin ali valanuyartta kulirmuk kutaiyin nilaloyni. (1244)

These hymns recall the tone and texture of their counterparts in Paripātal commencing from "tiyunul teral ni" and in Tevaram beginning with "appanni ammaini" etc. Kamban has also woven many poems of similar restrain eulogizing Tirumāl in his immortal epic *Irāmāvatāram*. The essence of the above hymns in Cintāmaṇi is given in the following English renderings:

1. "Thou art the Bestower of Adi veda (Ancient Scripture)
Thou art the Reciver of the rain of flowers.
Thou art the Realiser of the Righteous path,
Thou art the In-dweller of unparalleled wisdom,
Thou art the Supreme Lord, kindly issue
Orders to lift us, who worship Thy lotus feet,
From the fault- making birth-sea".

2. "Thou, who get released from the cycle of painful births,
Thou, the possessor of unique bliss,
Thou, who thyeself rejected the pleasure of Heaven,
O! God of boundless knowledge,
O! Sovereign seated in the Jinalaya encircled by the golden fortress,

Entreat you to show a way of escape for us, who are suffering due to our deeds (-karmas) sinking in the ocean of craving of the senses".

3. "Thou art the Lord of the three worlds,
Thou art in the circle of golden fortress,
Thou art the Gem of limitles valour,
Thou art extolled by the Celestials,
O! the ocean of immsurable good qualities,
Thou transcend the knowledge of all,
Thou art the bearer of the righteous wheel, devoid of slaughter,
existing beneath the shadow of the threefold unbrella".

Stotras of this type are many in the other Jain epics like Cūḷāmaṇi, Nīlakeśi, etc. For want of space, an exhaustive survey of such pious poems is not attempted here.

Scattered divine songs of Jina

The commentaries of some Jaina prosodial treatises like Yāpparuṅkalam and Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai preserved a number of devotional poems of Jina, serving as best models to a particular pattern of a Tamil metre. Though some of them seem to be composed either by the author or by the commentator to meet the requirements of the formal elements of a verse, many of them should have been taken from the then existing Jaina devotional literature. These poems were collected in the anthology with the title *"Peruntokai"* by the veteran and venerable Tamil scholar M. Ragavaiyangar.

1. Ezhukūṟṟu-irukkai

It is a piece of literary form in which the poet exhibits his creative skill in numbering the qualities and achievements of the hero (-most probably the divine hero) from one to seven both in ascending and descending orders. In the Saivite lore, Thirujnanasambandhar (650 A.D.) has composed one Ezhukūṟṟuirukkai in praise of Lord Śiva, and it is found in the First Tirumuṟai. Prior to him Nakkiradevar (550 A.D.) has written one prabhanda of the same category and it is included in the 11th Tirumuṟai. In the Vaiṣṇavite lore, Thirumangai Alvar (750 A.D.) has composed one Ezhukurruirukkai, extolling Tirumāl and it is found in Nalayiradivya prabhandam. It seems that the heterodox faiths did not lag behind in attempting to create this literary form to eulogise their religious Heads. So far, only one Ezhukurru-irukkai, praising the Jina Vardhamana Mahavira is preserved in the commentary of Yāpparuṅkala virutti. It runs to 36 lines. In conformity with the structure of other similar works, it is written in Akavaṟpā interspersed with vañci lines. A portion of the Jaina prabhanda is given here as a sample for the divine poetic excellence of the Tamil Jains:

"eḻunayam viritta tirumaṟu mārpiṉai!
aṟuporuḷ aṟaintaṉai aimpatam aruḷiṉai
nāṉkuniṉ mukamē mūṉruniṉ kaṇṇē
iraṇṭuniṉ kavari oṉruniṉ acokē"

The substane of the passage is given here below:

"Thou, bedecked with the beautiful blots of chest
Expounded the Seven-fold stand-points (-Nayas)
Thou revealed the six-fold categories and five-lettered
esoteric spell
Oh Four-faced! Oh Three-eyed!
Your yak-tail fans are two
Thou art beneath the shade of one Ashoka-tree".

This poem ends with an appeal to the Arhat, who obtained the Absolute knowledge under the shade of the Ashoka tree, and who is First God (i.e. Ādideva), with a view to attaining the blotless bliss which is known as Sivagati. The passage under reference is this:

atanāl,

mākeḻu nīlar kēvalam tōrriya
ātiyanrkuricil! nīr paravutum
tītaru civakati cērkayām enavē".

In this passage, it is noted that Adinatha has attained Kevala Jñāna under the shady tree - Ashoka. It denotes the Absolute knowledge which is essential for the attainment of absolute release known as Śivagati. It is to be noted here that in this prayer song, the Arhat is denoted by the same epithets relating to the Hindu Trinity viz., Śiva, Tirumal and Nāṉmukaṉ (-Four faced Brahma) and thus sowing the seed for synthetic perception in the domian of spiritual democracy. Again, it is interesting to note that the eternal bliss of Jainism is referred by the term Śivagati, the same denomination is also foun in Saivite devotional literature[7].

In one poem the Jaina paradise is named Śivapuram[8] which is also found in Tiruvācakam[9] to denote the paramount blissful abode where resides the liberated souls under the feet of Lord Śiva. Similar aspects found between Jainism and Śaivaism suggest the hypothetical common source out of which the two religions were evolved and expounded independently in the very ancient period. One more common aspect deserves speical mention.

A poem is Aranericcāram (225) condemns one who differentiates Śiva and Arhat as separate gods, and expresses the two denote one and the same. The poem is this:

"avankol ivankolenru aiyap patate
civankanne ceyminkal cintai-Civantanum
ninrukal cikkum nilaltikalum pintik-kil
venracir mukkutaiyan ventu."

The substance of the poem is given hereunder:

> "Do not suspect that the Supreme Being is this person or that person. Do medidate on Śiva. Śiva is none other than the king having three umbrellas, who gloriously conquered the five senses, is seated beneath the shade of Piṇḍi (Ashoka tree)".

It is heartening to note that the first Tīrthaṅkara is known as Ṛṣabha Deva and Śiva is also Ṛṣabha Deva, since his mount is the Bull.

Tiru-v-empāvai

Empāvai is another piece of literary form aiming at congregational worship, collecting the devotees in the dawn, singing and chanting the glory of the Almighty to bathe in the holy waters. Their main aim was to pray for the welfare of the country, seasonal rains and getting ideal husbands. The relgious practice was originally customary with the Saivites and Vaisnavites as noticed in the Tiruvempāvai of St. Manickavasagar and Tiruppāvai of Andal. It was enforced in the Tamil month of Mārkaḻi every year, corresponding to December-January of English calender. Since bathing was prohibited in the religious austerities of Jainism, the solitary song of Empāvai now available in praise of Jina, should have been an imitation of the aforesaid poems of Vedic faith. It is presented here[10]:

"kōḻiyum kūviṉa kukkil kuralkāṭṭum
taḻiyuḷ nīlat taṭaṅkanir pōtumiṉō
āḻicūḻ vaiyattu aṟivaṉ aṭi-y-ētti-k
kūḻai naṉaiya-k kuṭaintum kuḷirpuṉal
ūliyum maṉṉuvam eṉṟēlōr empāvāy"

In the firt line itself, the dawn is picturesquely drawn: The clock that announces the early morning is the cocks which crowed and the dogs barked. In the subsequent lines, the description of the young girls moving from door to doot to arouse others of their own age from slumber, in order to form a gathering to bathe in the cool water drenching their tresses

of hair, before proceeding to offer prayer at the feet of Arivan (the Omniscient) the Lord of the entire world, encircled by sea.

This kind of prayer is not available either in Sankrit or in Prakrit Jain literature, since it reflects the cultural and social milieu of the Tamils. It is to be understood that the bathing is a metaphorical one, suggesting the aspirants to get themselves prepared to immerse in the ocean of eternal bliss. Normally such poems are composed in eight metrical lines. But in the case of the afore-quoted poem, it has only five lines. It shows a deviation from the generally accepted canon of versification, and thus indicates the innovative venture of the Jain Tamil poet.

Next, let us proceed to say a few words about the poems of Saint Appar, before his re-conversion to Saivism from Jainism.

Appar's poems on Arhat

Saint Tirunavakkarasar also known as Appar was by birth a Saivite. He was a contemporary of Mahendravarma Pallava I (575-656 A.D.). Since he lost his parents when he was very young, he became an orphan and was brought up by the Jain monastery at Pāṭalipuram, a part of the modern Cuddalore of Tamilnadu. He mastered all the Scriptures of the Digambara Jainism and became the head of the Jains with the name "Dharmasena". During that period, he should have sung many poems in praise of Arhat. But they are lost. However, The Jaina Grantha Nilayam (1956) of Madras has brought out a publication with the title "Tottira-t-tirattu" i.e., Anthology of Sthotras. It contains some devotional poems, attributed to the authorship of Saint Appar. It is really facsinating to note that before his reconversion to Saivism from Jainism, he composed bone-melting poems, extolling the glogy of Arhat and they are still chanted in the daily prayer of the Tamil Jains. His decad (-patikam) is addresed to the Jina, the presiding deity of Tirunaruṅkoṇṭai, who came to be called Appāṇṭanāthar, since he blessed Saint Appar as per the Jain tradition. These poems are composed in a style having partial resemblance to his Tāṇṭakams in Tēvāram. A few passages are quoted here for our understanding of the Jaina devotional hymnology:

1. "kaṭṭalicēr camayamōr ārum taṉāy-k
   kalantaṟiya camayamatil mēla tākum
   iṭṭamuta ṉeyiruntē aramē kūrtantu
   eṭṭāta tattuvaṉē eka nātā:

The substance of this portion runs thus:

"Oh Single Lord! Thou art the sixfold religions and also stand supreme above them. Thine gospel is Dharma. Thou art the Supreme reality, unapproachable".

2. ka<u>rr</u>ariyēn ka<u>rr</u>avartāḷ kaḷarē<u>n</u> unta<u>n</u>
   kaḷaliṇikaḷ kaṇṭukaḷi kūrntu nāḷum
   cu<u>rr</u>ariyē<u>n</u> ji<u>n</u>ālayattai-p-pollā-p-pāvi"

In this poem, the initial phrase reminds us the passage "ka<u>rr</u>ariyē<u>n</u> kalaijnā<u>n</u>am" in Tiruvācakam (38.5). Also it resembles Appar's hymn, "karrilē<u>n</u> kalaikaḷ ñā<u>n</u>am" (IV, 78.2)

It may be paraphrased thus:

"I am the cruel sinner. I am ingnorant. I never learnt. I never uttered the feet of the learned. I never circumambulated your temple (i.e. Jinalaya), seeing your twin feet of heroic anklets with upsurging joy".

3. "Na<u>r</u>unkoṇṭai arukā! u<u>nn</u>ai
   nampinē<u>n</u> ni<u>n</u>patattai nalku vāyē"

"Oh Arhat of Narunkoṇṭai! I believed you that you would bless me your sacred feet".

It is pertinent to mention that Narunkoṇṭai is even now an important pilgrim centre of Jains, situated in the Tirukoyilur taluk of South Arcot district in Tamilnadu. Actually the Jinālaya is constructed on a rock. The images of Pārśvanātha and Chandranātha are found in this temple. Anyhow the authenticity of the authorship of the hymns ascribed to Saint Appar is dubious due to the variation in the diction, style etc., and hence it requires further proof to come to a conclusion. Perhaps some one in Jainism conversant with the biography of Appar should have caused the composition of the said padigam (decad). There is one Ulā-prabhanda also on Appāṇḍanāthar at Tirunarunkoṇṭai.

Tirunū<u>rr</u>u-antāti

This devotional prabandha is supposed to be a product of 15th or 16the century. It contains 100 poems in addition to two epilogue-verses assuring eternal bliss for one, who recites the divine Centum songs.

This work adores Neminatha, the 22nd Tirthankara enthroned in the Jinālaya at Mylapore. The author of this work, Avirotiālvār was originally a staunch Vaiṣṇavite, but he was subsequently fascinated by a profound Jaina-preceptor, having erudition in various systems of Indian philosophy, who had a strong conviction of imparting the esoteric sense of Jaina texts only to the ardent Jains and not to others of opposite religions. So, to quench his thirst for knowledge, the Ālvār decided to impress upon the Āchārya and composed the hundred poems, during his single circumambulation of the shrine of Neminathar. Since the author was a Vaisnavite in the beginning of his career, it is natural to expect that he should have been influenced and inspired by the excellent prabandha, *Ramanuja nūrrantāti* of Tiruvarankattamutaṉār. The Ālvār was respected by all Jians who are even to day used to recite the 100 beautiful and bone-melting hymns found in the Antāti. This antati really resembles the Tiru-c-catakam in Tiruvācakam, and other similar works in Nālāyiram. One, who has already chanted the pious poems in the Kantaralaṅkāram and Abhirāmiantāti may by thrilled to notice the soul-stirring poems in the Tirumūrrantati, possessing the fragrance of pure emotional piety. It has a good commentary. A few poems are enough to exhibit the catholicity of outlook, superlative excellence of devotion and spiritualism, as practised by the Jains.

1. "marame munintu mayilā purininru maṉ ṉuyirkāṭku
arame poliyum arulkoṇtalē! ataram Civanta
nirame kariyaoṉ māṇikkamē! neṭunal oḷittu-p
purame tirinta pilai-y-aṭiyeṉai-p-poruttaruḷē"

"Oh the cloud of Grace! who sationed at Mayilapuri (i.e. Mylapore), spurning the evil course and showering dharma on all the beings.

Oh luminous Ruby (māṇikkam) with reddish lips and body of black hue! Kindly forgive my mistake of refraining myself from you for long time and wandering outside".

In this prayer, the author repents for his past deads of negligence, perhaps when he was in the fold of Vaiṣṇavism. However, the description of the Arhat Neminatha is not different from the one of Lord Kaṇṇan (Krisna), found in the devotional poems of Tamil Ālvārs. In this context, it is not out of place if we comment that in some Jain devotional poems, Arhat

and Siva are identified to be the same Supreme priniciple, while in others Arhat and Tirumal (Viṣṇu) are associated with the same attributes.

Let us quote some more poems from the same Jain Tamil devotional lyrics.

2. "pūkkoṇṭu poṉṉulakam koṭuppāṉai-p-pulavar cencol
pākkoṇṭu mutti paṇikka vallāṉai-p-paiṅkokilaṅkaḷ
kūkkoṇṭu cērum kuḷirpiṇṭiyiṉāṉai-k kuṇampukalvāṉ
mākkoṇṭal vīltuḷi eṉṉaeṉ pēymaṉam mālkoṇṭatē. (1)

This poem is very significant. It promises salvation through devotion to Neminatha, the presiding deity of Mylapore. The substance of the poem is presented here:

"The Lord of Pindi (Ashoka tree), where throng the green parrots raising their melodious tone, bestows the eternal release (moksa) in return to the perfectly worded poems of the Pulavars (-poets) and also offers the golden world (-heaven) in return for the flowers (-offered by the devotees)". After delineating the divine grace of Neminatha, the poet stated that indulging in the praise of His eternal qualities is just like attempting to count the drops of the great rainy clouds. Though the statement seems to be hyperbolic, it indicates the limitless qualities of auspicious character of the Tirthaṅkara.

3. "puṅkavaṉ purāṇaṉ puttaṉ purātaṉaṉ pūṇpuṉaiyā-c
caṅkaraṉ cakkaraṉ tāmaraiyōn eṉa-t tāvilceṅkan
ciṅkavaṉ pēraṉai-t tirttaṉai-t tīviṉait tevveṉumpēr
maṅkavaṉrō veḷḷaivāḷ koṇṭa vīraṉai vālttuvatē (18)

This poem is important from the point of view of religious toleration. It reveals that Arhat is all.

He is Puṅgavaṉ (-Lord Siva who rides the Bull mount). He is Pūraṇaṉ (-one of the early founders of Ajivaka system). The word 'pūraṇaṉ' also means "one who is completely perfect". He is Buddha. He is the Purātaṉa (-the Ancient one). He is Sankara without any decorative ornaments. He is Cakra (-Indra, the God of the Devas). He is the Lord of the Lotus (-Brahma). He is the lion with impeccable red eyes. He is the Tirtha. He is the hero with white sword to destroy the enemy of evil deeds.

As we have already seen that treating the Arhat on a par with other religious heads and gods has been a common feature in the devotional lyrics of the Tamil Jains, this poem also shines as one of the best specimens.

4. "antaram mēloru mantaram vantena ammalarmēl
vantapiran atikku anpilarāyin maraiyavrēl
nintarkaḷ cātiyil nīcar kantir; anta nicarumac
cuntaran nēcarkaḷāyin viṇṇōriṉum cuttarkaḷē (28)

This poem makes a difference between the worshippers of Arhat and the hereitcs. Its substance is given below:

"The Supreme Lord is seated in the beautiful lotus. It looks like the Mount Meru seated in the (crust of) space. Those who are devoid of love to Him are to be despised, even if theywere Brahmins. Even if the outcastes (nīca) become the devotees of the Beautiful (-Sundara), then they are the purest of all the celestials".

Such type of adoration is also found in the hymns of Tevaram and Nalayirattivya prapantam. The Saiva[11] and Vaisnava[12] apostles declared that the devotes are the most adorable even if they hailed from lowest strata of society. If those, who are learned and rich, are not devotional to the Supreme Being, they are to be treated as the downtrodden.

Kalampakam is another literary genre, having the devotional themes. Tirukkalampakam is the Jain Tamil Prabandha written by Uthīci Tēvar, belonging to the medieval period. In this work, many poems are addressed to Adinātha, i.e. Rṣabhadeva. Let us quote a few poems to illustrate the depth of devotion to Arhat.

1. "ātiyē! ātiyinri akilamum parantu ninra
cōtiyē! cōti munril elutaru cutarē! vāna
vītiyē! vīti pōkum verimalar-p paka! vētam
ōtiyē! ninnai allāl piraraien ōtumāre?" (25)

In this poem, the author expresses his staunch and singular devotion to Arhat. In the last line, he emphatically states that except the Arhat, he will not speak of any others (-i.e. Gods and Heads of other religious). He addresses thus:

"Oh! Adi! The Luminous one! Who has spread every where in
the universe without any origin. The Brilliance
arising out of the triple Jyoti!
Oh, the Heavenly Street! Oh, the Rider of the fragrant lotus flower!
Oh! the Deliverer of Vedas!"

In this hymn, the luminosity of the Jina, his mārga and his scripture are noted. Though the word Veda denotes generally the four Vedas of the Brahmins, in some contexts it indicates the scriptures of others also. Usually in the Jain Tamil tradition, the Aṅgas and other sacred texts of the Jains are collectively called "Veda". The above poem is an instance.

In another poem, the poet sympathises with those, who without knowing that the Arhat through His Anantajñāna (-endless knowledge) has pervaded the limitless objects and through His Effulgence filled the whole unverse, are really confused in saying that the Lord has assumed the eight fold forms (aṣṭamūrta) consisting of five gross elements, sun, moon and the countless souls. Uthici Tevar is not prepared to accept the Supreme Being with the eight fold manifestations, as attributed in Saivism. He should be above the status of the gross elements, twofold luminaries and the souls. So, He should be attributed with limitless knowledge and endless effulgence. The poem under reference is quoted here:

"ammāṉai muṭivilā ñāṉam taṉṉāl
aḷavilā-p poruḷmuḻutum parantu niṉṟa
pemmaṉai ulakaḷavu niṟainta coti-p
perumāṉai aṟiyāte perumāl koṇṭu-iṅku
immāṉa nilaṉāki-t tiyayk kālāy
irucuṭarāy eripuṉalāy vāṉāy maṟṟum
emmāṉev uyirkaḷumāy niṉṟāṉ eṉṟe
iyampuvar tuṇiveṉṉe irunta vāṟe". (27)

Anyhow, it is clear that some people have identified Lord Śiva and Arhat denoting the same ultimate principle. But for the staunch devote of Jina, as Uthici Tevar such equation is not meaningful. So, he makes a difference between them and holds that Arhat is the Supreme Reality.

In a different poem, the poet piously points out that what he sings is the lotus feet of Arhat, what he bathes is the holy water poured at His feet (as Abhisheka) in order to cut out the dirt of many a karma; what he adorns in his head the flower offered at His feet and his twin hands

join only for worshiping His feet and thus he declares that he has no grieavance or wants. The poem is given below:

> "pātuvatu uṉaṭi-t tamarai; palviṉai mācaraṉiṉṟu
> ātuvatu uṉaṭi vārap puṉal; āṭiyeṉ talaimel
> cūṭuvatu uṉaṭic cēta malarē; eṉ tuṇaikkaraṅkaḷ
> kūṭuvatu uṉaṭic kōmāṉ! eṉakkōr kuṟai ilaiyē" (45)

All the aspects of devotion are expressed in this poem. They consist chiefly in singing the glory of Arhat's holy feet, bathing in the water (-connected with his feet), adorning the head with the flower that is removed from the Idol of Arhat which is called 'sesha' and is held very sacred even in other theological schools. Further, the joining of hands in the añjali pose is done only to worship his feet. These aspects of worship are not different from the modes of adoration done by a Saivite or Vaisnavite. So, though Jainism and Hinduism differ in some principles, there is closeness in regard to devotional expression.

In one poem (49), there is a reference to the fivefold mūrtas viz., Satyojāta, Vāmana, Aghora, Īśāna and Tatupuruṣa - all attributed to Lord Arhat. It is essential to note that all these divine forms are referred in Taittriya Āraṇyaka (10:43-47) to denote Lord Śiva. They are also mentioned in Paripāṭal (1.43-4). So, it seems that the attribution of the five fold forms to Śiva is very ancient and perhaps in a later period those who aspired to synthesize the theological aspects of Saivism and Jainism have made a change in associating them with Jina.

So far we have seen the devotional aspects of the Jain Tamils as enshrined in Tirukkalampakam. Let us consider some more specimens worth mentioning.

Some more poems

One poem advises the dovotees to meditate on Jina, seated in the golden lotus flower, if they aspired to drive out the karmas which are classified as Ghāti and Aghāti and to win his grace:

> "viṉaiyai-t tāṉmiṭaintu ōṭṭiṉīr
> aṉakattāṉ aruḷ kāṇkuṟin
> kaṉakat tāmarai-p pūmicai-c-
> ciṉaṉaic cintimiṉ cevvaṉē"[13]

In this hymn, contemplation being the matured aspect of devotion has been stressed. The greatness of the sacred feet of Jina is extolled in the following poem:

> "Intirarkaḷ ettumati iṇtuyirkaḷ ompumaṭi
> ventiral ñayirrelil viviloḷi vellumaṭi
> mantirattin otumaṭi matuyaram tirkkumaṭi
> antarattin ayaitalt tamaraiyin aṅkaṇaṭi"[14]

A free rendering of the poem is presented here below:

> "Hail to the Holy feet worshipped by (manifold) Indras!
> "Hail to the Holy feet that protect the beings on earth!
> "Hail to the Holy feet that excels in brilliance, the beauty of the scorching of powerful Sun!
> "Hail to the Holy feet to which incantations (mantras) are recited!
> "Hail to the Holy feet that removes great sufferings!
> "Hail to the Gracious feet that resemble the heavenly lotus!"

In many of the hymns, the description of the devotee's concentration to the holy feet of Jina is found. Even in Buddhist lyrics, the same aspect is generally noticed. Even the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs exhibited similar attitude in their hymns addressed respectively to Tirumāl (-Visnu) and Siva. In the first chapter of Tirukkuṟal, only the feet of the Almighty is given as the divine symbol. Such common aspects indicate the unity in the expression of devotion to the concerned religious head.

Since many Jina temples are found in Tamilnadu, naturally the devotional lyrics addressed to the Pañcaparameṣṭins also should have been plenty. But due to rivalry and persecution, most of them are either mutilated or destroyed by the Vedic followers. References to converting a Jina temple into a Śaiva shrine are found in the hymns of Saint Tirujñānsambandhar and Saint Tirunāvukkaracar. One example is enough. The Śiva temple at Tirupukalūr is known by the name Vardhamāneśvaram. The name suggests that the temple in its original form should have been a shrine of Vardhamāna Mahavira, who has been adored by the Tamil Jains who belonged invariably to the Digambara sect. It was later converted into Īśvaram i.e. a temple dedicated to Lord Śiva due to the conversion of the Pandya and Pallava monarchs into Śaivism who ruled the whole of South India in the seventh century A.D.

Next, the devotional aspects of the sister religion i.e. Buddhism deserve to be explored.

Devotional aspects in Buddhism

Buddhism was widely spread in Tamilnadu during 400-600 A.D. It was very popular among the poeple and patronized by the Tamil monarchs. It seems that Mahyana Buddhism was in vogue as evidenced by the materials available in the Buddhist epic Manimekalai (500 A.D.). The theory of incarnation, bhakti cult, concept of sefl-surrender, construction of chetiyas (chaityas) and creation of devotional hymns extolling the glory of Buddha earmarked the early phase of Mahayana Budhism. In the course of time Buddhism admitted a number of Hindu gods and goddesses in a transformed character - ultimately leading to the sole worship of Adi-Buddha, being the father of the universe. Bodhidharma, a Pallava a prince of Kāñci founded the Dhyāna- Buddhism that inculcated the various modes of meditation and concentration to attain the eternal bliss. The Buddhologists are of the opinion that due to his preachings, the Zen Buddhism was evolved in China and Japan. Though references to the worship of Buddha offered by all the members of the family are available in Maturai-k-kāñci (460-467), the Buddhist devotional poems of Sangam period are sunk into oblivion, perhaps due to religious animostity of the Vedic people. A number of poems in adoration of Lord Buddha, and the Bodhisattavas like Avalokiteśvara were lost beyond recovery due to the ravages of time and damages of Vedic religions. Some scattered devotional lyrics are preserved in the commentaries of Yāpparuṅkkalam (1050 A.D.) and Vīracōḻiyam (1100 A.D.), though the early specimens are available in the Buddhist Tamil epic, Manimekalai. They required a detailed study.

Devotional elements in Maṇimēkalai

The devotion to Buddha reached its zenith during the days of Cāttaṉār. Not only mortals (men and women) but also the gods and godlings paid homage to the Buddha. Those, who worshipped the Buddha spoke out his acts of generosity and miracles with great exitement and devotion. They circumambulated Buddha thrice and prostrated before him on the ground. With hands folded and raised above their heads and with pearl like tears stealing down their cheeks, they worshipped Buddha. It was also the custom to garland Buddha. They sang the many names of

Buddha that revealed his greatness and adored him. In Manimekalai there are certain portions that are nothing but hymns on Buddha. Buddha stotras are abundant only in the Mahayana works. Between 200-700 A.D. many stotras of Buddha saw the day of light.[15] I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim (7rh century A.D.) recorded that Matrceta's *Catuh Sataka Stotra* (the hymn of Four Hundred verses) and *Satapancasatika stotra* (the hymn of 150 verses) were sung far and wide........ consequently in India, all who compose hymns imitate his style.[16] Throughout India everyone, who becomes a monk is taught Matrceta's two hymns. Matrceta was a famous Buddhist poet patronised by Kanishka (100 A.D.). Cāttaṉār, who was born in Tamil Nadu, an abode of Bhakti might have read Matrceta's hymn and been influenced and inspired by them also. Cāttaṉār, as a devotee of Buddha has written certain sections of his epic Maṇimēkalai as hymns. Some specimens of them are presented here.

Hymn - 1

Maranai vellum vīra! niṉṉaṭi!
Hail! holy feet of the Hero that conquered Māra
tīneṟi-k kaṭumpakai kaṭintōy niṉṉati!
Hail! holy feet of Him who destroyed the evil path
piṟarkku aṟam muyalum periyōy niṉṉaṭi
Hail! holy feet of the Great one, labouring to set others in the path of virtue
tuṟakkam vēṇṭāt tollōy niṉṉaṭi!
Hail holy feet of the Ancient one, denied Heaven,
eṇpiṟakku oḻiya iṟantōy niṉṉaṭi!
Hail holy feet of the One, who transcends thought (of the deovtees)
kaṇpiṟakku aḷikkum kaṇṇōy niṉṉaṭi
Hail holy feet of the Compassionate One, who gives the eye (of wisdom) to others
tīmoḻikku aṭaitta ceviyōy niṉṉaṭ!
Hail holy feet of Him, whose ears are deaf to evil words
vāymoḻi ciṟanta nāvōy niṉṉaṭi!
Hail holy feet of Him, whose words are Truth
narakar tuyarkeṭa naṭappōy niṉṉati!
Hail holy feet of Him who entered hell to redeem the sinners
urakar tuyaram oḻippōy niṉṉaṭi

Hail holy feet of Him, who destroyed the sufferings of Nagas
vaṇaṅkutal allatu vālttalen̲ nāvir̲ku ataṅkātu
To praise You is beyond the power of my tongue
To bow at Your feet is alone possible for my body XI61-72

Hymn - II

iḷavaḷa ñāyir̲u tōn̲r̲iyatu en̲n̲a
You appeared like a glorious rising Sun
nīyō tōn̲r̲in̲ai nin̲n̲aṭi paṇintēn̲
At Your feet I offer my worship
nīyē ākinir̲ku amaintaiv ācan̲am
I regard your seat as Yourself
nāmicai vaittēn̲ talaimicaik koṇṭēn̲
I have set You on my tongue
I have placed You on my head
pūmicai ēr̲r̲in̲ēn̲
I have seated You on my blossomed heart (XII-15)

These hymns reveal the greatness of Buddha, being the embodiment of endless compassion.

Names and Appellatives of Buddha

The names of Buddha given in the epic Manimekalai are myriad. A mere compilation of the names will result in a hymnary of names (Nāmāvaḷi). Such a hymnary of names to Buddha is found only in the Mahayana texts. Cāttan̲ār does not consider Buddha as on ordinary mortal. To him, Buddha is the Omnipotent God Himself. The names and appellatives of Buddha, used by Cāttan̲ār are presented hereunder.

Buddha is the Origin (First) and the Head of all things and beings. Therefore He gets the following appellatives.

1. Ātimutalvan̲ VI-II, X.61, XII.37, 107 XXIX.23
2. Āticālmun̲ivan̲ VII.10
3. Mutalvan̲ XXV-58, XXVIII-120
4. Man̲n̲uyir mutalvan̲ XXV-117, XXIX-15
5. Mun̲n̲avan̲ XXVII - 141
6. Tollōn̲ XI-64
7. Nātan̲ XI.173.4, XII.101-2, XXVI-47, XXVIII.77,89,144, XXIX.24

8. Talaivaṉ (with Bodhi) XI-43,XV-26 (with Dharma) XI.30, XIII.55
9. Purāṇaṉ V.98
10. Aṇṇal XXVI. 53
11. Eṅkōṉ XI.126, V.71

It seems from the above references, that Cāttaṉār tends to theistic view, a phase of Mahayana Buddhism. Winternitz observes that Karaṇḍavyūha, a Mahayana Sutra, relates how at the beginning of all things Adibuddha, also called Svayambhu or Adinatha appeared and created the world through meditations.[17] Ātimutalvaṉ, Adi Buddha or Adināth and Ātipakavaṉ (in Kuṟaḷ) seem to be synonyms and convey the theistic concept of Karaṇḍavyuha. Pakavaṉ of Kuṟaḷ clearly denotes the Buddha in Maṇimekalai (III.61, XXVIII.174).

In the Buddhism of Manimekalai, the Buddha occupies a supreme place like the Brahman in Vedanta. The ephithets. viz., 1. Periyavaṉ XXV.54, 2. Periyōṉ XXVI.66, XI. 63, XXI.128 and 3. Perumakāṉ XXV.62, semantically correspond to the Sanskrit word Brahman.

Three bodies of the Buddha

The Concept of Buddha's Tri-kāya is a salient feature of Mahayana Buddhism, where we find countless Buddhas. Buddha has three bodies or three distinct natures living in three spheres at the same time. They are the Dharma-Kāya, the Sambhoga Kāya and Nirmāṇa Kāya. We can adduce references from Manimekalai to state that Cāttaṉār should have known this system of Trikāya.

I. Dharma-kāya

In Nirvāna, as Dhyāni Buddha he assumes the abstract body of absoulte purity in the Dharma-kāya state of essential Bodhi (knowledge). Svaranaparibhāṣa (200 A.D.) a Mahayana text, describes the Dharma-kāya as follows: ".......As there is neither bone nor blood of Buddha's body, for the completely Enlightened Tathāgatha has only a Dharmakāya and consists only of the Dharma element, i.e. he has only an 'immaterial body' consisting of the absolute, and he is composed only of ideas, of spritual (non-Sensual) phenomena.[18] Cāttaṉār clearly signifies the Dharma-kāya by the epithet "Tiruvaṟamūrti" (XXX-6) the body of the sacred Dharma. Its synonymous forms may be indenified in the following occurrences:

1. Arattakai mutalvan: XXVIII-120; (The Lord of Dharma)
2. Aravōn VII-49. X-1. XII-11. XXVIII-210; (The Embodiment of Dharma)
3. Taruma talaivan XI-30. XII-55. (The Chief of Dharma)
4. Punniyan V-90 (The possessor of the Dharma)

II. Sambhoga-kāya

In reflex in the Rūpadhatu heavens as Dhyāni Bodhisattva, He assumes the body of supreme happiness in the Sambhoga-kāya State of reflected Bodhi. It is the radiant and super human form in which the Buddha appears in the paradise or when otherwise manifesting himself in celestial splendour. Cāttanār records the Buddha of Sambhoga-kāya, residing in the paradise, Tushidaloka surrounded by the celestials (XII.72-4; XXX.8-14). The name 'sugata' connotes the Buddha of Supereme happiness. In Pramāna Samuccaya, Dignāga pays homage to this 'Sugata' which connotes the Buddha of Supreme happiness.

III. Nirmāna-kāya

On the earth, as Mānushi-Buddha He assumea the Nirmāna kāya, which is material, visible and perishable. Having passed through innumerable transformations on earth, he arrived at the Nirmāna-kāya state of practical Bodhi. The compassion to man-kind compels theBudha of Sambhoga-kāya to descend from the Tushidaloka and to assume the Nirmāna-kāya on the earth. The celestial beings also request him to be born on earth to redress the grievances of mankind and to guide them to salvation. Cāttanār explains how this incarnation of Buddha takes place (XII-72-4; XXIX-8-14; XXVI-42-53). The Sambhoga kāya and the Nirmāna kāya correspond to a deity such as Vishnu and his incarnation Krishna. All Buddhas of Nirmāna kāya must be born only at Kapilavastu, (XXVI-42) and will be doing penance to know reality. Non-voilence and patience preventing retaliation are the chief qualities of the Buddha in penance. Possessing such noble qualities, Buddha practised self-restraint and concentration during his penance. Therefore Buddha wins the following appellatives from Cāttanār.

1. Peruntava munivan VIII-61
2. Pinipparu Mutalvan XXI-16, XXV-34
3. Māyamil mātavan XXI-48
4. Ulakanōnpin Uyarntōn V-99
5. Āriyan XXV-6

Meditation or penance is often disturbed by the enemies within viz. lust, anger and delusion. Unless there are eliminated totally, enlightenment is impossible. Cāttaṉār in the following lines states that Buddha freed himself from the "three roots of evil" viz. lust, hatred (anger) and delusion:

1.	"kuṟṟam keṭuttōy ceṟṟam ceṟuttōy"	V.100
2.	"kuṟṟam mūṉṟum muṟṟa vaṟukkum vāmaṉ	XXX.3
3.	"tīneṟik kaṭumpakai kaṭintōy"	XI.62

To root out the three evils, Gautama Buddha practised the perfection of Vīrya, the supreme of all pāramitas. Hence, he gets the epithet "Uravōṉ" (XII.11). Without sense control, meditation is impossible. Buddha conquered his senses and got the names "Ciṉaṉ" and 'Ciṉēntiraṉ' (XXVII-81, XXIX.47) which are also found in Buddha Carita, Book XIV verse 74. They are the Tamilzed forms of Jina and Jinendra respectively. Māra tried very much to disturb Buddha doing penance under the Bodhi tree. But he could not tempt and distort the meditation of Buddha. Māra got defeated at the hands of Buddha and ran away. By spiritual vigour, Buddha conquered Mara. He earned the name Bodhisattva-the spiritual warrior. Cāttaṉār mentions these ideas in the following contexts. (Bodhisattva XI-43, 173-4; XII.101-2, XV.26, 29, XXVI.46-7, XXVIII.141-2, 172-4, XXIX.24; XXX.10). The conqueror of Māra (V.102, 77, XI.61, XXX.11). As soon as he conquered Māra, he became the Buddha, (The Enlightened). He was Omniscient (XXV.45, V.101). He was the embodiment and essence of wisdom (X.84, XII.78, XX.5,V.98, XXII.45). Hence the following epithets suit him; "Potuvaṟivikantu Pulamuṟumātavaṉ; (V:101).

Buddha-The Sun

Buddha who got enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, shone in all brilliance. The light that emanated from him penetrated even the hill and illuminated all the places. Cāttaṉār states that the Sun of Buddha dispelled the darkness of sins by emitting and radiating its rays of charity (XXI.165-167). All the Mahayana texts praise Buddha as the 'Sun' itself.

In chapter III of Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, Buddha is denoted by the word 'Bāskara'.[19] In Chapter V of Saddharma-puṇḍarika, Buddha is compared to the Sun. "The Sun emits its rays equally overall the world, on the good and the bad and on the high and the lowly; the preaching of the Buddha is also for the world alike".[20] Such an explanation suits Buddha's doctrine of social equality.

Asvaghosa also often compares Buddha to the sun. One of the Buddhas is known by the name Vairocana, which means the sun. Cāttaṉār uses the very expression *'Buddha ñāyiṟu'* (i.e. Buddha- The sun) to praise Buddha (XII.86, 76; X.10-11; XXI.167; XXVI.46).

Sir Charles Eliot attempts to explain the reason for comparing Buddha to the Sun:

"The stream of foreign religions, which flowed into India from Bactria and Persia, about the time of the Christain Era, brought new aspects of sun-worship such as Mithra, Helios and Appollo and strenghtened the tendency to connect divinity with light. And this connection was peculiarly appropriate and obvious in the case of a Buddha, for Buddhas are clearly revealers and light-givers, conquerors of darkness and dispellers of ignorance."[21]

But it is proper to think that the ancient Tamilians are the worshippers of nature, especially the sun as evidenced by the early Tamil works. Thus the Tamilian Cāttaṉār, inspite of his being a Buddhist, might have worshipped Buddha, identifying Him with the Sun.

Buddha - The Physician

The vigorous and authoritative character of Buddha led him to regard all mankind as patients, requiring treatment and to emphasise the truth that they could cure themselves, if they would try. In Saddharama Puṇḍarika (Chapter IV; Gāthā 21) the Buddha calls himself as the Physician.

Cāttaṉār calls Buddha as *'Piṟavippiṇi maruttuvaṉ'* (IX:61) i.e., one who cures the illness of birth. In Saddharma Puṇḍarika, Chapter V another reason is given to call Buddha, a physician. "There is an especially detailed parable, in which the human beings are compared to persons born blind, whose eyes are opened by Buddha, the great physician" Cāttaṉār expresses this explanation briefly as follows: *"Kaṇpiṟarkku aḷikkum kaṇṇoy"* (XI.66). One blind man cannot show the way for another blind man. Those, who do not have enlightenment glowing within them, are blind people. Such people are enveloped by a thick mantle of ignorance. By redeeming such people from the darkness of ignorance by giving them the light of wisdom, Buddha becomes the light giver and a great physician.

Cāttaṉār calls Buddha "Aṟavāḷi Āḷvoṉ" (VI.11, X.61) i.e., the ruler of the wheel of the Law. He always turns the wheel for the purpose of maintaining justice, law and order everywhere.

Cāttaṉār's descriptions of certain other qualities of Buddha are worth mentioning. Buddha's Gospel is Truth (XI.68). His ears are closed to the malefic words (XI.67). He preaches the Dharma to one and all (XI.63; XXI.170). He lives not for himself, but for the welfare of others (V.72-3). He is the saviour of all (V.102). He goes even to the Hell to deliver the sinners (XI.69). He rooted out the grief of the Nāgas (XI.70). His doctrine is grace, compassion and protection of all beings (III.59-62). He is the essence of all good qualities (V.71). He is the embodiment of purity (V.98). Because of all these virtues, Buddha shone with divine beauty. The Tamilians worshipped God as 'Beauty' (the embodiment of divine beauty). True to that tradition. Cāttaṉār finds 'Buddha' as an embodiment of divine beauty. He calls Buddha as 'Vāmaṉ' he, who has the supreme beauty. (V.77, XXX.13).

These epithets and appellatives are sufficient to conclude that the worship of Buddha was popular in the days of Cāttaṉār and many divine poems on Buddha should have appeared during his time.

Survival hymns

The quantum of the Buddhist hymns that survived the onslaughts of the rivalries of the Vedic relgions enables one to estimate the contribution of the Buddhist poets to the domian of devotional literature. From the learned commentaries of Viracōḻiyam, Yāpparuṅgalam, Nīlakeśi and Sivajñānacittiyār, the stray and scattered hymns of Buddhism numbering 31 are collected in the anthology, *Peruntokai*. Some of them are terse, while others are lengthy mainly serving as models to various types of verses prescribed in he prosodial treatises. Buddha is Omnipresent and Omnipotent Supreme head who redeems not only the sins of the terrestrials but even those of the celestials, ranking from Brahma to ordinary devas. The poems elaborately eulogize the ten-fold perfections (pāramitas), mainly the compassionate deeds and myriad miracles performed by the Buddha in his innumerable incarnations. It is pleasant to note that Vaishnavism admited the Buddha as an avatār of Tirumāl. Interestingly we witness certain common concepts between Vaishnavism and Buddhism such as submitting oneself totally to the holy-feet (i.e. Śaraṇākati), the

theory of incarnation, the boundless compassion etc. For the first time, word *"saranagati"* occurs in Manimekalai and not in the hymns of the Ālvārs. Corresponding to the divine mantra Aṣṭakṣara in Vaishnavism, Om Mani Padmē hūm (which is also an Aṣṭākaṣara) is the divine spell in the Buddhism. The goal of Buddhist worship is the same as in other religions, namely to get emancipated from the mundane life in order to obtain the deathless state. In addition, it is also customary with the Buddhist hymnologists like their fellow-brethren in other faiths that the aim of their prayer is not self-centerd but it is focussed on the common weal of all transcending region, religion, race and language. Attempts are made here to render into English at least some pieces of the accessible Buddhist devotional poems without eschewing their essence.

Universal Perspective

The portion of the Buddist hymn presented below entreats the Buddha to bestow the entire world with plenty and prosperity:

"...............
aruḷvīr rirunta tiruniḻal pōti
muḻutuṉar muniva! niṟ paravutum toḻutaka
orumaṉam eyti iruviṉaip piṉiviṭṭu
muppakai kaṭantu nālvakaip poruḷunarntu
ōnkunīr ulakitu yāvarum
nīṅkā iṉpamoṭu nīṭuvāl keṉavē"[23]

A free rendition is given here below:

"Oh the All-knowing sage gracefully seated
beneath the beautiful shade of Bodhi,
Let us pray and praise Thee, so that everyone
in the sea-surrounded world may be qualified to get
one's mind unified, delivering from the clutches of
two-fold deeds conquering the three-fold enemies
(viz. lust, rancour and illusion), realising
the four-fold truths (viz. dhukka, nirodha,
samudaya and mārga) ultimately leading to a long
life in undeparted bliss."

This passage provides enough evidence to the universal brotherhood of Buddhism, striving for the peace and prosperity of one and all.

National Interest

In another poem worship is made to Buddha seated beneath the divine Bodhi that stretches all its great golden branches with emarald-leaves radiating fertile brilliance of coral, to shower His choicest blessing on the emperor Sundarachōlan̲ of Nandipuri (Pazhayārai), to have a long lease of life with full of munificence, beauty and prowess in this world:

"pavalac celuncutar marakatap pācataip
pacumpon̲ māccin̲ai vicumpakam putaikkum
pōtiyam tirunilal pun̲ita nir paravutum
metaku nantipuri man̲n̲ar cuntarac
cōlar vanmaiyum van̲apum
tin̲maiyum ulakil cirantuvāl ken̲avē.

This portion suggests the royal influence enjoyed by Buddhism during the period of the Imperial Cholas (900 A.D. - 1200 A.D.). History unfolds the fact that the Saivite monarchs Rajaraja I and Rajendra I erected the Buddhist chetiyas at Nagapattinam for the benefit of the Buddhist business people from the Far East and Srilanka and issued grants of tax-free lands instituting endowments for their maintenance. Puttamittiran̲ār, the author of Vīracōliyam was a chieftain under Virarajendra (A.D. 1063-1070) who like his predecessors patronized Buddhism. The statues of Buddha unearthed in the vicinity of Gangaikonda Cholapuram, Kaviripūmpattinam, Nagapattinam and other historical landscapes in the Cholamandalam reveal the prevalance of image worhsip performed by the Buddhists.

Some more Poems

The initial poem in the Kuṇḍalakeśi, a disappeared Buddhist Tamil epic (650 A.D.) exists as an excellent model of a devotional poem. It adores the spiritual greatness, self-less sacrifice, the valuable preachings of the Buddha who is the only Lord unto whose feet the author takes his refuge.

"mun̲tān perumaikkan̲ nin̲rān̲ mutiveytu kārum
nan̲re nin̲aintān̲ kun̲amē molintān tan̲akkenru
on̲rānum ullān pirarkkē urutikku ulantān
an̲re iraivan̲ avantāl caran̲ankal an̲rē."

The last line of the poem recals the last line "avartalaivar annavarkkē caraṇ nāṅkaḷē" occurring in the first invocatory poem of Kampan's Irāmāvatāram.

Some hymns written in melodious and mellifluous diction in veneration of Lord Buddha in the shrines at Tutidapuram and Māṉāvūr are also available. In the Buddhist cosmology, Tutidapuram denotes the fourth heaven in the Kāmadhātu where the Buddha is believed to reside in His Sambhogakāya. The Buddhists of Tamilnadu constructed an earthly chetiya (-shrine) as replica of the above mentioned celestial abode. A beautiful hymn in adoration of this solemn shrine is presented here:

"toḻumaṭiyar itayamalar orupoḻutum pirivaṟiya tuṇaivar eṉalām
eḻum iravi kiranam nikar ilakatuyil puṉaiceytaruḷ iṟaivar iṭamām
kuḻuvu maṟai yavarum muṉivararum aripiramar
urakavaṉum evarum
toḻutakiya imaiyavarum aṟamaruva tuṭiceyteḻu tuṭitapuramē"[25]

This poem really echoes the spirtual tone of Tevāram and its essence is distilled in the following rendering:

"Buddha is the inseparable companion being enthroned in the flower-heart of the worshipping devotees.

His garment shines like the rays of the rising sun,
His abode is Tuṭitapuram encircled by the groups of
Brahmins, Saints, Tirumāl, Brahma, Śiva (-also Nagas)
and the celestials to pay their homage."

The hymn on the Buddha who abstained from killing, theft, drinking, false-hood and lust at Māṉāvūr refers to the various births of the Buddha in almost all the species of beasts such as horse, deer, pig, elephant, sarana buffalo, an animal with six limbs, fish, hare, hamśa, peacock, etc., etc. Just to extend his limitless commiseration to all the animal-kinds leave alone the man-kind:

"vāṉāṭum pariyāyum ariṇamāyum
vaṉkēḻal kaḷirāyum eṇkāl pulmāṉ
taṉayuṉ paṇaierumai oruttalayum
taṭakkai ilaṅkaḷirāyum caṭaṅka māyum

mīṉāyuṉ muyalāyum aṉṉa māyum
mayilāyum piravāyum vellum ciṅka
māṉāyuṉ kolaikaḷāvu kaḷpoy kāmam
varaintavartam uṟaintapati māṉā vūrē."[26]

Another poem praises the Buddha's perfection of philanthropy. He was very generous and sympathetic to give away even his limbs of body, wealth, wife, children and everythin to the suppliants:

"mikkatanaṅ kaḷaimāri mūnrum peyyum
venkeḷirrai mikucintā maṇiyai meni,
okkavarintu orukūrrai iraṇṭu kaṇṇai
oḷitikaḷum tirumuṭiyai uṭampil ūnai
ekkiviḷum kurutitanai aracu taṉṉai
iṉnuyirpōl tēviyai-y-īṉ reṭutta celva
makkaḷaivan tirantārkku makiḻnte īyum
vānavartam uraintapati māṉa vūrē."[27]

This poem reveals the boundless compassion and limitless generosity of Buddha as Bodhisattva, residing at the shrine of Māṉāvūr.

Among the ten pāramitas (i.e. perfections) characterizing the Buddha-hood, dānapāramitā tops the list. It is known as Cāga in Pali, being a synonym to tyaga in Sanskrit. The Mahayana texts Daśabhūmikasūtra. Dharma-Saṁgraha, Sikṣā-samuccaya, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Jātakamālā, Avatāna-sataka etc., expatiate the greatness of liberality and charity. The above Tamil hymn contains the condensed message of these Mahayana texts.

Hence, it is evident that in the devotional lyric, the poet used to narrate the supernatural achievements, heroic deeds and spiritual sports of Bodhisattva and Buddha in pleasant and powerful metre to invoke their benedictions.

Conclusion

A bird's eye view of the available devotional poems produced by the Jain and Buddhist poets reveals the fact that the atheistic religions in their historical march inclined towards the theistic principles, leading to idolatry, thus widening the frontiers of their faiths to the easy access of the common men of their ownfold and also of the followers of the Vedic religions. The net-result was the opening of new forms of literature, providing scope for the creation of paintings, sculpture and temple architecture. In the promotion of human welfare and in the inculcation to the attainment of eternal bliss, Jainism and Buddhism contributed their lion's share. The devotional poems of these two religions that escaped the rival forces and time factor are equally superior in rhythm, harmony and content as the hymns in the Tirumuṟais and Nālāyiradivyaprabandham.

Footnotes

1. Deo, S.B. **History of Jain Monachism** (From Inscriptions and literature), p.335
2. Winternitz, M. **History of Indian Literature, Vol.II,** p.550
3. Ibid, pp.551-2
4. Ibid, pp.548-9
5. Ramachandra Dikshitar, V.R., **The Cilappatikāram** (Kazhagam Edition), pp.186-187
6. **History of Jain Monachism,** p.27, p.43
7. **Tirumuṟai,** IV-76, 2:XI-2.11
8. Ragavaiyangar, M. (Ed.) **Peruntokai,** 164
9. **Tiruvācakam,** 1.94
10. **Peruntokai,** 164
11. **Tirumuṟai** VI, 95.10
12. Mayilai Madhvadasan (Ed.), **Nalayira Divya Prabhandam,** 913,914
13. **Peruntokai,** 147
14. Ibid, 153
15. i. **History of Indian Literature,** Vol. II pp.270, 71;376,7

    ii. Nariman, G.K. **Literature History of Sanskrit Buddhism,** p.110
16. **History of Indian Literature,** Vol. II pp.270-1
17. **History of Indian Literature,** Vol. II pp.306
18. Ibid, p.340
19. Ibid, p.334
20. Ibid, p.299

21. Charles Eliot, Sir, **Hinduism and Buddhism**, Vol.II p.28

22. **Tirumurukārruppatai** 1-3; **Kalittokai** 16.8, 12, 16; **Cilappatikāram** 1.4-6; 9.10-11

23. **Viracōliyam** (Kazhagam Edition), p.143

24. Ibid, p.144

25. **Peruntokai**, p.213

26. Chakravarti, A. (Ed.), **Nīlakeśi**, p.79

27. Ibid, p.78.154

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM IN MAṆIMĒKALAI

MAṆIMĒKALAI is one of the five great Kāvyas in Tamil. It is an excellent epic, intended to propagate the basic principles of Buddhism. The epic is named after the heroine Maṇimēkalai. It consists of thirty kātais, each of which running to many metrical lines, akin to English Blank verse. It contains many sub-stories which are ultimately connected with the main story. Though the epic is not a text on Buddhism, some sections deserve to be recognised as seperate manuals dealing with the particular branch of Buddhist philosophy. Thus the sixth kātai projects a panoramic view of Buddhist Cosmology. The 27th kātai is the earliest available compendium on Indian philosophy. The 29th and 30th kātais are respectively considered to be the manuals on Buddhist epistemology and philosophy.

Cāttaṉār, the author of the Buddhist Tamil epic Maṇimēkalai was an erudite scholar in Tamil, Pāli and Sanskrit. He was not only a great poet but also an expert logician and able exponent of Buddhist philosophy.[1] He lived between A.D. 450 and 550. A careful study of the epic reveals the fact that he was a staunch follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially the hybrid branch known as Sautrāntika Yogācāra.

The Buddha, as a social scientist and moral philosopher, preached only one system which is preserved in the Tripīṭaka. But, the Mahātheras, commentators and exponents who came after him interpreted the sayings of Tripīṭaka to exhibit their own skill and to meet the requirements of the followers. The educated converts to Buddhism contributed their mite to the elucidation of the Buddhist scriptures, leading to difference of opinion among the apostles and ardent devotees. Thus, around the beginning of Christian era, Buddhism was divided into two, viz., Mahāyāna, the greater vehicle and Hīnayāna,the lesser vehicle. There are many sub-divisions among the two main branches. However, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra are the two prominent schools of Mahāyāna, while Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika are the two great schools of Hīnayāna. In his Mahāyāna Sūtrālankāra, Asanga (A.D. 400) clarifies the main difference between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The former is very liberal, compassionate, accommodative and all-embracing in its outlook, while the latter is very conservative and restrictive, professing salvation only for the chosen few.

However, both the branches accepted the fundamental doctrines such as the Four Noble Truths, the concept of Dependent Origination and the theory of Momentariness. But, Mahāyāna has developed its own unique features which are abundantly found in Maṇimēkalai. They are enumerated and elucidated here under.

1. THEISTIC TENDENCY

The historical Buddha never accepted the existence of either Ātman or Brahman. He was never worried either about the existence or non-existence of god. He cared much for the perfection of the people and so, he taught the ethical principles and social equality to lead a harmonious life. Hence in the Theravāda Buddhism, the Buddha was venerated to be a great teacher endowed with human perfection and boundless compassion. He was never treated as a God. There was no place for grace in the original Buddhism. Nobody can transgress the law of karma.

Nevertheless, in Mahāyāna Buddhism the Buddha was more than a teacher. When the followers required a personal deity to submit their grievances, the Buddha was raised to the level of supreme being. He was made to answer the prayers of the devotees. Theistic tendency was developed in the system which was once indifferent, and also rejected the concept of God. In Maṇimēkalai, clear evidences are abundantly availabe to the existence of theistic Buddhism, a new phase in the history of the religion. An attempt has been made here to highlight the cardinal aspects of theistic Buddhism as recorded in Maṇimēkalai.

The concept of Ādibuddha

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Buddha has been extolled to be the source of all beings and head of all objects. One of the Mahāyāna texts, Karaṇḍavyūha glorifies him as Svayambhū, i.e., Self existing.[2] The same text adores him as Ādibuddha and Ādinātha indicating his supreme excellence and further proclaims that at the beginning of all things he appeared all by himself and created the world through meditations. Thus this concept of Ādibuddha indicates the idealistic attitude of Buddhist thinkers. According to Lalmani Joshi,[3] the theory of Ādibuddha was developed for the first time by the Buddhists in A.D. fourth century. In all probability it should have been introduced by the Vedic converts into Buddhism. During the period of Cāttaṉār, this concept has gained

significance. The following epithets which are synonymous with Ādibuddha denote the overall lordship of the Buddha who is the source and force of all beings :

1. Ātimutalvan̲ VI-11, X-61, XII-37, 107, XXIX-23.
2. Ātical mun̲ivan̲ VII- 10
3. Āticinēntiran̲ XXIX-47
4. Mutalvan̲ XXV-58, XXVIII-120
5. Man̲n̲uyir Mutalvan̲ XXV-117, XXIX-15
6. Tollōn̲ XI-64
7. Nātan̲ XI-173-4, XII-101-2, XXVI-47, XXVIII-77, 89, 144,XXIX-24.

On a par with Ātimutalvan̲ and Āticinēntiran̲, the epithet, 'Ātipakavān̲' (=Ādibhagavān) occurring in the first couplet of Tirukkur̲aḷ deserves to be interpreted to denote Ādibuddha, since in the ethical work the teachings of the Buddha are sufficiently enshrined .

The Reference to Svayambhū

In one context, Cāttan̲ār has explicitly referred to the concept of Svayambhū. In the island of Maṇipallavam, which has been identified as a part of Sri Lanka, there was a place of worship dedicated to the Buddha. It has been described by Cāttan̲ār with architectural excellence. It was in circular form constructed with marbles. It had a height of three feet (mul̲am) and its breadth in every direction (disā) was nine feet. On that pedestal, the seat for the Buddha was erected in the shape of lotus square (paduma caturam). It was a gem-set throne and hence it was known as *"Māmaṇi Pīṭikai"* which had been donated by Indra, as a token of devotion to the Buddha. It irradiated brilliance spreading everywhere. Because of its divinity, the trees in its surrounding showered only fragrant flowers. In its proximity, even the birds would not flutter. It had the rare power of instructing the details of previous birth and also future course to the deserving Buddhist devotee. Perhaps the inestimable worth and aesthetic value of the gem-set throne tempted two rival Nāga kings, being the rulers of the neighbouring islands to engage in a fierce fight to possess the throne.

Finally, to the wonder of the two rulers, the Buddha himself appeared on the throne as Svayambhū, pacified them and preached the Dharma.[4]

The Concept of Countless Buddhas

In Hīnayāna Buddhism the number of Buddhas was restricted. According to Pāli texts, there were only six Buddhas before the advent of Gautama Buddha. However, Buddhavamsa refers to twenty-four Buddhas. Winternitz has established that this work was appended at a later period to Sutta-piṭaka.[5] Only in Mahāyāna works the number of the Buddhas is incalculable. In order to redeem the sinners and guide the people in the virtuous way the Buddha was born as and when necessary. The concept of incarnation is a special feature in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Cāttaṉār clearly states that the Buddha, the sun appears in order to dispel the darkness of vices, to protect the beings and to spread the rays of virtue (XXI 165-7). This statement is in perfect harmony with the theory of incarnation noted in Bhagavadgītā, wherein Sri Kṛṣṇa says that he takes birth on earth to protect the virtuous, to destroy the vicious and wicked and to strongly establish dharma. The Buddha himself has been regarded as an avatāra of Tirumāl (=Viṣṇu), as recorded in one of the inscriptions of Mahendravarma Pallava, Padmapurāṇa and other Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. Lalmani Joshi[6] considers that about the middle of A.D. sixth century the Buddha was regarded as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas.

The glorification of the incarnation of the Buddha becomes the central theme in the Mahāyāna literature. Buddhacarita, Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu deal with the good omens which foretell the avatāra of the Buddha and his wonderful activities. Cāttaṉār has graphically pictured the conditions of the world before the advent of the Buddha and the auspicious pointers heralding his appearance and the benefits to humanity as a result of his incarnation.

The authors of Mahāyāna texts were also great poets with visionary skill and missionary zeal. They contemplated that everyone could raise to the level of a Buddha and Bodhisattva on acount of one's merits and exalted perfection. In their imagination, the number of the Buddhas was myriad. Cāttaṉār, being a staunch supporter of Mahāyāna theology upheld similar views. The following table provides the particulars on the subject under discussion.[7a]

S.No.	Mahayana texts	(A.D.) Age	Number of Buddhas
1.	Buddha Carita	200	The Buddhas are like the sands on the banks of Ganges
2.	Lankāvatāra Sūtra	300	" "
3.	Karuṇāpuṇḍarika	300	Innumerable Buddhas
4.	Prajñāpāramita sataka	300	" "
5.	Lalitavistara	300	Ten millions of Buddha
6.	Saddharma puṇḍarka	300-400	" "
7.	Sukhāvati-vyūha	300-400	81 million Buddhas

Following the authors of these texts, Cāttaṉār sings the glory of the innumerable Buddhas of the past in the following line :

iṟanta kālattu eṇṇil puttarkaḷum (XXX-14)

This passage clearly discloses the author's inclination and devotion to Mahāyāna.

The Concept of Self-surrender

The complete surrender unto the feet of Tirumāl (=Viṣṇu) has been hailed as a cardinal tenet in Śrivaiṣṇavism as recorded in the Bhagavadgītā. However, the concept of Triśaraṇa is peculiar in Buddhism. A Buddhist, let him be a layman(=śrāvaka) or a monk is required to take shelter unto the Buddha, his teachings collectively called Dharma and the propagators of the faith constituting the community of Saṃgha. Taking refuge unto the three gems, viz., Buddha, Dharma and Samgha is a common aspect sharred by the followers of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The usual chanting is as follows:

Buddham Śarṇam gacchāmi (I take reguge in the Buddha).

Dharmam Śarṇam gacchāmi (I take refuge in the Dharma).

Sangham Śarṇam gacchāmi (I take refuge in the Sangha).

However,Cāttaṉār has used the technical word Śaraṇāgati for the first time to denote the complete surrender unto the triple gems of the Buddhist devotee Maṇimēkalai in the following passage :

Putta tanma cankam ennum
muttira maniyai mummaiyin vananki-c-
caranā katiyāyc caranceṉrataintapin (XXX 3-6).7b

The young nun worshipped thrice the threefold gems, viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and took refuge in them. Only after that the Bodhisattva Aravaṇa Aṭikaḷ commenced his Buddhist teaching. It is to be considered as an aspect of Mahāyāna devotion.

The Worship of Buddha's Footprints

The worship of *Pātapīṭikai*, i.e., the lotus feet of the Buddha which are placed on a pedestal, seems to be a widespread feature in the Buddhist devotion during the period of Cāttaṉār. The belief, that the buds put on the Pātapīṭikai would soon blossom and the flowers never fade, was prevalent among the devotees. In the history of Buddha-idolatry, the worship of his holy feet seems to be the earliest. Even before that, the worship of Bodhi tree and Dharma Cakra should have been in existence. In a sculpture at Amaravati which belongs to A.D. second century the Buddha is represented by his footprints and many women are figured to offer collective worship to them.[8] The belief,that the Buddha's lotus feet alone could help one to free himself from the cycle of transmigration and to attain liberation was strongly felt by Cāttaṉār (X 123-25). Here again, we are able to grasp that devotion to the Buddha is sufficient to extricate oneself from the bonds of karma. This idea is also to be Mahāyānistic rather than Hīnayānistic.

The Pātapīṭikai shrines of the Buddha were found in Kāviripūmpaṭṭinam, Samantagiri at Ratnadvīpa and other places. Cāttaṉār has glorified both the divinity and astounding potency of the lotus feet.

The Worship of Caityas

The existence of Buddhist Caitya is also noted in Maṇimēkalai. Worship of the caityas is first recorded in Mahāvastu which is one of the earliest Mahāyāna texts. According to Nalinaksha Dutt, Mahāvastu was an avowed text of the Lokottaravāda, a branch of Mahāsangikas who gave prominence to the worhip of *caityas* and hence they were known as Caityakas.[9] She further stated that Śriparvata and Dhānyakaṭaka in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh were the centres for the Mahāsaṅgikas, who were not Hīnayānists. They are considered to be the forerunners of Mahāyāna Buddhists. The same author has also quoted inscriptional

evidences to establish the date of erection of the caitya in the above centres to be A.D. third of fourth century. However, Lalmani Joshi throws some light on the cult of Caitya :[10]

"The monasteries (vihāras) were decorated with the holy images of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Caityas containing the relics of saints, and the images of other (Buddhist) deities..... It was in the afternoon or at the evening twilight that the monks performed worship of the Caitya. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa gives a picture of the bhikkus performing Caitya-Vandanā at evening twilight..... All the assembled monks taking a round of the stūpa of Caitya, chanted hymns describing the virtues of the Buddha."

From his account, it becomes clear that the worshippers of Caitya should have more leaning towards Mahāyāna. To strengthen this view, the observation of Sudha Sengupta deserves to be quoted:[11]

"The more popular Buddhist architectures of the period under review (A.D. 400-750) are the vihāras or a group of monastic abodes for the residence of monks and caityas or prayer halls enshrining stūpas or the images of the Buddha..."

Further the same author observes that the vihārs, the residence for the monks were constructed from the times of the Buddha himself, whereas the caitya- halls were introduced later.

"With the rise and development of Mahāyāna, caitya-halls became more and more popular and the cultural atmospheere and the patronising spirit of the rulers encouraged the Buddhists of this age (A.D. 400) to revive their intellectual activites, particularly in the art and architecute of the caityas and vihāras."

So it is obvious that the time of A.D. fourth century onwards, the worship of caitya became very popular among the followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In Kāñchipuram, the centre of Buddhism that attracted even the Chinese pilgrims including Hiuen Tsang, Cāttaṉār refers to the existence of *Caitya* dedicaed to Bhagavān Buddha, seated beneath the shade of the Bodhi tree with big branches of gloden hue and green leaves of emerald brilliance. It was erected by the young Chola prince Kiḷḷi. Maṇimekalai worshipped the *caitya,* before worshipping the images of the female deities Tivatilakai and Maṇimēkalāteyvam, enshrined in a seperate temple to commence her charitable activity of offering food to the needy and poor.

toṭukaḻal kiḷḷi tuṇai-y-iḷaṅkiḷḷi
cempoṉ māccinai-t-tirumaṇi-p-pācaṭai-p-
paimpūm pōti-p pakavaṟku iyaṟṟiya
cētiyam, toḻutu (XXVIII 172-75).

The Sanskrit word *Caitya* has become *cētiyam* in Tamil. The verbal word 'toḷutu' denotes the mode of worshipping with folded hands. In all probability, the caitya worship became a prominent feature in the times of Cāttaṉār.

Due to the missionary activities of Maṇimēkalai, the Chola king Māvaṇ Kiḷḷi altered the prison-hall into a hall of charity, i.e., Dharmasālā where a temple for the Buddha and monasteries for the Buddhist clergy were erected, besides a kitchen and dining hall also were established in Kāviripūmpaṭṭiṉam. Since Cāttaṉār denotes the temple of the Buddha as *"Pulavōṉ kōyil* (XX-5), it should have been different from the type of shrine where the lotus feet of the Buddha was the object of worship. So, the temple under reference should have the idol of the Buddha, being worshipped by the devotees. The archeological excavations at Kāviripūmpaṭṭiṉam brought to the surface an idol of the Buddha belonging to A.D. fifth century.

All the references in Maṇimēkalai go to prove the fact that devotion to the Buddha was dominant during the priod of Cāttaṉār. Specimens of devotional hymns in honour of the Buddha are also found in Maṇimēkalai, attesting to the popularity of Mahāyāna in the South.

Buddhist Hymns

Devotion to the Buddha (Buddha Bhakti) culminated in the creation of devotional poems, glorifying the compassionate acts of the Buddha. Buddha stotras are found in plenty only in the texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism. They came to limelight during A.D. 200-600. Matṛceta, a great devotional poet was patronized by Kaniṣka. His famous Catuḥsataka Stotra (the Hymn of 400 verses) and Śatapañcaśatika Śtotra (the Hymn of 150 verses) were recited everywhere in the Buddhist shrines, as recorded in the itinerary of I-Tsing.[12] Inspired by the benevolent and compassionate acts of Lord Buddha, Cāttaṉār has created some hymns which are conveyed through the devoted characters in particular contexts. The following is a prayer song put in the mouth of the female deity Tīvatilakai, addressing Bhagvān Buddha and his holy feet :

māraṉai veḷḷum vīra niṉṉaṭi !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh Hero who conquered Mara]
tīneṟi-k-kaṭumpukai kaṭintōy niṉṉaṭi !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh the Destroyer of the evil path]
piṟarkku aṟam muyalum periyōy niṉṉti !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh the great one, labouring to set others in the path of virtue]
tuṟakkam vēṇṭā-t-tollōy niṉṉati !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh the ancient one who denied heaven]
eṉpiṟakku oḻiya iṟantōy niṉṉati !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh the supreme that transcends the thoughts (of the devotees)]
kaṇpiṟarkku aḷikkum kaṇṇōy niṉṉati !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh the Compassionate One who endows the eye (of wisdom) to others]
tīmoḻikku aṭaitta ceviyōy niṉṉati !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh Lord who closed his ears to evil words]
vāymoḻi ciṟanta nāvōy niṉṉati !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh Lord who excels in truthful words]
narakar tuyarkeṭa naṭappōy niṉṉati !
[Hail your holy feet, Oh Lord who would walk in the hell to alleviate the distress of the hell-dwellers]
urakar tuyaram oḻippōy niṉṉati !
[Hail holy feet, Oh Lord who would destroy the sufferings of the Nagas]
vaṇaṅkutal allatu vāḻttal eṉṉāviṟku aṭankātu.
[To praise you is beyond the power of my tongue. To bow at your feet is alone possible (for my body)]

The above passage in the epic may be taken as a specimen of an earliest available Tamil hymn to the Buddha. The various epithets to extol the glory of the Buddha are very many in Maṇimēkalai. A mere compilation of them would naturally form a hymnary of names (=nāmāvaḷi) which are found only in the Mahāyāna works, according to Winternitz.

II. THE CONCEPTION OF TRIKĀYA

The theory of the threefold body of the Buddha has been conspicuously absent in the Theravāda Buddhism. According to this

theory, the Buddha has assumed simultaneously the three forms, viz., Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya, existing in three different spheres. Since the Buddha with his Dharmakāya has been glorified to be the absolute reality, which is beyond the ken of thought, all the other Buddhas with Sambhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya are in essence related intrinsically to the former. Myths were created to illustrate the greatness and significance of all Buddhas. According to Nalinaksha Dutt, the conception of Trikāya was essentially one of the significant features of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[13] B.L. Suzuki[14a] and other scholars have also expressed the same view. [14b] One of the modern authors on Buddhism, S.R. Goyal[14c] has quoted the Tirkāya doctrine among other doctrines which are peculiar only to Mahāyāna Buddhism. In a subsequent context, he has identified the same doctrine to belong to Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, in the Buddhist Tamil epic Maṇimēkalai, the doctine of Trikāya is sufficiently noticed.

Dharmakāya: The Absolute knowledge, limitless compassion and complete purity are the chief characteristcs of the Buddhas's Dharmakāya. It is regarded to be the embodiment of Dharma which is the real body of the Buddha. It is not perceptible though it is ominipresent. It is imperishable. It is described at alaukika, i.e., the body without any wordly adjuncts. It is universal. The Buddha in his Dharmakāya has been regarded to be the transcendental reality and the highest Supreme Being. In other words, he is beyond the limits of Kāma, Rūpa, and Arūpa dhātus of Buddhist cosmology.

In one of the Mahāyāna texts Suvarṇaprabhāsa (A.D. 200),the Dharmakāya of the Buddha is described thus:[15]

> ". . . .as there is neither bone nor blood of Buddha's body, for the completely Enlightened Tathāgatha has only a Dharmakāya and consists only of the Dharma element, i.e., he has only an 'immaterial body' consisting of the absolute, and he is composed only of ideas, of spiritual (non-sensual) phenomena."

The Dharmakāya of the Buddha has been extolled by Cāttaṉār in the epithet, 'tiruv-aṟa mūrtti' (XXX-6). The Tamil word 'Tiru' indicates beauty, sacredness and solemnity, while 'aṟam' is an equivalent of 'Dharma' and 'mūrtti' denotes svarūpa. Even in other contexts of the text, identical expressions to indicate the same form are found. Some of them are presented hereunder :

1. Arattakai mutalavan (XXVIII-120) - The Supreme of Dharma

2. Taruma talaivan (XI-30, XII-55) -- This attribute may be explained in two ways : First it connotes the Head or Chief of Dharma. Next, it may mean the Lord who preached the Dharma.

3. Aravōn (VIII-49, X-I, XII-11, XXVIII-210) -- This epithet denotes the Buddha being the Embodiment of Dharma, which is his intrinsic and essential form.

4. Puṇṇian (V-98) signifies the Buddha, with all his virtues.

5. Pērarivāḷan (XII-78) denotes the Omniscient Buddha.

6. Murra uṇarnta mutalvan (V-101, X-84, XII-78, XX-5, XXII-45, XXV-45) denotes the Omniscient and Supreme Buddha.

In Prajnāpāramita-sataka and Mahāyāna Sūtrālankāra, the eternal and transcendental body of the Buddha has been glorified by the epithets, such as saddharmakāya, bodhikāya, buddakāya, prajnākāya and svabhāvikakāya.[16] It is essential to note that the Tamil epithets are largely in consonance with those of the Mahāyāna texts.

Next, let us proceed to deal with the details, pertaining to Sambhogakāya of the Buddha.

Sambhogakāya : The Buddha assumes the celestial body of enjoyment and supreme happiness in the sambhogakāya state of reflected Bodhi. It is the body of refulgence and radiance and with this superhuman form the Buddhas dwell in their celestial abodes preaching the eternal doctrine to the Bodhisattvas, besides assisting them in their dedicated service of saving the sentient beings. In Dasabhūmikasūtra (83), it is stated that the Sambhogakāya is the culmination of the innumerable virtuous deeds, accumulated by the Buddha in his human form during many periods. Another Mahāyāna text, Karuṇāpuṇḍarika (122), proclaims that the Buddha in his Sambhogakāya is preceptible only to the most devotd Bodhisatttvas who approach him to listen to his teaching. In this condition,the Buddha is completely deified and becomes the object of adoration. The Buddha in his celestial body of supreme enjoyment is often compared to Isvara of Vaiṣṇava theology.

Cāttaṉār has used the word 'cukataṉ' (XXVIII-95) to denote the Buddha. It is the Tamilized form of the Sanskrit word 'Sugata.' It

may mean "One with happiness and enjoyment' and also denote 'one, greeted by all' and 'one with good gait'. In the opening poem of Pramāṇa samuccaya, Dinnāga adores '*sugata*'.

It is interesting to note that Cāttaṉār has clearly mentioned in two contexts the Buddha of Sambhogakāya residing in Tuṣitaloka, which is the fourth heavenly region in the hierarchy of the sixfold Devalokas, mentioned in the cosmological map of the Buddhists. According to the account, all the clestials (Devas) living in the various heavens of Cakravāḷa assembled together and met the Sambhoga Buddha in his official residence at Tuṣitaloka. They prostrated at his feet and begged him fervently to take incarnation on earth in order to dispel darkness and redeem the sentient beings (XII 72-78, XXX6-10). Thus, the Buddha incarnates himself in human form which is described as *Nirmāṇakāya*.

Nirmāṇakāya : The Buddha of Nirmāṇakāya denotes the historical Buddha in his human form with flesh and blood, born as a prince to the royal parents Suddhodana and Māyādevi, at Kapilavastu. He is often compared to the avatāra form of Vaiṣṇava theology. Elsewhere, we have noted that the Buddha in his human form was treated by the Vaiṣṇavites to be one of the incarnations of Tirumāl (=Viṣṇu). it is pertinent to mention that the birth of the Buddha on earth was not due to the doctrine of karma. Out of immense compassion and boundless mercy towards all beings he descends from his celestial abode, Tuṣitaloka, with the noble objective of removing the darkness of ignorance and spreading the component parts of dharma in order to guide the sentient beings to work out their own salvation.

The Buddha in his human frame subjects himself to the process of worldly life in order to conform to the practice of earthly existence. His marriage to the princess Yasodharā, the birth of his son Rāhula and ultimately his renunciation on witnessing the old, sick, corpse and finally an ascetic are the significant aspects in his life. As an ascetic, his astute penance and victory over Māra, the embodiment of all desires and his retinue, followed by his enlightenment, preaching of the noble doctrine and attainment of Parinirvāṇa at the age of eighty-one are often glorified in Mahāyāna texts.

Cāttaṉār refers to Mānuṣi-Buddha in various contexts of the epic Maṇimēkalai. In confirmity with the general view that all Buddhas of Nirmāṇakāya must be born only at Kapilavastu, Cāttaṉār has stated

that the Buddha would bee born at *Kapilaiyampati* (=Kapilavastu), the capital city of Maghadadeśa with unfailing rains, and gain perfection in the limitless pāramitās and deliver the gospel of the Four Noble Truths and the theory of Dependent Origination and its Cessation, spreading the rays of virtue everywhere in the Universe (XXVI 42-53). In one context, the author mentions that the innumerable Buddhas of the past preached uniformly the same doctrine of *pratitya samutpāda* (XXX 14-17).

The severe penance and austerites of the Buddha in his human form earned him the following appellatives from the Epic poet :

1. *Peruntava munivan̲* (VIII-6) denotes the ascetic with gret penance.

2. *Ulaka nōn̲pin̲ uyarntōn̲* (V-99) refers to his unique position achieved through his wordly service being described as ulaka nōn̲pu which is a synonym of loka dharma and it is to be viewed with *Srāvaka dharma* which is referred to by the term *Cāvaka nōn̲pu* in the Tamil epic.

3. *Piṇippar̲u mātavan̲* (XXI-16, XXV-34) is an epithet indicating the Buddha, the great ascetic who has cut asunder the bond of birth.

4. *Māyamil mātavan̲* (XXI-48) is again an appellative glorifying the servere penance of the Buddha, bereft of any delusion or illusion.

5. The epithet *āriyan̲* (XXV-6) denotes a Bodhisattva and the Buddha is also denoted by this term. It means noble and virtuous.

The eradication of lust, hatred and delusion, viz., the triple āśravas is the prerequisite for the attainment of enlightenment. The Buddha in his mortal coil has completely destroyed all the three evils and hence Cāttan̲ār eulogized him in the following expressions :

1. *Kur̲r̲am keṭṭutoy cer̲r̲am cer̲uttōy (V-100)*

2. *Kur̲r̲am mūn̲r̲um mur̲r̲a-v ar̲ukkum vāman̲ (XXX-3)*

3. *Tiner̲i-k-kaṭumpakai kaṭintōy (XI-62)*

Since he has conquered his senses, he has been extolled as cin̲aṇ, i.e., jina (XXVII-81) and also Cinēntiran, i.e., jinendra (XXIX-47). These two names of the Buddha are found also in Buddha Carita (XIV-74).

The above references are enough to establish that Cāttaṉār well acquainted himself with the conception of Trikāya of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is to be understood that Dharmakāya of Buddha is the real, while the Sambhogakāya is the ideal and Nirmāṇakāya is perishable. There is only one Dharmakāya, but the number of the remaining two bodies is myriad. The Buddha in his Dharmakāya, represents the highest state of essential Bodhi (knowledge), in his Sambhogakāya, the state of reflected Bodhi and his Nirmāṇakāya, the state of practical Bodhi.

III. TANTRAYANA

Tantrayāna, one of the significant schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism was well known to the author of Maṇimēkalai. The eminent Buddhologists such as G. Tucci, B. Bhattacharya and a host of others treated that Tāntric Buddhism was an offshoot of Yogācāra school.[17] Hence the traditional founders of Yogācāra Buddhism, viz., Asanga and Maitreya were considered to be the earliest exponents of esoteric Buddhism which is variously known as Tantrayāna, Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna. To the Tibetan Buddhists, Mahāyāna meant Mantrayāna. This branch of Buddhism deals with the magic spells (mantra), mystic diagrams (yantra), cakra or maṇḍala (mystic circle,)mudrās and other related accessories which are essential for the attainment of various siddhis including supernatural powers. In this system, since eighty four Siddhas are given a predominant position, it also deserves to be named *Siddhayāna* (the vehicle of Siddhas). Among the earliest texts on *Tantrayāna*, Prajñāpāramitasataka, Karaṇda Vyūhasūtra. Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra and Guhyasamāja Tantra are the most significant.

One set of scholars viewed that Nāgārjuna II(A.D. 500) was the founder of Tañtric Buddhism and he taught the tenets of Tāntrism to his disciple Nāgabodhi who in his turn handed over the wisdom to his own disciple Vajrabodhi, a resident of Kāñchipuram, who was instrumental for the spread of the Tāntric practices in the South East Asian countries including China.

Female Deities

Maṇimēkalāteyvam : Cāttaṉār should have mastered the Tāntric Buddhist texts, and made use of his knowledge in the new branch of Mahāyāna Buddhism, as understood from his introduction of many female deities in the Buddhist pantheon with wonder working feats and supernatural powers. Alice Getty[18] is of the opinion that Hīnayāna never

admitted the feminine divinities and only Mahāyāna Buddhism,that too Yogācāra and *Tantrayāna* branches accepted various goddesses to be supernatural beings. In the epic *Maṇimēkalai*, among the chief feminine deities Maṇimēkalāteyvam occupies a supreme place. She was the guardian goddess of the seas (XXV-207). She had the divine power of transfiguring herself and travelling in the air. She possessed the rare knowledge of the past, present and future. Under the supreme command of Indra, the devotee of the Buddha, she used to go to the rescue of the Buddhist, struggling in the sea. She extended protection to the young heroine Maṇimēkalai when she was besieged by the lusty prince Udayakumaraṉ at the grove of Kaviripumpattinam. She lifted her physically and carried through the air to the distant island Manipallavam with the help of her extraordinary magic power. This displacement virtually enabled the heroine to fresh exposure in her spiritual sojourn. In one place, Cāttaṉār describes the supernatural power of Maṇimēkalāteyvam in assuming the form of a young damsel with the body of lightining, dazzling with the brilliance of rainbow, travelling through the air, finally reaching the flower garden at Kāviripūmpaṭṭiṉam. The passge under reference is presented below :

uruvē koṇṭa miṉṉē pōla-t
tiruvil iṭṭu-t tikaḻtaru mēṉiyaḷ (VI 9-10)

It is quite interesting to note that Nāgārjuna II, the exponent of *Tāntric* Buddhism was also a great Siddhha endowed with the rare power of changing his physical frame into the rainbow body and to travel in the air. To quote Alice Getty : [19]

"Nāgārjuna was the greatest Buddhist philosopher and mastered all the sciences and especially magic art. He is said to have acquired Siddhi, by which magic power he obtained the rainbow body (jahlus) and was thus able to become invisible at will and transport himself from one place to another by supernatural power."

Hence, it becomes evident that Cāttaṉār knew the new branch of esoteric Buddhism which was very popular in the South during his times.

Tivatilakai : This deity which gained importance is the island goddess (XXV-159,213). Like Maṇimēkalāteyvam, she is also a staunch devotee of the Buddha. Like her, she too used to go to the succour of derserving

Buddhist. She had also the knowledge of all times. She used to foretell the future. She guided the heroine in getting the perennial alms-bowl (=akaṣaya pātra) to feed the hungry and poor.[20]

Campāpati : She was the nagara devata of Kāviripūmpaṭṭiṉam. She was also the guardian goddess of water resources, public centres, old and strong trees, rest -houses and temples. She had the rare power of summoning the fourfold Rūpa Brahmas, sixteen kinds of Arūpa Brahmas, other celestials and heavenly bodies to instruct Gotami, the desolated mother of a dead boy about the theory of karma and impermanence. She too helped the heroine sufficiently in the progress of her religious life.[21]

Cintādevi.[22] Originally she was the Hindu goddess of learning. But, the Tantrayāna Tamil Buddhists converted her into a goddess of compassion through her act of offering a miraculous alms-bowl (=akṣaya patra) to Āputtiraṉ at midnight in her temple at Madurai. She has been adored to be the chief goddess of both the celestials and terrestrials. She was the ever burning lamp of wisdom. She used to make realize the subtle meaning of words (XXV-148). She rectified the defects in the words of even Devas and Brahma and bestow wisdom on all (XXV 150-1). She relieved the suffering of the poeple (XIV-20).

Kaṇṇaki: An earthly lady with immaculate virtues she has been elevated to the highest rank of the goddess of chastity.[23] When her husband was unjustly assassinated by Pandya king, she was emboldened to go to the royal court to establish justice, resulting in the destruction of the evil forces residing at Madurai by the force of fire, generated by the twisted breast of her. She was worshipped not only by the native rulers and public, but also by Kajabāhu of Sri Lanka.

In addition to the depiction of the female deities of Buddhist theology, Cāttaṉār has clearly created a canto with the title, *Mantiram koṭutta kātai* which means the section dealing with the offering of Mantras by the goddess Maṇimēkalāteyvam to the young heroine, Maṇimēkalai.

The Initiation of Three Mantras

The Goddess, being the guiding star to the heroine, has instructed her three significant magic formulae which would be immensely helpful to alleviate any impending danger, caused by the evil-minded and treacherous people. Though the author of the Epic did not present detailed particulars with regard to the cakra, maṇḍala, mudrā and the rituals concerned, he

has given some aspects of the magic spell and their usefulness in the face of any practical calamity. The phrase, *māyaviñcai mantiram* denotes the mantra of working wonders of delightful and illusory nature. The three incantations were meant to bestow Maṇimēkalai with the supernatural power to assume any form at will, to travel through the air and to appease hunger. With the help of these magic spells, she was able to conquer all the difficulties and hurdles that stood on the way of her spiritual life.

IV. THE CULT OF BODHISATTVAS

Unlike the Hinayāna concept of Arhatship, Māhayāna developed the cult of Bodhisattvas. For this reason, it has been known as *Bodhisattvayāna.* An arhat was characterized by his exclusive and introvert nature, self-restraint, severe austerity and withdrawal from society. He had to work out his own salvation. He listened to the teachings and instructions of a qualified teacher. His personal salvation was the main objective of his ascetic life. He never took interest in the liberation of other beings. His main concern was to get rid of the *āsravas* of lust, hatred and illusion, being the fetters of spiritual growth. After completely annihilating these impediments, he obtained the *samyak sambodhi,* i.e., supreme enlightenement, being the means for the attainment of *Nibbāna. Theravāda* Buddhism laid stress on the ascetic life of an arhat for the supreme bliss and for this reason, it was also known as *Arhatyāna.*

Next to Arhat, the early Buddhism developed the concept of *Pacceka Buddha (Pratyeka Buddha)* who was also selfish and cared for his personal liberation. He never sought the help of a teacher for his attainment of supreme knowledge. So also, he never aspired to be a preceptor or guide to others. His seclusive nature and selfish attitude won him the title *Prati-eka or Pratyeka* (=private or solitary) Buddha. He was superior to an Arhat. The vehicle of such an evolved ascetic's life was called *Pratyeka Buddhayāna.*

Unlike the ideals of an *Arhat* and *Pacceka Buddha* of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna envisaged and enlarged the concept of Bodhisattva. The word Bodhi means 'enlightenment' and in some contexts, it also denotes 'being', while the word sattva indicates essence, strength and courage. So, the whole word '*Bodhisattva*' means an exalted spiritual person with supreme wisdom. Limitless compassion and universal enlightenment are the characteristic principles of a Bodhisattva. Social concern, friendliness and altruism are the cardinal tenets of Bodhisattva. He toils always for

the welfare of other beings. He postpones his own attainment of Nirvāṇa till all the sentient beings get liberated from the mire of transmigration. Cāttaṉār beautifully portrays this unique quality of Bodhisattva thus :

Tuṟakkam Vēṇṭā-t-tollōṉ. [Maṇi. 11.94]

This passage denotes the Ancient one who rejects even Nirvāṇa in order to serve the fellow beings. Living for others (*Parārtha*) is the keynote of *Bodhisattvayāna.* This motive of a Bodhisattva is well expressed in the following line of the epic :

Taṉakkeṉa vāḻā-piṟarkkuri yāḷaṉ. [Maṇi. 5.74]

This means one who does not live for his own sake but for the benefit of others. He becomes the possession of others. This thought is also found in Sangam poems [Akam.54; Naṟṟiṇai 186.8]

In *Maṇimēkalai,* references to *pāramitās* which are the essential requisites of a Bodhisattva are noticed. The word *pāramitā* indicates the highest perfection and elevated position. It also means "crossing to the other side of one's life" and the quality of having reached to the further shore. It is generally interpreted that a Bodhisattva has cultivated the unlimited perfections (=*pāramitās*) and possessed the quality of having crossed the ocean of birth. Normally ten *pāramitās* are prescribed for the maturity of a Bodhisattva. They are:

pāramitās

1. Dāna	the perfection of liberality, charity and generosity.
2. Śila	the perfection in the exercise of tenfold silas, or virtuous conduct.
3. Kṣānti	the cultivation of the perfection of forbearance and endurance.
4. Vīrya	the perfection of energy.
5. Dhyāna	the perfection of concentration and meditation.
6. Prajñā	the perfection of wisdom.
7. Upāya	the perfection of skilfulness in the choice of means for conversion and also succour.
8. Praṇidhāna	the perfection of compassion to all beings.
9. Bala	the perfection of strength.
10. Jñāna	the perfection of supreme knowledge.

However, the first six are the most essential requisites that mould the personality of a Bodhisattva. Among the ten, the last four may be subsumed respectively under dāna, śīla, vīrya and prajñā. In most of the *Mahāyāna* texts, the first six alone find a place. In *Saddharma Puṇḍarika*, only five *pāramitās* are noted. In Mahāvastu, dāna and śīla are considered to be the fundamental *pāramitās*. In Maṇimēkalai the following two lines emphasize the significance of these two :

Cīlam tānki-t-tāṉam talaininṟu (XXIV-137)
Tāṉam tānkin-c-Cīlam talaininṟu (XXX-1)

Even in other protions, these two perfections are exalted. *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, one of the significant *Mahāyana* texts prescribes ten *pāramitās* each of which should be practised by a Bodhisattva in each of the ten stages of his spiritual sojourn. However, Cāttaṉār has categorically stated that the *pāramitās* are unmeasurable and innumerable (XXVI-45, XXXIX-26). He has denoted by the usages such as *Pōtinātaṉ* and Pōtimātavaṉ not only the Buddha but also Bodhisattva. In his considered opinion, even a Buddha was a Bodhisattva with the accumulation of merits due to the exercise of various pāramitās (XXVI 45-6).

In *Maṇimēkalai*, the author has created some characters who deserve to be called Bodhisattvas. Among them *Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ* excels as the supreme Bodhisattva. He has been depicted to have seen many generations and contact with various kinds of people including royal families, guiding them in the right and virtuous way of life. He was omniscient. Asanga's Yogācārya *bhūmisāstra* prescribed vivāda as one of the subjects to be mastered by a Bodhisattva. In conformity with this view, *Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ* has been portrayed as an expert logician, teaching the principles of epistemology to *Maṇimēkalai*. According to *Dharma Samgraha*, *Dāna Pāramitā* also includes the transmission of religious and philosophical knowledge to others. Prajñā*pāramitā-sataka* proclaims that all the *pāramitās* are fulfilled by preaching. *Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ* has preached the essence of Buddhist philosophy centering around the theory of dependent origination to the heroine. A Bodhisattva should cultivate the skilful means, i.e., *Upāya* to make others believe in the teachings of Buddha. *Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ* effectively preached the doctrines to the king Tuccaya, Mātavi- the dancing woman, Cīrtti - the queen of the Cola monarch Māvaṇ Kiḷḷi and others leading them to the fold of Buddhism. The active role of *Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ* fulfils the requirement of a Bodhisattva

to be an effecive preacher as enunciated in the text, *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*. It was his custom to bless the people (let them be ordinary people or royal persons) to be endowed with knowledge. *His practical ethics stressed on the fulfilment of basic human needs, viz., food, cloth and shelter.*

It is essential to note that Acārya Dharmapāla has been depicted as *Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ*, since the two names are semantically same, besides their knowledge in Buddhist lore.[24]

Cāttaṉār has also portrayed a Bodhisattva king in the character of "*Puṇṇiyarācaṉ*" (=Punyarājā), as the ruler of Cāvakam (Java). In his previous birth, he was Āputtiraṉ and he accumulated merits through alms giving to all kinds of people, resulting in the next birth to be the beneficial king. All the good signs that heralded the birth of a Buddha were presented at Puṇṇiyarācaṉ's birth. He was born on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, the birthday of Buddha. He was advised by Maṇimēkalai to abandon the idea of renunciation and to stick to the path of service to the subjects, being the hallmark of an ideal Bodhisattva.[25]

There are two more characters in the epic.[26] One of the ancestors of Kōvalaṉ the father of Maṇimēkalai, fulfilled all the necessary qualifications of a future Bodhisattva. Another character Sanga Dharma endowed with Dāna, Śīla and Vīrya pāramitās, was able to save the wounded father of Cutamati, the female companion of Maṇimēkalai, when he was mercilessly thrown away by a Jain monk when his entrails came out due to the attack of a ferocious horny cow.

The immaculate virtues, compassionate outlook, perfection in offering food to others and initiation in the knowledge of Buddhist logic and philosophy etc., enabled the young Maṇimēkalai to be an active member of Bodhisattvayāna.

After having seen that Cāttaṉār has sufficiently depicted the Cult of Bodhisattvas in his immortal epic, let us pass on to deal with his cosmological exposition in the light of Yogācāra texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

V. COSMOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Among the various schools of Buddhism the Yogācāra is the only Mahāyāna school that developed an exhaustive study of the different world systems and their contents in a systematic way. According to

W.M.Mcgovern, the Yogācāra has made an attempt to synthesize the best elements of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and it is the only Mahāyāna school to possess a definite cosmological system. The twin brothers Asanga and Vasubandhu were in the initial stage Hīnayānists and in course of time became the earliest exponents of Yogācāra school. This transition is also attributed to be one among the main factors for the synthetic nature of the Yogācāra school. Asaṅga's Yogācāryabhūmi śāstra, Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and Vidyāmātraśiddhi in twenty verses, Ācārya Dharmapāla's Vidyāmātrasiddhi in thirty verses, Mahāvyutpatti and other Yogācāra texts present a vivid picture about the structure of Cakravāḷa consisting of various types of world systems. In this context it is pertinent to note that though Abhidharmakośa was written by Vasubandhu when he was a Śarvāstivādin, its contents are taken sufficiently by the Yogācārins.

The word in the Pāli texts to denote the entire structure of Cosmos is *Cakkavāḷa*. But Cāttaṉār uses the nomenclature *Cakkiravāḷam* the Tamilized form of the Sanskrit word '*Cakravāḷa*' in his epic (VI-183, XXVI-52) to denote the complete system of Cosmos. Hence it is to be understood that he has followed the Sanskrit (=Mahāyāna) texts naming the group of world systems (It is essential to note that Pali was the official language of Hīnayāna, while Sanskrit for Mahāyāna]. The Buddhist cosmology in general depicted the entire universe in terms of a unitary and circular world system with its peculiar classification of regions, mountains, seas, continents, planets, stars, etc., According to the Yogācāra Buddhist texts, a single Cakravāḷa comprises thirty-one worlds which are again classfied into: 1. *Kāma dhātu* 2. *Rūpa dhātu* and 3. *Arūpu dhātu.*

Cāttaṉār closely follows the Sanskrit texts of the Yogācāra school in the delineation of Cakravāḷa which, according to him are innumerable, as deduced from the following :

eṇṇarum cakkaravāḷam eṅkaṇum (XXVI-52).

The attribute "eṇṇarum" may either mean "innumerable" or "unthinkable", thus indicating the unimaginable nature of the various world systems. The word Cakra literally means a circle or wheel and hence it connotes the shape of the individual world, being circular in its form. Bearing in mind the graphic description of the Cakravāḷa in the

Asanga's Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra and Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosa. Cāttanār has beautifully depicted the Cosmos.[27]

Mahāmeru, the great mountain which is also the navel of the earth is found in the exact centre of Cakravāḷa (VI 192-3). Ranged around Mahāmeru (at intervals between which are great oceans) stood seven circular rocks (VI-194). In the Buddhist texts they are called:

Yugandhara, Iśadhara, Khadiraka, Sudarśana, Asvakarma, Vinātaka and Nimimdhara.

Located in the outermost ocean and external to the last circular rock, existed the four great grand continents "māperumtīvu" (VI-195), one on each side of the world. They are known as :

1. Uttaraguru; 2. Pūravideha; 3. Aparagodānīya and 4. Jambudvīpa.

They existed respectively in the north, east, west, and south. The last island is very famous and frequently mentioned in Maṇimēkalai. It is popularly known by its Tamil equivalent '*Nāvalam tīvu*' (II-1, IX-17, XI-107, XV-20-21, XXII-29), and in one place but its Tamilized form '*Campu tīvu*' (XVIII-62). This is the ancient name to denote the whole subcontinent of India. It is named after the tree Jampu which grew largely there. In and around the four sides of the continents, many tiny islands were in existence. Cāttanār counted them two thousand (VI-196). They are further noted as "Far off islands" (XXV-224).

Each Cakravāḷa consisted of one sun and one moon with innumearble stars which rotate around the central mountain Meru. Due to their rotation, the division of time into days, nights, months, year, era, etc., is caused. References to the planets, stars and seasons are many in the epic. *Cāttanār* is well-versed in the Buddhist astronomy which does not vary much from that of the Hindus. It is essential to mention that the asterism Viśākha was counted as the middle of the twenty-seven stars during the period of *Cāttanār* as understood from the reference to the birth star of the Buddha (XI-40-43).

In conformity with the details found in Abhidharmakośa, *Cāttanār* has measured the distance by *yojanas* (VI-211-3, IX-21). A detailed classification of all the thirty-one worlds into three groups, viz., *Kāma*, *Rūpa* and *Arūpa dhātus* is found in Maṇimēkalai. Accordingly,

the lowest of the cosmic systems is called *Kāma dhātu* which means the worlds of desire. In this *dhātu*, there are eleven worlds which are inhabited by the different beings to experience the deserts of their deeds in a given birth. In them six types of lives are found. They are *narakas*, *ghouls*, *animals*, *human beings*, *Asuras* and *Devas*. They are endowed with consciousness and form (XXX-157). Some of the spheres are picturesquely portrayed in the epic.

Above the heavens of *Kāma dhātu* stood the heavens of the *Rūpa dhātu* which are also called the *Brahma* heavens. The residents of these higher regions assumed their bodies of consciousness without any outer forms (XXX-157). They are known as *Rūpa Brahmas* and their worlds are sixteen in number (VI-177).

Higher above the *Rūpa dhātu* stood *Arūpa dhātu* where the residents do not have either desire (*kāma*) and body (*rūpa*), but possess only consciousness, which is the Ultimate Reality in the Yogācara school (XXX 154-5).

In Buddhist cosmology, the creator of the universe is named "*Mahābrahma*". He was the supreme among all kinds of celestials. However, he was inferior to the ultimate Supreme Being, the Buddha. Cāttaṉār refers him by the epithets cemmalar mutiyōṉ (patikam, 29), i.e., "the old one seated on the red lotus" and "ūḻi mutalvaṉ" (VI-172), i.e., "the chief of the aeon". He had some unique power which was not shared by other celestials.

The orthodox influence in the Buddhist cosmology is not ruled out. However, after the arrival of the Brahmin converts like Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, some of the thoughts of the homogeneous systems are grafted in the mosaic of Buddhist speculations.

Another significant feature of Mahāyāna Buddhism is noticed in the exposition of logical and epistemological tenets developed especially by the Buddhist logicians, particularly of the Yogācāra school. Let us examine the logical thoughts as expounded in Maṇimēkalai.

VI. ASPECTS OF MAHAYANIST THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

Every system of Indian philosophy has developed its own theories of knowledge, which are essential not only to explore the existence and nature of objects but also to establish one's own views and refute the

doctrines of the opponents. It seems that the exponents of Theravada Buddhism did not evince keen interest in the study of logic and epistemology. Stcherbatsky, the eminent scholar of Buddhist logic, has emphatically stated that the subject of logic and epistemology was taught only in the schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism[28]. He has also mentioned that Hinayana Buddhists did not know the logical science.[29] Vidyabhushana has expressed the same view in his monumental work, History of Indian Logic (pp. 272-3). Maitreya, Asanga and Vasubandhu, the earliest exponents of Yogācāra school of Buddhism were the reputed authors of systematized Buddhist logic. G. Tucci, the great Buddhologist who retrieved the Buddhist texts on logic of the pre-Diññaga period from Chinese sources, has identified that the Mādhyamika school of Mahayāna Buddhism accepted four pramāṇas, viz., pratyakṣa (perception), anumāna (inference), upamāna (comparison) and Agama (verbal testimony) to be the valid sources of knowledge. Since the Madhyamikas were the pioneers of Buddhist logic it was quite natural that they were indebted much to the Naiyāyikas who were the first to advocate the theory of aforesaid four pramanas. According to Tucci, the Yogācāras of the formative period left out comparison and adopted the rest of the four sources of knowledge, since they envisaged that comparison could be brought under inference.[30]

However, the Yogācāras of the later period, who were known as Sautrantika Yogācāra considered that the first two pramāṇas, viz., pratyakṣa and anumāna were sufficient to cognize any object. Vasubandhu, who has been credited with the unique title, "Second Buddha", was the first among the Buddhist scholars to propound in his *Vadavidhi* and Vadavidhana the adequacy of the first two sources of knowledge. Tucci was the first to highlight this fact in his excellent book, *Pre-Diññaga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (p.XVII). Diññaga, the illustrious disciple of Vasubandhu, has stated in the introductory portion of his treatise on logic, known as *Pramāna Samuccaya* that perception and inference are the only two sources of knowledge. The portion under reference is presented here below:

pratyakṣam anumanam ca pramāṇam hi dvilakṣaṇam.

(Chapter I.1.)

According to Dinnāga and other followers of Sautrāntika Yogācāra school, the existence of every object can either be perceived directly or inferred indirectly, and hence apart from these two there is no other way of cognizing. In the same line, Cāttaṉār has clearly stated thus:

āti cinēntiran aḷavai iranṭē
ētamil pirattiyam karuttaḷavu enna (XXIX 47-8).

The substance of the above passage is this :

"The pramāṇas of Ādijinendra are just the two :
They are the defectless perception and inference".

Cāttanar has attributed the theory of two pramāṇas to Adijinendra which is a synonym of Adibuddha who is also called Ādinātha and Ādibhagavan, while the truth remains that the founder of Buddhism has nothing to establish a theory of pramāṇas. Some scholars[30a] considered that the usage Ādijinendra denoted Jinendrabodhi (A.D. 725). According to Vidyābhushana, Jinendrabodhi's work is known as Visālāmala-vatī-nāma-pramāṇa samuccaya-ṭīkā.

Further details either about the author or his book are not given in his "A History of Indian Logic" (p.323). Nowhere there is a mention that Jinendrabodhi has advocated the first two pramāṇas. Further it is essential to record that Cāttanar has also used the word Cinan, i.e., the Tamilized form of Jina to be the advocate of the theory of twofold pramāṇas in a different context (XXVII-81). Therefore, in the absence of sufficient data, it is not proper to equate Adijinendra of Maṇimēkalai with Jinendrabodhi of a very later period.

It is important to note that Cāttanār was accustomed to attribute the later theory of a particular system to the earliest known author. Let us quote some instances from the text Manimekalai to reveal this tendency of Cāttanār.

Jaimini, the founder of Mīmāmsa system has mentioned only three pramāṇas, viz., perception, inference and verbal testimony. Nevertheless, Cāttanār[31] has stated that Jaimini amitted six pramāṇas, which include comparison, implication and non-apprehension also. In making such a statement, Cāttanār projects actually the view of the commentator who may be Upavarśa or his successor, in the label of Jaimini himself. So also, when he[32] mentioned that Kaṇāda, the founder of Vaiśeṣika system has accepted five pramāṇas, he should have had in his mind only Prasastapāda, the earliest commentator (A.D. 450), whose bhāṣya on Vaiśeṣika-sūtra known as Padārtha-dharma Sangraha deals with the fivefold pramāṇas. Actually Kaṇāda has stated only two sources of knowledge in his original text.

We do not have any work of Kapila, the founder of Sāmkhya philosophy. But in Sāmkhyakārikā which is the earliest available work (A.D. 200), its author Isvara krṣṇa has dealt with only three pramāṇas, viz., perception, inference and verbal testimony. Here again, Cāttaṉār attributes to the founder Kapila to have admitted the threefold pramāṇas.[33] If we interpret in the light of the above illustrations, Ādijinendra or Jina who advocated the theory of twofold pramāṇas should not be the founder of Buddhism, but a later author who in all probability should be either Vasubandhu or his disciple Diññaga, since both of them were the earliest known Buddhist logicians to accept only the two pramāṇas, viz., perception and inference. Since Vasubandhu and Dinnāga are identified to be the eminent scholars of Yogācāra or Sautrañtika Yogācāra school, Cāttaṉār also should have been a staunch supporter of that branch of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The remaining pramāṇas which are accepted in other systems of Indian philosophy are subsumed by the Buddhist logicians under inference. In unison with their view, he too brought them under the category of *anumāna* (XXIX 55-6).

Some more points to establish the Mahāyānistic attitude of Cāttaṉār, especially of the Yogācāra school, are to be presented.

The definition of perception is identical both in Pramāṇa Samuccaya and Maṇimēkalai. Dinnāga defines perception to be free from imagination. The portion in Pramāna Samuccaya under reference runs thus:[34]

* Pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham (1.3.).

This passage is also quoted by the Naiyāyika commentator Uddyotakara in his Nyāyavārtika (1.1.4). Closely following Dinnāga, Cāttaṉār has given the following quotative sentence :

Cuṭṭuṇarvai-p-pirattiyakkam eṉaccolivittaṉar (XXIX 49-50).

The technical Tamil word "Cuṭṭuṇarvu" denotes the knowledge of the bare existence of an object without its adjuncts. It means the direct or presentative cognition. This kind of definition is also found in Dinnāga's works. The main purpose of perception is to make the object present to senses (Sākṣāt-kāritva-vyāpara), thereby indicating the indeterminate perception (i.e., Nirvikalpaka jñāna). The Naiyāyikas also

accepted the determinate perception (Savikalpaka jñāna), generated through fivefold sources, viz., name (nāma), genus (jāti), quality (guṇa), motion (kriyā) and substance (dravya) which were collectively called '*panchavidha kalpanā*' by Dinnāga and hence were excluded from the direct cognition. He has stated that these five descriptions are obtainable in the inference also. This view is also expressed by Cāttaṉār (XXIX 50-51).

The Trairūpya Theory

According to G. Tucci, Vāsubandhu's *Vādavidhi*, Dinnāga's *Pramāna Samuccaya* and Sāntirakṣita's *Tattvasamgraha* deal with the three aspects of a valid reason which constitute the *Trairūpya* theory.[35] The relation of the logical reason to the substratum of the inference on the one side, and to the similar and dissimilar cases on the other side, is expressed in the three rules of Vasubandhu. Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti also expatiated on the three aspects of valid reason. Also Cāttaṉār is proficient in the elucidation of this theory.[36] According these Buddhist logicians, the hetu, i.e., logical reason should be present on the subject (pakṣa) of the inference. This first rule is finely expressed in the Tamil line, "*moḻinta pakkattu ūṉṟi niṟṟal*," i.e., the necessary presence of the valid reason in the subject wholly. The second aspect of the said theory emphasizes on the essential presence of the valid reason in the sapakṣas (=similars) only. This rule of logical reason is efficiently expressed in the line, "*Capakkattu uṇṭātal*". The third rule stresses on the compulsory absence of the reason in the vipakṣas (=dissimilars). The third aspect is beautifully conveyed in the passage, "*vipakkattu iṉṟiyē viṭutal*".

These three rules of valid reason are adequately illustrated by Cāttaṉār.[37] Let us consider them briefly. For example:

Proposition	:	*sabdam anityam* (Sound is impermanent)
Reason	:	Because it is produced (*paṇṇapaṭutalāl*)
Example	:	Like the pot

In the above illustration, sound is the subject, i.e., pakṣa and anitya, i.e., impermanence is the predicate which is also known as sādhya, the thing to be proved. The adduced reason is that it is a product. In similar cases such as a pot, the reason, i.e., being a product is present. So,

the similar subjects are called *sapakṣa* or *otta pakkam*. Whatever is not impermanent is not produced like the ether. This is an illustration for *vipakṣa*, i.e., dissimilar.

So, the *Trairūpya* theory describes the fact that the valid reason should be present in *pakṣa* and *sapakṣa* only and should not be found in *vipakṣa*. *Specialists concluded that the said theory of valid reason is one of the significant contributions of Yogācāra Buddhist logicians to the realm of Indian logic, though the logicians of most of the homogeneous systems never inclined to accept it.* Next, let us pass on to deal with the classification of inference as upheld in the Yogācāra school.

With regard to inference, the classification of *svārtha* and *parārthānumānas* has been first made by Dinnāga. Inference for oneself, i.e., *svārthānumāna* denotes the process of indirect cognition for oneself. Inference for others, i.e., *parārthānumāna* indicates the process of transmitting one's inferential knowledge to others with the help of a syllogism. Cāttaṉār has also dealt with the twofold types of inference. Since he has elaborately presented the three kinds of logical fallacies, viz., *pakṣābhāsa*, *hetvābhāsa* and *dṛṣāntābhāsa*, which are only the faulty expressions, based on *pakṣa*, *hetu* and *dṛṣtānta* being the members of a syllogism which is meant for *parārthānumāna*, he has known well the two fold divisions of anumāna.[38]

The usual syllogism of the Nyāya system is made up of the following five members:

1. *Pratijnā* - statement or proposition
2. *Hetu* - reason
3. *Udāharaṇa* - example
4. *Upanaya* - application
5. *Nigamana* - conclusion

Even some Buddhist logicians including the author of Nyāyapraveśa have enumerated all the five members of a syllogism. However, the last two memebrs were considered by most of them to be superfluous. Cāttaṉār also had the same view, since he opined that both upanaya and nigamana should be treated under example.

Stcherbatsky established that the Naiyāyika term *pratijnā* was replaced by the word *pakṣa* for the first time by Dinnāga. Similarly, the word *Udāharaṇa* was substituted by the term *dṛṣṭānta* by the Yogācāra Buddhist logicians.[39] In Maṇimēkalai, only the Tamilized forms of the terms, viz., pakkam (=pakṣa) and tiṭṭāntam (=dṛṣṭānta) are found.[40] The *Naiyāyika* terms, viz., *pratijñā* and *udāharaṇa* do not find a place in the Tamil text.

It is essential to note that the logicians of the homogeneous systems who came after Dignāga have used the Buddhist technical terms pakṣa and dṛṣṭānta in their works.

One more striking point in the exposition of Buddhist logic consists in the presentation of logical fallacies. In this regard, there is more or less total agreement between Maṇimēkalai and Nyāyapraveśa, the author of which is said to be either the predecessor of Dinnāga or Dinnāga himself or his disciple. A detailed study on the concordance of the two texts under reference has already been made by the present author in his dissertation on Maṇimēkalai 30 years ago.[41]

So far we have seen that Cāttaṉār has dealt with the principles of Buddhist logic mainly representing the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Next, let us proceed to focus on the description of Pratitya samutpada (=Dependent orgination) as found in Maṇimēkalai and the texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

VII DESCRIPTION OF DEPENDENT ORIGINATION

The theory of Dependent Origination forms the cardinal tenet of Buddhism. The very first sermon that Buddha after his enlightenment preached in the Deer Park near Sarnath was on the *Paticca Samuppāda* which was known *Pratitya Samutpāda* in Sanskrit. Both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna admitted this theory as the basic principle to be understood both by the laity and clergy. According to this theory, everything has only a dependent origination and all things are conditioned by the relationship of cause and effect. *There is nothing to be called absolute, since everything is arising and vanishing, again becoming and flowing. Hence nothing is eternal. Everything that comes into existence is an effect from some cause which is again an effect of some cause and this process goes back to infinity. Therefore, there could not be a first cause. After expounding the theory of causation, the Buddha proclaimed that there was no agent either in the form of soul or God and boldly maintained that all things had only dependent orgination.*

There are twelve *nidānas* in the chain of *causation. Nidāna* literally means a base, ground or a cause. The twelve *nidānas* are the following :[42]

1. Ignorance (*avidyā*)
2. Dispositions (*samskāras*)
3. Consciousness (*vijñāna*)
4. Mind and body (*nāma-rūpa*)
5. Six spheres of sense (*saḍāyatana*)
6. Sense-contact (*sparśa*)
7. Sensation (*vedanā*)
8. Craving (*tṛṣṇā*).
9. Clinging (*upādāna*)
10. Becoming (*bhava*)
11. Birth (*jāti*) and
12. Disease, old age and death (*jarāmaraṇa*)

Each of them determines the posterior and anterior link in the chain of causation. If the cause is removed, it follows that the effect is automatically removed. The root cause for all suffereings is ignorance by the removal of which is attained liberation. It is a fact that no object has an autonomous existence. Due to some conditions and relations, things come into being. Hence the Buddha preached that a whole existed in relation to its parts and parts in relation to the whole. For this reason, the chain of causation is also known as bhava-cakra or wheel of becoming. *After explaining the theory of dependent origination, the Buddha rejected both the theory of creation of the Vedic faith and the theory of evolution of the Sāmkhyan thought.*

Nāgārjuna, the reputed founder of Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna Buddhism has given a wonderful description of Pratitya Samutpāda by utilizing eight negatives in the invocatory poem, placed at the beginning of his monumental work, *Mūlamādhyamakārikā.* According to this description, there is neither destruction (uccheda) nor origination (utpāda); neither discontinuity (nirodha); nor permanence (sāsvata); neither unity (ekānta); nor diversity (nānārtha); neither coming in (āgamana); nor going out (nirāgamana) in the principle of Pratiya samutpāda. The essence of this negative description of the dependent origination is effectively expressed by Cāttaṉār in the following passage:

ninmati inri ūlpāṭu inri -p-
pinpōkkallatu ponra-k-keṭātāy-p
pannunar inri -p-pannapaṭātay
yānum inri ennatum inri -p-
pōnatum inri vantatum inri -p-
muṭittalum inri muṭivum inri (XXX 37-42).

In the above passage, the Tamil word 'inri ' denotes negation. Cāttanār describes the dependent origination by employing twelve negatives. Perhaps he has elaborated what Nāgārjuna has stated. However, the negative description is common to both Nāgārjuna and Cāttanār. Let us translate the Tamil portion in the following order :

It has neither orgination nor cessation (XXX-37).
It is nothing but a series of continuous becoming without complete destruction (XXX-38)
It has neither an agent nor is it brought into being (XXX-39)
It is neither self nor is it possessed by a self (XXX-40)
It is neither going out nor coming in (XXX-41).
It is neither brought to fruition nor does it come to an end (XXX-42)

Though some negatives are found in Nāgārjuna's work, some others are original. However, the negative description is found only in the Mahāyāna works and hence the leaning of Cāttanār towards Mahāyāna should be borne in mind.

VIII. FOUR MARKS OF AŚUBHA BHĀVANĀ

Aśubha bhāvanā literally means the meditation on the impure aspects of a being. In Suttapiṭaka, the section that deals with the threefold characteristics is called *Tilakkaṇa Sutta*. It actually means *Trilakṣaṇa Sūtra*. The Buddha pointed out that everything is evanescent (anicca), sorrowful (dukkha) and without any soul (anatta), in order to refute the advocates of the soul theory (=*ātmavādins*). According to him, a sentient being is an aggregate of both physical elements known as rūpa skandha and psychical aspects known as nāma skandha. The former group determines the outer personality, while the latter group consisting of vedanā (feelings), saññā (abstract ideas), samskāra (impressions) and vijñāna (consciousness) determines the inner personality. These two groups co-exist just like the electrical and magnetic forces are found co-

present. Among the nāma skandhas, consciousness, i.e., vijñāna is cognitive, emotional and volitional. All the functions of a sentient being are actually performed due to the force of consciousness. After making this sort of analysis, the Buddha questioned what were the functions which were left out to be performed by the "soul". All the activities which are assigned to the soul are really performed by consciousness. Therefore, a soul without any function seemed to the Buddha an absurdity and hence he disproved the existence of soul. Henceforth, his doctrine was called *anātmavāda*, i.e., non-soul theory. *Anātma* is one of the threefold characteristics of a sentient being.

The advocates of the soul theory connoted the word *ātman* to mean independence, permanence and blissfulness. The Buddha refuted them, since these qualities of the so called *ātman* were not noticed either in the physical or psychical elements of a sentient being. These elements which constitute the human personality are really impermanent. There is nothing permanent or eternal in any being which is everchanging. All things are in constant flux. The Vedāntic schools argued that what was reality should be characterized by the eternality or permanence. They held that eternality was reality. But, the Buddha rejected that there was no such thing which had an eternal eistence, since all things were appearing and vanishing. Hence he maintained that impermanence was real. So, impermanence formed another characteristic of a being.

Nobody is happy. Even if some are happy, their happiness is not continuous and permanent. Sorrow characterizes all beings. It happens due to varios factors. It is ubiquitous and commonly seen in all sections of entire humanity. So, the Buddha attributed sorrow to be a mark of every being.

To sum up, impermanence (*anicca*), sorrow (*dukha*) and soullessness (*anatta*) are collectively called in Pāli *tilakkaṇa* which is known in Sanskrit *trilakṣaṇa*. After the period of the Buddha, some additions and accretions were made by the experts and exponents of the later ages. According to the Mahāyāna teachers Asvaghoṣa, Vasubandhu and Sāntideva, a fourth feature, viz., *aśuci* was attributed to the original theory of *tilakkaṇa*.[43] *Aśuci* denotes the impure and loathsome nature of beings. This fourth characteristic has been illustrated in various portions of Maṇimēkalai to educate the lusty people to withdraw from the pursuit of sensuous pleasure. Following the Mahāyāna teachers, Cāttaṉār has clearly stated the four marks (=*catur lakṣaṇa*) in the following passage :

anittam tukkam anāṉmā acuci-eña-t
taṉittu-p-pārttu-p-paṟṟu aṟuttiṭutal (XXX 254-5).

According to him, constant meditation on the aforesaid fourfold marks of a human being would help one to eradicate lust, the first among the cluster of threefold evils which stood as impediments on the path of nirvāṇa. The other two evils are hatred and illusion. The antidotes to them are also prescribed subsequently by Cāttaṉār.

It is essential to note that the four marks were called viparyāsas (=perversions) by Asavaghoṣa and Vasubandhu respectively in their works *Saundarānanda-kāvya* (XVII, 25) and *Mahāyāna Sūtrālankāra* (140.24). They also recommended the exercise of four *smṛtyupasthanas* to eliminate the fourfold perversions or wrong view, as noted above.

Cāttaṉār, through the voice of Bodhisattva Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ has instructed the various spiritual exercises including *aśubha bhāvanā* to remove the obstacles of liberation. These exercises are collectively known as *Brahma vihāras*. The conception of *Brahma Vihāra*, as upheld by Cāttaṉār deserves to be studied in the light of the materials available from the Mahāyāna sources.

IX BRAHMA VIHĀRAS

The term *Brahma Vihāra* has been explained in various ways. It denotes the sublime states of mind, being the excellent stages in the spiritual life of a Bodhisattva. They indicate the cultivation of four sublime feelings towards fellow creatures.[44] They are four in number 1. *maitri*; 2. *karuṇā*; 3. *muditā*; and 4. *upekṣā*.

Before directly proceeding to study the epic portion of Maṇimēkalai dealing with *Brahma vihāra*, it is useful to say a few words about each of them.

Maitri Bhāvana: The meditation of friendliness is called *maitri bhāvanā*. Out of goodwill and benevolent attitudes, one develops the feelings of friendliness towards his fellow beings. It is the ideal meditation of contemplating that all people including friends, foes and even unconnected persons should experience happines. One should be perfect to the extent of returning good even for the bad actions done by his enemies. This kind of meditation would change enmity into friendship. The epic heroine Maṇimēkalai exhibited great respect and kindness to

the Cola queen. Cirtti who vainly attempted to inflict all sorts of pains and troubles on her. Her friendly attitude miraculously transformed the ruthless queen into a benevolent person to reciprocate equal love and affection to Maṇimēkalai.

Maitri bhāvaṉā has been recommended to be the primary requisite to destroy hatred, the second impediment on the path of nirvāṇa.

Karuṇā Bhāvanā: *Karuṇā* means compassion. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, this feeling has been glorified very much. Kindness, love, pity, mercy and compassion should be shown towards the afflicted and unhappy beings. *Karuṇā* should follow by the gift of one's possession to the needy and poor. The compassion of a Bodhisattva is shown through his determination to enter into the hells in order to alleviate the sufferings of the *narakas*. This aspect of karuṇā is expressed in the following passage.

narakar tuyarkeṭa naṭappōy niṉṉaṭi (XI-69).

He should love all, like a mother loves her only child. The meditation of the universal pity is considered to be the second weapon to eradicate hatred and anger.

Muditā Bhāvanā: The meditation consists in the cultivation of sympathetic joy. The component parts of *muditā* are joy, faith, endurance and freedom from despondency, craving, jealosy, insincerity and hostility. *Muditā* also means contentment, delightfulness and appreciation. Avarice and ambition prohibit one's spritual growth. To counteract them, the exercise of *muditā* bhāvanā is essential. Softness and gentleness also form the nature of *muditā*. This meditation of sympathetic joy becomes the third and final weapon to uproot hatred and ill will.

Cāttaṉār refers in the following passage to all the aforesaid triple *bhāvanās* to exterminate the second impediment, i.e., hatred :

maitri karuṇā mutitai-y-eṉṟaṟintu
tiruntu nalluṇaravāl ceṟṟam aṟṟiṭuka (XXX 256-7).

Upekṣā Bhāvanā : The next meditation,viz., *upekṣā bhāvanā* denotes the contemplation of equanimity. One should develop the sense of balanced outlook and not be perturbed in the face of adversity and elated during the time of prosperity. There is no direct reference to this meditation in Maṇimēkalai, though the erudite editor Dr. U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar treated the following lines dealt with *upekṣā bhāvanā* :

curuti cintaṉā pāvaṉā taricaṉai
karuti uyttu mayakkam kaḷaika (XXX 258-9).

In the above lines *śruti* denotes listening to the teachings of the Buddha from a qualified preceptor. It also includes the study of Buddhist books. *Cintanā* refers to the cultivation of reflection, while *Bhāvanā* means meditation on the essence of supreme wisdom. The last aspect, *darśana* denotes the actual experience of the supreme knowledge. These four aspects, mentioned by Cāttaṉār constitute the perfection of supreme wisdom known as *prajnā pāramitā*, which eradicates the third and last obstacle, viz., delusion or illusion.

However, the Hīnayānists upheld that the cultivation of *Brahma vihāras* would result only in the attainment of a supreme birth in one of the heavens of Buddhist Cosmos. Nevertheless, the Mahāyānists believed that the same exercise would secure one salvation, i.e., *nirvāṇa*, the highest objective that a Buddhist would aspire. Since Cāttaṉār has clearly noted that the aforesaid spiritual exercises would annihilate the threefold impediments on the road to *nirvāṇa*, actually he has represented the Mahāyānist view.

Further, it is relevant to record that the Yogācāra, as the name suggests attached much importance to the practice of meditations. Hence, Cāttaṉār may be taken to represent the Yogācāra branch of Mahāyāna, in delineating the *bhāvanās*. Patanjali, in his Yogāsūtra has also dealt with the aforesaid *bhāvanās*. Hence, it is proper to suggest that such common aspects in the realm of philosophy are to be considered to belong to the national stock of Indian thought.

Next, let us pass on to pinpoint the reference to the core tenet of Yogācāra Buddhism in Maṇimēkalai.

X. THE REALITY OF CONSCIOUSNESS

Asaṅga and his younger brogher Vasubandhu were the historical founders of Yogācāra Buddhism. They were idealists, since they accepted only consciousness (=vijnāna) to be the ultimate reality. So, their doctrine was known as *Vijñānavāda*. They stressed on the means of yoga to the attainment of absolute bodhi or knowledge. It is their view that the objects seen in the external world are only the projections of the inward thoughts. Apart from thoughts arising out of the consciousness, there is

nothing real in the world. Their dictum, *sarvam buddhimayam jagat* discloses their idealistic view.

The Yogācāra Buddhists advocated the reality of vijnāna. *Skandha vijnana* is found in the individual being, whereas *ālaya vijñāna* denotes the endless consciousness. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan:[45]

"Ālayavijñāna is the absolute totality,orginality and creativity, unconditioned itself by time and space which are modes of existence of the concrete and empirical individuality... Ālaya becomes the universal subject and not the empirical self...."

We have the *skandha vijñāna*, which is the phenomenal effect of karma, and the *ālaya vijnāna*, which is the ever active, continuous, spiritual energy dwellling in all. The reality of the world depends on the latter. It is the opinion of the specialists that an absolute consciousness must exist for the objects to exist and be known.

Both *skandha vijnāna* and *ālaya vijnāna* are sometimes equated respectively with the *individual ātman* and the *absolute soul*, i.e., *Brahman*. This kind of equation should have been attempted by some thinkers who aspired to compromise Yogācāra with Advaita Vendānta. They also nicknamed Samkara, the official interpreter of Advaita, the Buddha in disguise.

However, Cāttaṉār clearly seems to be an idealist, since he has advocated at least in two contexts the reality of *vijnāna*. Let us briefly summarise them.

The Yogācāras are neither *satkāryavādins* nor *asatkāryavādins*. They follow a middle path. Though they accept the elements as the existing things, they opine that the consciousness (=vijnāna) which continuously operates the elements, should be the ultimate reality. This view of the *Yogācārins* finds lucid expression in the following passage :

uḷvaḻakku uṇarvē (XXX-208).

It means that "*reality is consciousness*."

Cāttaṉār refers to consciousness when he deals with the three divisions of dhātu. According to his account, the inhabitants in the Kāma dhātu possess both consciousness (=vijnāna) and form (=rūpa) --(XXX-157). Those living in the regions of rūpa dhatu have only bodies (=rūpa)

while their consciousness being subdued (XXX-156). The most evolved inhabitants of Arūpu dhātu do not have either desire or body, but possess the realization experiencing that consciousness alone is *Nirvāṇa* or liberation - *vīṭu* (XXX-154-5).

From the above account, it becomes clear that *vijnāna* (=*uṇarvu*) associated with the inhabitants of the first two dhātus may be treated as *skandha vijnāna* since they are tainted by gross and finer desires respectively. But, *vijnāna* of the highly perfected beings existing in the highest regions of the *Arūpu dhātu* is considered to be the Ultimate Reality and the realization of this reality remains to be *Nirvāṇa*, the summum bonum of Buddhist life. According to Yogācārins :

"*Nirvāṇa* is purification of mind, its restoration to its primitive simplicity or radiant transparency"[46].

This definition is well suited to what Cāttaṉār has stated in his epic with regard to *Nirvana* (XXX 154-5).

Conclusion

As a result of the study carried out in the foregoing pages, it becomes very clear that the principles of Buddhism as embalmed in Maṇimēkalai mainly belonged to Mahāyāna. Theistic aspect, and the conception of Trikāya find vivid expression in the Buddhist Tamil epic. The salient features of esoteric Buddhism, being an offshoot of Yogācāra are delineated by Cāttaṉār. The cult of Bodhisattvas is very well established. Cāttaṉār has been guided by Asanga and Vasubandhu, the masters of Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the portrayal of Buddhist Cosmology. Similarly, he has expounded the logical and epistemological tenets of the Yogācāras of the later period. His descriptions of Dependent Origination and spiritual exercises disclose the fact that he has been a Mahāyānist. Since he has advocatted Vijnāna to be the Absolute Reality, he has been an idealist. Yogācāra and Vijnāvāda denote the same system, adopted by the author of Maṇimēkalai.

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TANTRIC BUDDHISM IN TAMIL LITERATURE

Introduction

Buddhism is the essence of Buddha's intelligence and experience. His quest for a solution to the problems of life led him to the discovery of Four Noble Truths, viz., *Dukkha, Dukkha samudaya, Dukkha nirodha* and *Dukkha nirodha marga.* It is often said that Buddhism is the old wine of Hinduism put in a new bottle. Such a statement undermines the significance of Buddhism and runs against the originality and individuality of Buddha. Buddha is unique in several respects. By birth he was a Hindu. But he revolted against Hinduism, just like Jesus Christ, who by birth was a Jew but turned against Judaism. Buddha repudiated the Vedic authority, ridiculed animal sacrifices, rejected the priestly supremacy, rebuked the superstitious beliefs and reviled the caste system. Hailing from a martial royal family, he advocated out of immense compassion the principle of abstinence from slaughtering living beings. In the annals of mankind, Buddha was the first to preach social equlity. Also he was the earliest founder of Sangha, the engine of propaganda to popularise his doctrines. Buddhism is the only Indian religion that spread widely in the overseas, both in the west and in the east. It has been the source for the germination of enormous literature, paintings and sculputure, leave alone the various branches of metaphysics.

Four Phases of Buddhism

In the historical march of Buddhism, the Buddhologists have so far identified three phases of growth. The earlier Buddhism embodies mainly the ethical teachings of Buddha. He neither entered into the logical cobwebs nor entertained the metaphysical subtleties. His concern was with the day-to-day life of the people. Hence, he solely emphasised the ethical norms known as *Śilas,* and emphatically expressed that enlightenment is essential to be emancipated from the entanglement of embodied existence. So, in the first phase of Buddhism ethics occupies an important place. After the *Parinibbana* of Buddha, his teachings and sayings have been elucidated and elaborated by the exponents in their

own ways just to meet the requirements of the different types of followers and hence arose various sects and sub-sects which are usually subsumed under the two main divisions, viz., the *Hīnayāna,* the lesser Vehicle and the *Mahāyāna,* the greater Vehicle. The prominent systems that come under the first group are the *Sautrāntika* and *Vaibhāṣika,* whereas in the second group the *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* are included. Hence in the second phase of Buddhism, metaphysical enquiries and sepculative thoughts preponderate over the other aspects of Buddhism. In the third stage, logic and epistemology engaged the attention of the eminent scholars like Vasubhandu, Dignāga, Cāttaṉār, Dharmakirti and others.

There is one more stage which witnessed the advent of a popular cult known as *Tantricism* which spread not only in India, but also in the South East Asia. *Tantricism* is a common cult associated with *Śaktism, Śaivism* and also Buddhism. *Tantras* and *Vedas* reflect two different streams of Indian thought. According to Dr. A.P. Karmarkar, *Tantric* thoughts and practices, being native are more ancient than *Vedic* thoughts and ceremonies.

Before directly proceeding to deal with the *Tantric Buddhism* as noticed in Tamil Literature, it is essential to briefly outline the semantic significance of the word *Tantra* and the subject-matter cum objectives embodied in the *Tantra Sastras.*

The Meaning of Tantra

Tantra primarily denotes a text or *āgama.* The various techniques of treatises are often spoken as *Tantrayuktis* or *Nulpuṇarppu* in the Tamil grammatical tradition. *Arthaśāstra* also refers to the same. According to Lalan Prasad Singh, *Tantra* denotes a system of philosophy and as such the *Sāṅkhya* system and *Pūravamīmamsa* are respectively known as *Kapila tantra* and *Jaimini tantra,* giving prominence to the founders or the earliest exponents of these systems.[1] H.P. Sastri opined that *Tantra* meant shortening, abbreviation, i.e., reducing into something like algebraic forms, *mantras,* or formulae that would otherwise run to scores of syllables. John Woodroffe, a great authority on the *Sakta Tantric* cult, on the basis of *Kāmikāgama* explained *Tantra* to be a system of text which promulgated profound matters concerning *tattva* and *mantra.*

1. Lalan Prasad Singh, *Tantra - Its Mystic and Scientific Basis* (Delhi, 1976)p.1.

Scholars also derive the word *tantra* from the root *'tan-tāyati'* meaning that which protects those who practise it, just like *mantra,* meaning that which guards one who meditates on it. The root *'tan'* also means expansion. *Tantra Śāstras* provide a spiritual path leading to the expansion of one's own mental objectivity which enables one to increase the area of mental projection.

Reference to Tantra in Tamil Literature

Tantra and *mantra* seem to be interrelated words frequently used in the Tamil devotional hymns known as *Tēvāram.* Tiruñāna Campantar (650 A.D.) extols the efficacy of *Tiruniṟu (vibhūti)* the sacred ashes, to be a *sādhana* to achieve all ends of life. It is the *mantra* and *tantra.* It means that *vibhūti* itself confers on the votaries the good effects of *mantra and tantra*[2]. His elder contemporary, Saint Tirunavukkaracar mentions that Lord Śiva Himself assumes the form and function of *mantra, tantra* and even medicine to cure the incurable disease of transmigration, thus enabling the devotees to be freed from the cycle of birth and death, ultimately realising the supreme bliss[3]. *Tirumantiram* (500 A.D.), the earliest extant *Tantra Śāstra* in Tamil is said to be the quintessence of nine Śaiva *āgamas,* and it contains nine parts, each of which is styled as *tantra.* Like the *Guhyasamāja Tantra,* ascribed to Asanga, containing some esoteric veiled utterances, the 17th portion of the ninth *Tantra* in *Tirumantiram* contains some riddle-like sayings which are collectively named *Śunya Sambhāṣaṇā* (சூனிய சம்பாஷணை) which means one thing at the surface level and conveys an elevated and excellent sense at the deeper layers. *Śūnya Sambhāṣanā* literally means a conversation through the medium of silence. Even Lord Śiva as *Dakṣināmūrti* is said to have manifested Himself in the form of a very young preceptor teaching the esoteric significance of the scriptures to the very old disciples through the language of silence. *Tolkāppiyam* the earliest extant Tamil grammar (500 B.C.) refers to the existence of *Mantra* literature and also the riddle-works, known as *Pici.*[4] The nature of these literary compositions is not clearly understood, since the works on these aspects, referred to by the author are not preserved. *Cilappatikāram* (300 A.D.) provides sufficient materials to study the *Śakti Tanstricism* as prevailed in South India.

2. *Tevaram,* II. 66.1
3. Ibid, VI. 54.8
4. *Tolkappiyam, Poruḷatikāram (Kaḻakam edition),* Sūtras, 384, 467, 478, 480

Coming to the medieval period, some aspects of *Śakta Tantra* are found in Oṭṭakkūttar's *Takkayākapparaṇi* (1150 A.D.) and its commentary. In *Triuppukaḻ* (1400 A.D.) also some more information on *Śakti Tantricism* is found, Tāyumāṉavar, (1700 A.D.) addresses his divine preceptor known as *'Maunaguru'* who has been an adept in *Mantras* and *Yoga tantras,* hailing from the tradition of Tirumūlar, the father of Tamil *Tantricism* as presented in his monumental treatise, *Tirumantiram* (lit. meaning the Divine *Mantra).* All these references indicate strongly the existence of *Tantricism,* conducive to the tradition of the Tamils.

In the common parlance of the Tamils, *tantra* means trick, cleverness etc., and thus its connection with the magic spells and miracles is not out of place.

The Subject-matter of the Tantras

At the outset, the *Tantras* may be considered to contain a system of black magic. *Mantra* (esoteric formulae) *Yantra* (mystic diagrams), *Cakra or mandala* (lit. circles), *Mudras* (poses) etc., and the accessories associated with them form the major theme of *Tantra Śāstras.* Along with the male gods, their appropriate female principles were also introduced. In the Śaiva tradition, Śiva is the absolute male-principle and Śakti forms the female-principle. They are in the relationship of substance and attribute *(guṇaguṇi sambandha).* The first one is transcendental while the second one is immanent. They also represent respectively the static and dynmic aspects of the Absolute Reality. In the Buddhist tradition, usually *Prajñā* (supreme wisdom) and *Mahākaruṇā* (immense compassion) form the dichotomy of divinity. Every Buddha or Bodhisattva is represented with a female deity thus forming the universal father and mother. This aspect of Buddhism seems to be due to the influence of the Śaiva *tantras.*

According to the *Tantric* texts which prescribed the mode of temple construction and the method of idol worship, the idol or the image of the presiding deity is to be installed in the central sanctum sanctorium, surrounded by the idols of the petty gods. In conformity with this *tantric* tradition, Buddha was depicted in *Maṇimēkalai* to be the supreme divinity always occypying a prominent place encircled by the celestails and minor gods including those of the Hindu pantheon, suggesting His spiritual supremacy over other gods. The Buddhist temples and paintings also bear testmony to this *tantric* convention.

There are two schools in the *Tantra* cult popularly known as *Vāmacāra,* the leftist and the *Dakṣiṇācara,* the rightist. The former sect seems to be the extremist group that advocated the practice of five M's, viz., *madu* (liquor), *matsa* (fish), *māmsa* (flesh) *mudra* (mysterious movements or poses) *maithuna* (sexual union) for the fulfilment of *Tantric sādhana.* Those who understood these five *makaras* in a literal sense were held responsible for the degradation and decadence of the faith. According to the specialists, the five M's were to be realised as esoteric symbols, the meaning of which could be obtained only through initiation by the preceptors who were adepts in the discipline. Sir John Woodroffe spared no pains to establish that the practices enunciated in the *Tantra Śāstras* were not immoral, and at the deeper levels they conveyed a very good sense to the spiritual development of a practitioner *(Sadhaka).*

In the *Dakṣiṇācāra,* the leftist practices are not permitted. Only the aspects of devotion and meditation have been inculcated and through these means one should obtain the aims and ends of life.

It is important to state that *Tattvasaṁgraha,* a well known Buddhist *Tantra Śāstra,* contains four sections, viz., 1. *Vajra-dhātu* (Diamond or thunderbolt realm), 2. *Trilokyavijayam* (Conquest of the three-fold worlds), 3. *Jagad Vinaya* (the virtues to be cultivated by the world) and 4. *Siddhārtha* (accomplishment of various objects). This text unflods the *tantric* ways and means to obtain the earthly benefits and enormous wonder - working powers.[5]

The Objectives of Tantricism

Through the means enforced by the *Tantra Śāstras,* the practitioner would get the four-fold aims of life., viz., *Dharma* (virtue), *Artha* (opulence), *Kāma* (pleasure) and *Moksa* (liberation) which are collectively called the *Purushartas,* The innumerable attainments known as *Siddhis* like atomization, levitation, magnification, clairvoyance, ability to enter into another body, mastery over natural forces etc., are also effected through *tāntric* practices. There are four bases of wonder-working power, viz., 1. *Chanda,* a strong will, 2. *Citta,* thought, 3. *Virya,* energy and 4. *mīmāmsa,* investigation, which are collectively named *Ṛddhi-pādaḥ.* The unification of these bases with the moulding forces of concentration and effort would help a *bodhisattva* to achieve supernatural powers which

5. F.D. Lessing & A. Waymen, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* (Delhi, 1978). pp. 217-19

could be utilised not only for his own benefit, but for the common weal. Lalitavistara compares an accomplished *bodhisattva* to a chariot dragged by wisdom and mindfulness.[6]

Those who attained *siddhis* are called *siddhapuruṣas* who are 84 in number in the Buddhist tradition. Even in Jainism, Siddha is mentioned with all reverence. He is one among the *pañcaparameshṭins.* The Siddha tradition is also found in Śaivism. Lord Śiva Himself is adored as a Siddha. Tirumūlar according to his own statement belongs to the school of *Nātha Siddhas.* He practised the *Tāntric* meditation under the shade of a *bodhi* tree which is named Śiva *bodhi* at Tiruvāvaṭuturai in Tamilnadu.[7] The phrase, *"cērntiruntēn"* in his utterance indicates the etymological sense of the word *yoga* which means to get united, to become one with, to be yoked etc., He absorbed in *yoga* for years together under the banyan tree, like Buddha. The various *cakras* and *mantras* found in his treatise *Tirumantiram* deserve a special study. It is clear that the *mantras* when properly repeated would do wonders such as curing the chronic diseases, prevention from impending dangers etc., Tāyumāṉavar has devoted one section to sing the glory of the *Siddhars,* and this portion of his poetic work throws much light on the nature of the group of the accomplished persons, *"Cittar kaṇam".*

Not only the material benefits, but even the supreme and eternal bliss would be attained through the constant practice of *Tantra Sādhanas.* The *Tantric* mysticism indicates an evolved state of consciousness in which the sensations, ideas, concepts, the duality of subject-cum-object relationship etc., are completely vanished.[8] Mind has no locus and it is emptied and thus emancipated. Actually the mind is elevated to an exalted position of pure consciousness ready to enjoy the eternal bliss.

The Significance of Sexual Union

In *Tantricism,* sexual union is recommended as a good means for the realisation of the Absolute. In Buddhist *tantricism,* the queen of all great *mantras* is considered to be *"Om maṇi padmē hūm"* which literally means that the gem or bell is fixed in the lotus. This *mantra* should have

6. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1932), pp. 104-106
7. *Tirumantiram* (Kasi madam edition) 1968, Verse, 79
8. Lalan Prasad Singh, op, cit, p.x.

originally conveyed the sexual sense. In this incantation, the words *maṇi andpadma* respetively indicate (symbolically) the male and female organs, viz., *linga* and *yoni,* reflecting the unification of the divine male and female principles like *Avalokitesvara* and *Tārā,* being the personification of spiritual wisdom and limitless compassion. Even at the empirical level, sexual union is not totally despicable, and need not be taken as a sin. If properly administered, it helps one to purge out the beast in human psyche and thus enable one to get purified. To quote A.L. Basham, "the occasional debauchery served as a catharsis to his evil psychological propensities and was of real help to one in leading the good life as one understood it."[9] The polarity symbolism on the physical level seems to be the union of male and female, and on the ethical stand appears to be the beneficial activity and insight into the appreciation of what there is as it is, and on the philosophical level appears as the dynamic aspect of enlightenment as absolute Being and absolute Compassion.[10]

It is heartening to note that in the Tamil Śaiva tradition,[10a] the Lord is extoleed to be in the form of *Bhoga.* i.e., indicating the union or oneness of Śiva and Śakti, simultaneously performing *yoga* (vide, *pōkattāṉ yōkattaiyē purintāṉē).* Lord Śiva assumes *Bhoga rūpa* in order to enable the fertility of all beings. Sundarar's indulgence with his lady love, Paravai has been descibed as constant absorption regulrly practised for days together.[11] *Bhoga* is meant not only for fertilizaion but also for developing one-pointendess which is essential and indispensable for spiritual maturity. Even in the act of sexual union, mind should not wander. In order to effect the cessation of mental disturbance, this kind of oneness is appreciated. Kampan, the great epic poet (1000 A.D.) compares the sitting together of Rama and Sita in the wedding dais to the intermingling of *Bhoga* and *Yoga,* suggesting that both are complementary and not contrasting to each other.[12]

So, sexual union as a *Sādhana* is not at all derogatory and detestable. It is evident that any *Sādhana,* not to speak of sexual union, will be of immense help, if it is directed towards the achievement of a noble cause.

9. A.L. Baham, *The Wonder that was India* (Delhi, 1981), p.283
10. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Volume 3. p.438
10a. Devāram III 125.7
11. *Periyapūraṇam, 1.5.181*
12. *Kamparāmāyaṇam* (Murray edition), 1.23.85

One more interpretation is also given by the specialists to the Buddhist *Tantric Mantra, "Om maṇi padmē hūm" Padma* literally means lotus, and in its extension of meaning indicates the lotus -like heart. Even Parimēlaḻakar explains the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* phrase, *'malarmicai ēkiṉāṉ'* - as the one who exists in the lotus-like heart. The word *maṇi* in the above *mantra* suggests the soul. In the *Tevāram* of Appar, we have such a usage.[13] So, the whole *mantra* may be taken to mean the realisation of the Absolute in one's inner-most consciousness. The famous advice, 'Search for yourself' is commonly found in almost all the world religions, and this inducement for enlightenment is traced in the *mantra* under reference.

After having understood the objectives of *Tantric* Buddhism, we are naturally tempted to know its origin and then its position in the available Buddhist Tamil classics, and also in the polemic Tamil works of Saivism and Jainism, which deal with some of the aspects of Buddhism.

Tantric Buddhism-Its Origin

Buston, who has made a thorough study of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur tantric* texts in Tibetan language, attempted to explain that the two prominent *Hīnayāna* schools, viz., *Sautrāntika* and *Vaibhāṣika* respectively adopted the *Caryā* and *Kriyā* portions of *Tantras,* whereas the two important brances of *Mahāyāna,* viz., the *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* respectively followed the *Anuttarayoga* and *yoga* parts of the same texts.[14] But many scholars differed from him. There may be some stray references to *Tantric* thoughts in the *Hinayāna* texts. Even the rare feats of wonder-working powers of Buddha himself are mentioned in them. But, that does not mean that the old schools admitted and advocated *Tantricism. Only in the Mahayana Buddhism, the Tantric cult has been nurtured and nourished.* According to Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Vajrayāna* (i.e. *Tantricism)* is a direct development of the *Yogācāra* philosophy of *Mahāyāna Buddhism.*[15]

Asanga (350 A.D.) is considered to be the traditional founder of *Tantric Buddhism.* He was initiated by *Maitreya* into the mystic doctrine of the *Tantras.* The *guhyasamaja tantra,* the earliest extant work on the

13. *Tevaram,* IV, 76.4
14. F.D. Lessing & A. Waymen, op. cit. pp.1-2
15. A.L. Bahsam, op. cit. pp. 281-2

system, is generally ascribed to him. The teachings of Buddha in his human form *(Nirmāṇa kāya-Mānushi Buddha)* are very clear, easily intelligible and hence considered to be exoteric. But, his utterances in Dharmākaya, otherwise known as *Dhyāni Buddha* are very subtle, and hence they are regarded to be very important in *Tantric Buddhism* to attain the perfect knowledge which will lead one not only to get supreme powers but also supreme bliss.

According to some scholars, Nagārjuna II (500 A.D.) was initiated in the mystic doctrine by a Hindu sage Vajrasattva who resided in an Iron Tower perhaps in Kāñcipuram in South India. This Nāgārjuna should be a different person from the one, who was the founder of *Mādhyamika Buddhism.* Nagarjuna II instructed the *Tantric* principles to his disciple *Nāgābodhi,* who in turn taught the same to his disciple Vajrabodhi who is considered to be a native of Kāñcipuram. Vajrabodhi transmitted the wisdom to his student Amoghavajra. It is said that both Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra carried the *Tantric yoga* system to China in 720 A.D., and taught the same to the Chinese scholar, Hui-Kuo from whom the Japanese saint Kukai received the learning.[16] Thus, the *Tantric Buddhism* was disseminated in the Far East.

It is pleasant to note that like *Dhyāna Buddhism* which was carried to China by the great Buddhist monk Bodhidharma, a prince of the Pallava king of Kāñci., the *Tantric Buddhism* also was introduced to the same country by the Buddhist monks of Kancipuram.

Other Names of Tantric Buddhism

Tantric Buddhism is also called *Tantrayāna, Mantrayāna* and *Vajrayāna. Tantrayāna* means the vehicle of *Tantras,* i.e. *Tantras* form the vehicle to carry the followers to the destination of eternal bliss. Since the path of *mantra* occupies an important place in the *Tantric Buddhism,* it is also known as *Mantrayāna.* In the *Theravāda,* salvation is to be worked out by the earnest efforts of the individual. In the *Mahāyāna,* there was place for grace from the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. But, in the *Tantric Buddhism,* liberation from the bonds is made possible through the acquisition of unusual powers which are called Vajra i.e., thunderbolt or diamond symbolising the strength of power.[17] *(Vajracetika-* the

16. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Delhi, 1978), p.31
17. A.L. Basham, op.cit. pp. 281-2

Diamond Cutter is a famous Buddhist work translated into Chinese). Hence, the *Tantrayana* is also named *Vajrayana*. In *Vajrayāna, Nirvāṇa* had three elements, viz., *Śunya, Vijñāna* and *Mahāsukha*. The combination of these three was termed *Vajra*, and hence the name *Vajrayāna*.[18] In this branch of *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, the good qualities of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were personified as the goddesses. As we have already noted, perhaps due to the contact of Śaiva and Śakti *Tantras*, the principle of a female divinity has been attached to each Buddha and Bodhisattva. The importance of the divine energy known as Śakti was stressed in getting the favour of the Absolute. Generally, the female principle is known as *Tārā* (lit. meaning one who helps to cross the ocean of misery). Since the evil spirits such as *paisācis* (demonesses), *yoginis* (sorceresses) and *dakinis* (she-ghowls) are endowed with extraordinary forces, they are to be propitiated and appeased. Through the *sādhana* of *yantra* and *mantra*, the practitioner should proceed properly to invoke the blessings of the divinities so that he would compel them to bestow the wonder - working powers on him. In the Tamil classics, traces of *Tantric Buddhism* are found. Let us proceed to explore the possible evidences to its existence in the Tamil country.

In the Tamil Classics

In the Tamil country, it seems that the *Tantric Buddhism* should have been existed at least from the latter half of the fifth century A.D. An attempt is made here to investigate the Tamil sources which contain some stray and scanty references to the prevalence of *Tantric Buddhism*. Let us commence our survey from the pre-modern period going upward to the times of the Buddhist epic *Manimekalai* (500 A.D.).

Aruṇagirinātar (1450 A.D.) begins one of his *Tiruppukal* songs with the phrase, *"Kalaikoṭu Pauttar"* which denotes the Buddhists having sufficient knowledge in different arts which include the magic art, a part of *Tantric* Buddhism. But this reference seems to be a far-fetched one, since there is no direct indication to this branch of Buddhism in his poems. Anyhow, this reference indicates the existences of the heretic Buddhists in the Tamil country during his life-time.

18. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* (Delhi, 1980), pp.27,33

In *Civañāṉacittiyār parapakkam* (1250 A.D.), the doctrines of the four major systems of Buddhism, viz., *Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣika, Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* are presented and refuted. Though *Tāntric Buddhism* is considered to be an offshoot of *Yogācāra* school, there is no clear reference to it in the text under reference.

But, when we come to the Jian Tamil epic *Nīlakēci* (900 A.D.), the commentator indicates the existence of three types of Buddhism *viz., Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna* and *Mantryāna.*[19] The epic characters Kundalakesi, Arkachandra and Mokkala (i.e. Maudkalyana) belong to *Śrāvakayana* which is mentioned as a branch of *Hinayana* according to the *Mahāyana* texts. The commentary runs thus: *'Cirāvakayāṉattārākiya ninkaḷ oḻiyā'*. The remaining two schools viz., *Mahāyāna* and *Mantrayāna* have been seriously criticized by both the author and the commentator who effectively exposed the folly of the followers of these two schools. Among the drawbacks of the followers of these two schools, pointed out by them are the consumption of intoxicating drinks and meat-eating. We have already seen that *Mantrāyana* is a synonym for *Tantric Buddhism.* So, it is clear that the polemic Jain Tamil epic deliberately attacks it, bringing forth its bad practices which are enumerated in the list of *pañcamakaras,* that occupy a prominent position in the practices of *Tantric Śadhakas.* There is also a wholesale condemnation of *maithuna* i.e. sexual intercourse. So it is reasonable to conclude that *Mantrayāna,* according to the commentator should have existed during the period of the epic (900 A.D.). Though *Mantrayāna* is a branch of *Mahayāna,* the commentator has referred to the former separately, recognising the special status that it commanded from its followers.

In the Tevaram Hymns

If we push back still further to the period of Tiruñāna Campantar (650 A.D.), almost in the tenth hymn of every *padigam* (decade), there is reference both to the Buddhists and Jains condeming their customs and doctrines. Campantar conducted successful disputations with them, and with the divine help, he subdued and supplanted them. In one context, he mentions about six kinds of *Teeras* and their indentification has been attempted in a different article by the present author. Among them, the

19. *Nilakeci* (Prof. Cakkaravartti Nayinar Edition), Verse 342 and its commentary.

Tantric group is also found.[20] He reviles and repudiates their magic works as *'Indrajāla'* and advises the people to get away from them in order to get the divine bliss. *Tāntric* knowledge is branded by him as *'antara ñānam'*, i.e. *aprajñāna* which is not considered by him as absolute knowledte. He also calls it, *'alivatōr viccai'*. *Viccai* means learning, knowlege, magic power and incantation. According to *Campantar,* these are ephemeral and evanescent and thus he rebukes the magic practices of the *Tantric Buddhists.* It is to be borne in mind that Campantar himself demonstrated some miracles in order to undo the calamities of the affected Śaiva devotes. But he did not adopt the *Tantric* method to work out the wonders. Only with the divine grace, was he fully competent to surmount all the hurldes spontaneously. As his name suggestes, he was the embodiment of all wisdom. He also condemns the Buddhists, who though preached abstinence from killing living beings consumed meat and flesh. This habit is usually attributed to the *Tāntric Buddhists.* In this context, it is appropriate to mention that Itsing, the Chinese intinerant, who travelled in South India has recorded a fascinating account of a Buddhist novice, who was refused ordination by his master, just because the former did not like to take even the prescribed three pure kinds of meat.[21]

In the Epic Manimekalai

When we come to the period of the Buddhist Tamil epic *Manimekali* (450-500 A.D.), many evidences are available to prove the existence of *Tāntric Buddhism* in South India. Among the various Buddhist characters of the epic, one Buddhist monk is known as Cātucakkaraṉ (Sādhu Cakra). The word *Cātu* indicates a recluse or a serence person. Cakkaraṉ denotes one who carries with him a *cakra* or *maṇḍala* which means the mystical diagram in the form of a circle, inscribed with some mystic symbols and syllables. With the help of the mystic power, he used to wander in the air, simultaneously wielding the wheel of righteousness. It so happened that he had purposefully descended down to the grove where he had been honoured and politely fed by Ilakkumi who in her subsequent birth became Manimekalai. It is also made clear that feeding a sādhu will cut asunder the root of birth.[22] From

20. S.N. Kandaswamy, *Tamiḻum Tattuvamum,* (Madras, 1976), p.291
21. Ibid, p.281
22. S.N. Kandswamy, *Buddhism as Expounded in Manimekalai,* (Annamalai University, 1978), pp.60-61

this account of the Buddhist epic, it is reasonable to suggest that during the time of the epic, there should have been adepts practising the *Tāntric Buddhism.*

The same epic unfolds the fact that Buddha himself was accredited with limitless accomplishments *(Siddhis)* which include the wonder - working powers.[23] The characters, the staunch devotees of Lord Buddha are also endowed with the supernatural powers. An accomplished *chāraṇa* would go into the bowels of earth, ascend the space and wander in the waters.[24] Kaṇṇaki, the goddess of chastity, while addressing in an aerial voice to the epic heroine Manimekalai, mentions that with the blessings of Buddha, she and her husband Kovalan would do many wonders for a long time to all kinds of people.[25] Again in another context, the epic mentions about the Dharma Chāraṇars who move in the dark clouded space. They are actually returning through the air from the *Samanta paravata* of Sri Lanka, after offering worship at the lotus feet of Buddha enshrined in the hill. Now they get down in a garden in the Chera Kingdom in order to instruct the Chera king the basic principles of Buddhism.[26] It is not possible to conclude that whereever the supernatural powers of the Buddhist characters are spoken of, they are due to the *Tantric cult,* since even before its advent, such rare powers are mentioned in the Buddhist literature of both *Hinayāna* and *Mahāyāna.* Nevertheless, frequent references in the epic to the magic practices and the performance of miracles do not exclude the possibility of the prevalence of *Tantric Buddhism* during the period of the epic. Also it is to be noted that this new branch of Buddhism could not have come into existence all on a sudden, and it should have attained its final state, only after germinating from the seeds of older schools.

Female Deities

It is essential to note that in the Buddhist pantheon, the female deities were introuduced only in the *Mahayana* school, especially in the *Tantrayāna.* The goddesses being the guardian deities are also mentioned in the *Tantric* works. In *Manimekalai,* we come across three goddesses

23. Manimekalai, 21, 165-167
24. Ibid, 24. 46-47
25. Ibid, 26. 60-61
26. Ibid 28. 109-110

with special assignment of service under the command of Indra who has been a staunch devotee of Lord Buddha. Campāpati was the *nagaradevatā* or guardian deity of kavirippūmpaṭṭiṉam (in Pali works this port city is called Kaverapaṭṇa), whereas, Manimekalā *teyvam* and Tīvatilakai were respectively looking after the sea and islands. Whenever a sincere Buddhist was affected, these deities rushed to his or her rescue. They were also endowed with supernatural powers and extraordinary knowledge of looking backwards and forwards into both space and time. Even in the land, the sea goddess helped the heroine.

The Significance of Three Mantras

A more reliable and vital reference to the existence of *Tāntric Buddhism* is traceable in *'Mantiram Koṭutta kātai'*-the chapter that deals with the context of initiating Manimekalai into the specific mantras by the saviour goddess Manimekalā *teyvam*. But there is no elaborate description of the rituals, *cakras, mudras* etc., associated with the initiation. The goddess should have spelt the *mantras* in her ears, as could be inferred from the epic lines, *"mantiram koṭkeṉa vāymaiyiṉ ōti"* and *"āṅkatu koṭuttu"*.[27] The words *ōtutal* and *kotuttal* throw some light on the nature of initiating the *mantras*. Further, magic spells are called *"māyaviñcai mantiram"* and *"nāviyal mantiram"* respectively indicating the mantra which would work wonders of illusory nature, and the nature of uttering the *mantra*.[28] It should not be spelt out loudly and it should be uttered within the tongue.

In order to enable the epic heroine Manimekalai to boldly undertake the social service of feeding the destitutes, and to avoid the obstacles on her spiritual sojourn, Manimekalā *teyvam* offered her three *mantras* (incantations) which could effect the following three benefits:

1. The ability to assume any form at will.
2. The ability to travel in the air.
3. The ability to appease hunger.

Let us consider how these abilities helped the heroine to get over the difficulties that she happened to face.

27. *Manimekalai,* 10, 82, 92
28. *Manimekalai,* 18. 148; 23-52

1. To assume any form

The first incantation initiated by the goddess is to take any form to manage the turbulent situations. The goddess felt that in the future when the heroine happened to learn the various systems of Indian philosophy at the Chera capital Vañci, the masters in the individual system would not impart the wisdom, because in those days it seemed to be a custom with the learned not to instruct young girls in philosophy. Anyhow, Manimekalai had to learn the other systems of Indian phylosophy, before she was introduced to Buddhist philosophy so that she should have a comparative outlook to realise the superiority of her own faith over other systems. With this objective, the goddess taught her the *mantra*. Even in other circumstances also, she utilised this *mantra.*

The epic poet has presented the following three situations in which Manimekalai changed her form with the help of this *mantra.*

She assumed the form of Kāyacaṇṭikai, a *Vidyātara* woman and advised properly the Chola prince, Udayakumaraṉ, who was captivated by her charm and youthfulness, running madly after her.[29] It so happened that Kāncana, the husband of Kāyācaṇṭikai on seeing Manimekalai (in disguise) talking to the prince misunderstood that his wife was being wooed by the prince, stabbed him to death. Then, Manimekalai appeared in her real form and lamented the death of Utayakumaran who was her husband in the previous birth. When the Chola queen Irācamātevi came to understand that his son Utayakumaran was killed on account of Manimekalai, she was provoked to take revenge on Manimekalai. Subsequently, the latter was imprisoned. The queen commanded a rogue to molest Manimekalai in order to create a bad name on her. But contrary to her expectation, when the rogue approached Manimekalai, she transformed her sex and as a result, the rogue was put to shame and suddenly left the spot.[30]

The third situation for the transformation of sex happened, when Manimekalai had to receive the religious and philosophical lessons from the scholars of different schools at Vañci.[31]

29. *Manimekalai,* 18. 145-150
30. *Manimekalai,* 23. 43-57
31. *Manimekalai,* 27. 288

2. To travel in the air

With regard to the use of the second *mantra*, there are many references. Let us consider them one by one.

It was on an evening that the heroine after circumambulating the *ulaka aṟavi* (public charitable hall), Campāpati temple and Kantiṟpāvai that emitted brilliance, flew through the air and ascended in a beautiful grove in Cāvakam (Java).[32] After preaching the Buddha Dharma to the king Puṇṇiyarācaṉ, she reminded him of his previous birth in which he was Āputtira rendering the service of feeding the hungry people with the help of the same alms bowl *akṣayapātra* now possessed by her. In order to make him realise his previous birth with all details, she asked him to leave from Cāvakam to the island Manipallavam where the imprints of the sacred feet of Buddha were installed on a pedestal, known as *Pātapītikai* which would reveal him everything. After thus informing him, she left Cāvakam and flew through the air and reached the same island before sunset.[33] Then, Punniyarācaṉ took a voyage to the island and worshipped the sacred feet of Buddha, realised his previous birth and fervently adored the all-merciful Buddha. He was strangely comtemplating to renounce the kingdom in order to devote his full attention to the cause of Buddhism. But Manimekalai reminded him of his bounden duty as a benevolent ruler and requested him to return to his country Cāvakam to protect his people.

After that, she commenced her journey through air and reached the Chera capital Vañci.[34] There she worshipped at the temple of Kaṇṇaki and invoked her blessings. Then she met her grandfather, Mācāttuvaṉ (the father of Kōvalaṉ) and came to know more information about her family and the submergence of Kāvirippumpaṭṭiṉam in the sea. As directed by him, she undertook her air-trip to Kāñci.[35] She left from the west of the old fortified city Vañci and travelled in the air towards north and reached Kāñci, which was hit by severe drought and serious famine which made the beautiful city, once looking like Amarāvati of Devaloka, appear pale and dry. Her arrival to the astonishment of all brought sufficient rain

32. *Manimekalai*, 24. 160-166
33. Ibid. 25. 25-32
34. Ibid. 25. 237-239; 26 1-6
35. Ibid. 28. 166-175

and prosperity to the city. In this context, it is better to mention that Kukai, the earliest exponent of *Tantric Buddhism* in Japan at the request of the king performed the *Tantric* rites and brought rain to his country. But in the Tamil epic,there is no mention about the rituals.

Again in the epic, there are references that even the goddess Manimekalā *teyvam* assumed different forms to serve various purposes, and also travelled widely in the air at will to safeguard the devotees of Buddha. One reference requires special mention. Owing to some sepernatural power, she took the form of a young damsel with lightning-like-body dazzling with the brilliance of rainbow, and travelled through the air and got down at the flower garden at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam to instruct Cutamati and to save Manimekalai from the impending danger caused by the Chola prince, Utayakumaraṉ.[36] In this context, it is proper to mention about the metamorphosis of Nagarjuna II, the native of Kanci and an exponent of *Tantric Buddhism.* Alice Getty observes:

"Nagarjuna was the greatest Buddhist philosopher and mastered all the sciences and especially magic art. He is said to have acquired Siddhi, by which magic power he obtained *the rainbow body* (jahlus) and was thus able to become invisible at will and transport himself from one place to another by supernatural power".[37]

Therefore, it is clear that *Tantrayāna* was well known to the epic poet Cāttaṉār and its traces are sufficiently found in the epic. Now, let us consider the third incantation.

3. To appease hunger

With regard to the utilization of the third *mantra* which is vital, there is only one reference. When the Chola queen subjected the heroine Manimekalai to hardships leaving her to starve in the prison, the latter muttered the appropriate *mantra* which is called *"ūṇoḻi mantiram"* and appeased her hunger.[38] After going through the ordeals, she was able to win the reverence of the queen who felt very much for her ill-treatment, and finally ordered to the effect that all the prision-chambers were converted into charitable halls for feeding the poor.

36. *Manimekalai 6. 9-10*
37. Alice Getty, op. cit, p.175
38. *Manimekalai,* 23. 58-62

So, from the above mentioned epic accounts, it is evident that by the time of the epic (500 A.D.) *Tantric Buddhism* was spread in the South, especially in the Tamil country.

Avalokitesvara-a Tantric God

It is a religious fact that in the *Tantric Buddhism,* the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśwara occupies an eminent position not only in the Indian soil but in the Far East. There are many Sanskrit texts glorifying his greatness such as *Avalokiteśvaragunakaraṇḍa Vyūka,* translated into Chinese and Japanese languages. The Chinese traveller, Huien Tsang in his itinerary recorded the existence of a temple dedicated to Avalokiteśvara in the South Indian hill Potala which is identified as *Potiyil* or *Potikai.* Sir Charles Elliot rightly observed that Avalokiteśvara being the Dṛṣṭiguru is none other than Lord Śiva, and his consort Tārā is another form of Pārvati.[39] In the Tamil tradition it is commonly said that Akattiyar (sage Agastya) learnt Tamil from Śiva. But in the Buddhist tradition as preserved in the first fivefold Tamil grammatical treatise known as *Vīracōḻiyam* (1100 A.D.) which was compsed by Buddhamitra, a chieftain under the Imperial Cholas, it is stated that Avalokiteśvara taught Tamil Wisdom to Akattiyar who transmitted the same to the world. That Tamil is associated with both Avalokita and Agastya is evidenced also from the phrases *"avalokitan taṉ meyttamilē"* and *"vēyār potyiattu akattiyanār coṉṉa meyttamilkkē."*[40] However, it is very difficult to find out the source from which *Buddhamitra* (in Tamil Puttamittiraṉ meaning, a friend of Buddha) has derived this fascinating information. In *Lalitavistara,* one of the renowned Mahayana texts dealing with the biography of Buddha, it is mentioned that Buddha at so young an age has learnt many languages including Tamil. All these references indicate the intimate association of the Buddhists with the Tamil tradition. In the commentary of *Vīracōḻiyam,* there is a verse indicating that Buddha, perhaps in one of his manifestations as a Bodhisattva deliberatively delivered about 89 kinds of *Siddhis.*[41]

In the old Chola capital city Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḻapuram, many statues of Buddha and Bodhisattva were unearthed some years ago [1972 or so]. All of them belong to the period of the Imperial Cholas and serve as concrete evidences to prove the continued existence of Buddhism in South

39. S.N. Kandaswamy, *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam,* (Madras, 1977), p.39
40. Ibid, p.40
41. *Viracoliyam, Yappu, 11.* and its Commentary.

India. The commentator of *Nilakeci* mentions that Avalokita and Maitrabahu were Bodhisattva gods.[42] This information again attests to the existence of *Tantrayāna* in Tamil country.

Conculusion

Tantric Buddhism, an offshoot of *Yogācāra Buddhism* was spread far and wide due to the earnest efforts of Nagarjuna II, Vajrabodhi and others who were considered to be the natives of Kāñci. The materials embedded mainly in the Buddhist epic *Maṇimēkalai,* which contains many references to the prosperous condition of Buddhism at Kāñci, and in the polemic works like *Tevāram* and *Nīlakeci* bear testimony to the prevalence of *Tāntic Buddhism* in the Tamil country roughly during 500 A.D. to 1400 A.D.

42. *Nilakeci,* Verse 189 and its Commentary.

THE CULT OF BODHISATTVAS IN THE BUDDHIST TAMIL LITERATURE

Introduction

Buddhism as one of the world religions has made significant contribution to the realms of thought, culture, art and literature. In its early phase of growth, it laid stress on ethics. However, the Buddhist Councils, assembled under the patronage of Aśoka, the Great and Kaniṣka, paved the way for the formation of different sects and scions. The elders who stuck to the original Gospel of *Tripitaka* constituted a separate group. Their philosophy was known as *Theravāda*. Since their authoritative texts were written in Pali, the spoken language of the people, *Theravada* was also called Pali Buddhism. The revolutionaries, who differed from the main stream of Buddhism, formed a separate branch, known as *Mahayana*. Since their texts are mainly found in Sanskrit, this new branch was called Sanskrit Buddhism.

Theravada was nicknamed as *Hīnayāna* by new wave of Buddhists, since it assured salvation only to the chosen recluses who vigorously followed the ascetic life. *Mahāyāna*, as the title suggests promised salvation to all, thus accomodating all kinds of beings within its fold.

Hinayana and *Mahayana* were not totally opposed to each other. They shared some common aspects of the original teachings of the Buddha. Nevertheless, there were some significant principles, distinguishing *Mahayana* from *Hinayana*. Theological and devotional features, introduction of female principles in the Buddhist pantheon, the concept of *Trikaya*, the cult of the *Bodhisattvas*, the theory of *pramāṇas* and new metaphysical thoughts formed the bedrock on which the edifice of *Mahayana* was erected. Among the various principles of *Mahayana*, the cult of *Bodhisattvas* occupies an exalted position, since it is based on the merits of boundless compassion and universal enlightment. In this paper, an attempt has been made to delineate the cult of *Bodhisattvas* as revealed in the Buddhist Tamil literary creations, spread over a period of 500 A.D.

to 1400 A.D. Among them, the Buddhist Tamil epic *Manimekalai* (450 A.D. 550 A.D.) and *Vīracōḻiyam* (1100 A.D.) provide the major source materials for the study. Also the Jaina Tamil epic *Nīlakēci* (850 A.D.) and the Buddhist Tamil poems quoted in the commentaries of *Nilakeci, Viracoliyam* and Siddhantic treatise, *Civañāṉa Cittiyār* (1250 A.D.) contain adequate materials most useful for our research.

Before proceeding to deal with the subject, it is essential to briefly outline some salient features of three-fold *yānas* or ways of spiritual life as underlined in Buddhism.

Three fold Yānas

In the history of *Hinayana* Buddhism, two significant ways of religious life are considered very important. They are: 1. The *Śrāvakayāna* or *Arhatyāna* and 2. the *Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna.* These two are collectively called *Dvi-yāna.* In the annals of *Mahayana* Buddhism, the *Bodhisattvayāna* has been very prominent and unique. 3. Therefore it earned the title, *Eka-yāna* (Singular way).

Each of the *yānas* teaches a particular way of life with a specific objective. The spiritual beings viz. *Śrāvaka* or *Arhat, Pratyeka Buddha and Bodhisattva* practised the prescribed codes of ethical life, leading to the decided goal of the individual. Hence, the particulars of the three types of spiritual beings deserve to be concisely summarized.

Arhat (Pali, Arahant)

Pali texts have prescribed four stages of spiritual progress for an ascetic. Those who have perfectly passed the first three stages are named: 1. *sotapañña* (stream enterer), *sagadāgami* (once-returner) and *anāgami* (non-returner). An ascetic who has successfully reached the fourth and final stage is called an *Arhat.* It is a great achievement for an *Arhat.* Since he has destroyed all the *aśravas* (Pali āsava), i.e. influxes and taints, that are held responsible for further *karmas* and sequence of births, he is called *anāśrava.* There is no sex distinction for becoming an *Arhat.* According to *Therigāthā,* the nuns also became *Arhats,* fulfilling the aforesaid requirements. However, they are entitled to enter into *nibbana* only after taking the birth of a male.

In the tradition of Tamil Buddhism as recorded in the earliest Buddhist Tamil epic *Manimekalai,* reference to the ideal of *Arhat is* rarely

noticed. Mācāttuvān, the rich merchant and father of the deceased hero Kōvalan, resolved to become an *Arhat,* cutting all bonds of empirical life. Realising the impermanence of wealth and body and the illusory nature of household life, he renounced and performed the great penance. He was confident that he could become an *Arhat* to observe the *Dharma* possessed by kindness: *"anpukol arattirku arukanēn".*[1] Such recluses found their abode in mountainous region and sometimes in *ārāmas.* Withdrawal from the society was their main concern. They were not interested in the affairs of the ordinary human beings. Secluded life assured salvation to them.

The ascetic life of an *Arhat* is called *Arhatyāna* or *Śrāvakayāna.* In the commentary of the Jain Tamil epic, *Nilakeci* (900 A.D.), this sect has been mentioned.[2] According to this text and its commentary, *Kuṇṭalakēci,* Arkachandra and Maudgalyayana (Moggallana) belonged to *Śrāvakayāna.* But, some cardinal tenets common to both the vehicles are also noticed in them. Śravaka normally denotes a house holder. Here, it denotes an ascetic, hailing from household life.

An *Arhat,* being a non-social recluse was satisfied with his individual *Nirvana* through the destruction of *āśravas.* His restricted illumination was called *Śrāvaka bodhi.* Next in order comes the *Pratyeka* Buddha who is 'greater than an *Arhat,* because of his greater intellectual powers'.[3]

Pratyeka Buddha (Pali, Pacceka Buddha)

Pratyeka Buddha was also selfish, since he interested only in his personal salvation. He never worried about the spiritual progress of the fellow beings. Strictly exercising the ascetic codes, he developed supreme knowledge and self enlightenment. For this rare achievement, he never sought the help of a guide or a teacher. He never wanted to be a guide or a teacher to others. He never proclaimed the truth of his enlightenment to the world. His selfish attitude and withdrawing nature earned him the title, *Prati-eka* or *Pratyeka* (i.e. private, or solitary) Buddha.

In the *Sutta pitaka* a list of *Pacceka Buddhas* is given.[4] The first four decades of *Avadāna Sataka* narrated the actions that would make one a *Pratyeka Buddha.* According to the same text, the Buddha could foretell a person to be an *Arhat* or a *Pratyeka Buddha* in the future age.[5] The same text declared that even a woman, by her acquired merits, could raise to the level of a *Pratyeka Buddha.*[6]

The ideal of a *Pratyeka Buddha* was the attainment of *Nirvāṇa.* His wisdom was described as *Pratyeka bodhi,* superior to the *Arhat Bodhi.*

The merit of a *Bodhisattva* is greater than that of an *Arhat* or a *Pratyeka Buddha.* Altruism and universal liberation are the keynote of *Bodhisattvayāna. Bodhisattva* has been praised to be the embodiment of universal compassion and complete enlightenment.

Bodhisattva (Pali, Bodhisatta)

The word *Bodhisattva* originally meant one who aspired for the attainment of Enlightenment and thereby denoted the 'Would-be Buddha'. The different connotations of the words *Bodhi* and *Sattva* individually, and *'Bodhisattva'* collectively are vividly portrayed by Har Dayal. *Bodhi* generally means 'Enlightenment' and in some contexts it denotes 'Being'. *Sattva* indicates essence, nature, strength, vigour and courage. It also denotes a valiant person. Hence, the whole word *Bodhisattva* would mean an exalted being with supreme wisdom. The essential connotations of the word are given here-under.[7]

S.No.	Author	Word	Sense
1.	Monier Williams	Bodhisattva	One who has *Bodhi* or perfect wisdom as his essence.
2.	Sir Charles Eliot	"	One whose essence is knowledge
3.	H. Kern	"	a. A sentient or reasonable being possessing *Bodhi* b. A *Bodhisattva* would thus be a personification of potential intelligence.
4.	T.W.Rhys Davids	"	A being destined to attain fullest enlightenment.
5.	*Samādhirāja Sutra* (Text)	"	One who admonishes or exhorts all beings.
6.	Har Dayal	"	Heroic being, Spiritual warrior

From the above connotations, it is proper to conclude that the word *Bodhisattva* would mean a spiritual warrior, possessing perfect wisdom as his essence.

The bodhi of a *Bodhisattva* is regarded the grandest when compared with the *bodhi* of an *Arhat* and *Pratyeka Buddha.* It is known as *anutarā samyak sambodhi* or *sarvākāra Jñāna* (omniscience). Unlike the ideal of other two spiritual beings, the ideal of a *Bodhisattva* is to striver for the enlightenment and liberation of all. Till then, he postponed his own *Nirvāṇa.*

The primary requisite of becoming a *Bodhisattva* is the cultivation of *pāramitas* (perfections) and hence his spiritual way of life is also called *Pāramita yāna.*

Among the three *yānas,* noted above *Śrāvakayāna* and *Mahāyāna* (i.e. *Bodhisattvayāna)* are mentioned in the commentary of *Nilakeci.* In addition, *mantrayāna* (connected with *Vajrayāna)* has also been said.[8] The *Śrāvaka* ideal and the *Pratyeka Buddha* ideal go together, since both of them aimed at their own salvation, neglecting the fellow beings. The *Bodhisattva* ideal has the missinonary zeal with social concern. The concept of Bodhisattvahood has been developed against the background of the ideal of Arhatship. The characteristic features of an Arhat and a Bodhisattva deserve to be contrasted so that their true identity may be comprehended.

Arhat vs. Bodhisattva

1. Self-restraint, saintliness, austerity and asceticism are the marks of an Arhat who withdraws himself from the main stream of the society. Kindness, compassion, friendliness and social concern are the distinct marks of a Bodhisattva.

2. Self-culture and self-absorption constitute the main concern of Arhatyāna. Altruism is the key-note of Bodhisattvayāna.

3. The cultivation of *sīla, samādhi* and *paññā* has been empahasised for the ascetic life of an *Arhat.* The constant practice of *pāramitas* forms the content of the spiritual life of a *Bodhisattva.*

4. The objective of an *Arhat* is to transcend the group of twelfth *nidāna* in the chain of causation, viz., disease, old age, death, lamentation,

suffering, dejection and despair and thus liberating himself from *bava-cakra (samsāra)*. His ultimate goal is the attainment of *Nibbāna* through ascetic practices, and for realising this end he has to attain *samyak sambodhi*.

Nirvāṇa is the least concern for a *Bodhisattva*. If he enters *Nirvāṇa*, he has to miss the rare opportunity of helping others both materially and spiritually. So, he vows to postpone his own happiness and personal salvation, until and unless all the other beings are liberated. Cāttaṉār extols this noble feature of the Boshisattva thus.[9]

tuṟakkam vēṇtāttollōṉ
(The Ancient one who rejects *Nirvāṇa*)

5. Living for oneself (*svārtha*) and living for others (*parārtha*) respectively indicate the uniqueness of an Arhat and a Bodhisattva. The Arhat, thinking that his involvement in the affairs of others may entangle him in mundane life, carefully separates himself from social activities. But the Bodhisattva, because of his perfection in the cultivation of *pāramitas* never let loose himself, even if he actively engaged and exerted himself to the welfare of other beings. This rare quality of the *Bodhisattva* earned him the excellent epithet.[10]

taṉakkeṉa vāḻā-p-piṟarkkuri-yāḷaṉ
maṉṉuyir mutalvaṉ

(One who does not exist for his own sake, but for the sake of others-thus becoming the possession of others). His sacrificial nature finds a better expression in the following lines:

taṉṉuyirkku iraṅkāṉ piṟa-v-uyir ōmpum

(He is the Lord of all sentient beings. He is one who never cares for his own life, but protects other beings).

This noble trait of the *Bodhisattva* is also noticed in another Buddhist Tamil epic *Kuntalakeci*[12] (800 A.D.):

tanakkeṉṟu oṉṟāṉum uḷḷāṉ piṟarkkē
uṟutikku uḻantāṉ.

(He never thought even a little for his own welfare. He exerted himself only for the material and spiritual welfare of others).

In this poem, the *Bodhisattva* has been extolled to be a Supreme Being.

The *Bodhisattva's* innumerable births, commencing from that of an exalted Brahma and ending with the iferior ant are noted in a different poem, quoted in the commentary of the Buddhist Tamil grammatical work *Viracōḻiyam* (1100 A.D.). If there is any trouble to whatever body of whatever life through whatever agency, his sacred heart would incessantly shower compassion to that affected being.[13] He is the Saviour of mankind. He is the protection of all beings.[14] That is why a *Bodhisattva* has been praised as a *Mahāsattva.*

6. *Arhatyāna* never mentioned that the laymen and saints should try to become *Bodhisattva.* But, *Mahayana* proclaimed that young men and women are equally eligible to evolve as a *Bodhisattva.* Cāntideva went a step further and declared that even the worms and insects would be raised to the remarkable status of a *Bodhisattva.*[15]

7. In the *Sūtrālaṅkāra,* the selfishness of an *Arhat* and generosity of a *Bodhisattva* are contrasted with the help of a fine comparison.[16]

   yathā puṇyam praśavate pareṣām bhojanam dadat,
   na tu svayam sa bhuñjānas tathā puṇyam ahodayah.

   (The virtue is produced by distribution of food to others and not by self-consumption. So also the *Bodhisattva* acquires abundant virtues by helping the fellow beings to attain Nirvāṇa and not by striving for his own salvation like an *Arihat*).

   Har Dayal considered that the Arhat was an introvert, while a Bodhisattva was an extrovert.[17] However, Sangharakshita contemplated that the *Bodhisattva* was both an introvert and extrovert, for he looked both within and without. He observes:

   > "External activities do not for him preclude internal calm and recollection, neither do his idefatigable exertions on behalf of all sentient beings prevent him from enjoying uninterruptedly perfect peace of mind."[18]

It is to be borne in mind that the Buddha lived both as an Arhat and a *Bodhisattva.* Withdrawl from and return to society marked his

spiritual career. But, the *Hinayanists* selected the ideal of *Arhatship.* while the *Mahayanists* preferred the ideal of *Bodhisattvahood.*

Bodhisattva in the Tamil texts

In the Tamil Buddhism, the word *Bodhisattva* explicitly occurs for the first time in the Jain polemic Tamil epic *Nilakeci* (850 A.D.)[19]

Pōticattuvar puttar eṉappaṭu
nītiyiṟ periyār

(The *Bodhisattvas* and *Buddhas* are great for their ethical excellence).

In a polemic poem of the same epic, the word *'pōticattuvar'* is shortened as *'cattuvar'*.

In the *Kuntalakeci* Vāda Carukkam of the same text, the ideal of *Bodhisattva* has been picturesquely portrayed.[20] Herein, it is stated that until he reached *Nirvana,* he envisaged what was pleasant to others and preached the *dharma* to all beings. He never aspired any benefit for himself. He suffered for the welfare of others. He protected those who took refuge unto him. He was the Lord known as *Pōtiyāṉ,* (i.e. Bodhisattva). In this context, it is to be remembered that the hymnologists of the Saiva devotional literature (*Tirumuṟai*) have also used the word *Potiyār* to mean the *Bodhisattvas* and the followers of Buddhism.[21]

In *Manimekalai, Pōtinātaṉ* and *Pōtimātavaṉ* denote not only the Buddha but also *Bodhisattva.*[22] The various attributes describing the selfless sacrifice and social concern of these spiritual beings are found in this Buddhist Tamil epic. Among the characters depicted in this epic, at least four are identified to belong to *Bodhisattvayāna.*

1. The merchant Kōvalaṉ, the ancestor of Manimekalai's father fulfilled the requirements of a future *Bodhisattva.*[23]

2. Sangha Dharma possessed the sufficient perfections of a budding *Bodhisattva.*[24]

3. Punniyarācaṉ, the *Bodhisattva* king of Cāvakam (i.e. Java) was eminently a *Mahāsattva.*[25] All the good omens, heralding the birth of a Buddha, occurred at Punniyarācaṉ's birth. He was born on *Vaikāsi Purṇimā,* the birth day of the Buddha. He was instructed on the importance of service, abandoning the idea of renunication.

4. Above all, Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ led his missionary life as a *Bodhisattva Par Excellance.* His perfection in the *pāramitas* and involvement in the spiritual career of Maṇimekalai deserve special mention. As an effective teacher, he instructed her the Buddhist logic and philosophy. He lived for a very long time witnessing many generations and receiving the honour and praise of devas, kings, monks, nuns and also laymen.[26]

In accordance with the *Mahāyānistic* view, the epic heroine Manimekalai progressively moved on the path of a *Bodhisattva.*

In *Nilakeci,* there is a mention to the worship of Tāṭai-y-Āḻvār. According to the commentator, the *Bodhisattva* is also known as *Āḻvār,* an epithet generally denoting a Vaiṣṇava saint or occasinally a Śaiva and Jaina dignitary. In the Tamil Inscriptions of the Imperial Colas, the word Āḻvār donoted a Śaiva as noticed from the name Āḻvār Parāntakaṉ Kuntavaiyār. The author of *Tirūnuṟṟantai* was a Jain with the name Aviroti Āḻvār.

In the commentary of *Takkayākapparaṇi* (1150 A.D.) the future Buddha is called *Maitri Alvar.*[27] Here, the word *Āḻvār* is used to denote a Buddha or a *Bodhisattva.* In the *Mahayana texts, Maitri* indicates friendliness and hence it becomes the name of a Buddha or a *Bodhisattva* who has cultivated the *Maitribhāvana* in full measure. From the archaeological findings at Nakappattinam, it becomes clear that the word *Āḻvār* denoted a *Bodhisattva.* The glorification and deification of the limbs of the Buddha such as tooth are noted in *Nilakeci. Tāṭai* generally means cheek or jaw. But, here it denoted the teeth of a *Bodhisattva.* However, a stroy with regard to the *avadāna* of the Tooth-*Bodhisattva* is presented in the commentary of the text.[28] He is described as a Bouddha with long teeth. When he met the king of the Singala (i.e. Ilam), he requested him to provide a litle space to place his skin-seat. After getting the consent, he wrought a miracle of measuring the whole island with the little skin thus making the entire Īḻam as his possession and proclaimed that all the inhabitants living in his land should practise the *Buddha dharma.* This *avadāna* of the *Bodhisattva* resembles the act of Tirivikrama *avatar* of Tirumal (Mahā Viṣṇu).

In the Buddhist Tamil grammatical work, *Vīracōḻiyam* the *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara has been extolled to be the preceptor of the Tamil Saint Akattiyar (Agastya). Actually he delivered Tamil through

his disciple to the benefit of the world.[29] In one poem, the exuberance and illumination of this *Bodhisattva* are praised. He is associated with the truth of Tamil and hence the phrase, "Avalokitaṉ meyttamiḻ" is found meaningful. From such references, it is understood that the cult of Avalokiteśvara was in existence during the period of the Imperial Colas (850 A.D. 1250 A.D.)

In the *Mahayana* texts, Avalokiteśvara has been depicted as the personificaion of mercy. He is the redeemer of the suffering lot. He rushes to the hell, offers food and drink to the pretas and narakas. He is the bringer of rains. The whole universe with the divinities has sprung from him. The mysterious formula, *ōm maṇipadmē hūm* is his special gift to the world.[30]

The related *Bodhisattva* Mañjuśri has been portrayed as the embodiment of wisdom. It is to be noted that the Tamil Buddhists ever remembered the *Bodhisattva* Avalokita, to be the originator of their sweet language. According to Sir Charles Eliot, Avalokita is a synonym of Śiva. In the Saiva tradition, Śiva was the first author of Tamil and taught the language to Akattiyar. This sage is associated with Potiyil hills. Avalokita also is connected with the same hills.[31]

Hence, it is better to differentiate the attributes and funcitions ascribed to Avalokita in the Sanskrit text on the one hand and Tamil Buddhist classics on the other.

Cultivation of *pāramitas* and constant practice of Dhūtāṅgas are considered to be the essential requisites that mould the personality of a *Bodhisattva*. The poems in *Nilakeci* and the commentary furnish sufficient materials to comprehend such ethical perfection. First and foremost, let us focus on the significance of *paramitas* in the evolution of a *Bodhisattva*.

The Meaning of Pāramitas

The word pāramitā *occurs* both in Pali and Sanskrit works. It has been interpreted by the Buddholigists to mean the highest perfection and distinguished position. It also meant 'crossing to the other side of this life', and 'the quality of having reached to the further shore. If these interpretations are collectively considered, a *Bodhisattva* would mean the greatest being possessing the highest perfections and the quality of having crossed the ocean of birth. In the Tamil tradition, the word

pāramitai meant *Pūrittal, Pūraṇai* and *Niraittal,* meaning consummation,[32] and hence perfection.

Alternant words

Pāramitā is also know as *Pārami.* Both these words are found in the Pali texts. According to Har Dayal, they are derived from the Sanskrit root *parama* meaning 'highest, most excellent, chief, principal, superior etc.'[33] In the Tamil Buddhist works, both *Pāramitā* and *Pārami* are used. In Manimekalai, pāramitai occurs in two contexts.[34] In Cittānta-t-tokai, we find this usage. The elongated form, *Pāramītai* is found in the text of *Nilakect,*[35] However, this elongation may be due to the requirement of metrical exigency. But, the commentator Camayativākarar uniformly used the word 'pāramitai', the Tamilized form of pāramitā. The earliest and alternant form pārami is also used in one poem of *Nilakeci.*[36] Apart from these two words, *Pāram* has also been employed to denote *Paramitā* quoted in the commentary of *Vīracōḻiyam.*[37] As an alternant form, *pārāvatam* is also found.[38] The word *vatam* may be derived from Sanskrit *vrata* meaning penance, suggesting the way of practising the perfection with religious carefulness.

Number of Pāramitās

With regard to the number of *pāramitās,* different views are noticed. In most of the Buddhist works, the six *pāramitās,* viz., dāna, śila, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna and prajña have been enumerated. *Saddharma Puṇḍarika* mentioned only five *paramitas.* In *Mahāvastu, dāna* and *sīla* alone are mentioned. The same position is found also in *Manimekalai.*[39]

The number of *pāramitās* has been increased to ten in *Daśabhūmika Sūtra.*' This text prescribed that a *Bodhisattva* should practice each *Pāramitā* in each of the ten stages of his spiritual life. In the opinion of Har Dayal,

> "The number of the *pāramitās* (and the *bhūmis)* was raised to ten as a consequence of the invention of the decimal system of computation in the science of arithmetic in the third or fourth century A.D."[40]

He also suggested that the increase in number was due to "the rivalry with the *Hinayānists* who had devised the Pali formula of the ten *Pāramis.*

In the Tamil Buddhist texts, we have clear refernces to the ten *pāramitās.*

1. *īrai-m-Pāramitai* (irai denoted twice five)

2. *taca pāram* (i.e. daśa Pāram)

3. *īraintum* (two-fold five)

In *Manimekalai,* Cāttaṉār has stated *aḷapparum pāramitai*[42] i.e. measureless and limitless *pāramitā.* Since the exact number is not mentioned, it may be taken that he meant all the ten perfections or even more.

In *Cittāntattokai,* a minor Buddhist Tamil work (1000 A.D.) there is a conspicuous reference to thirty kinds of *pāramitas (āṟaintum* - 6x5=30).[43] It has been pointed out that each *Paramita* has three degrees and hence the multiplication of the number.[44] Spence Hardy in his *Manual on Buddhism* (p.101) expalined the threefold grades viz., ordinary, superior and pre-eminent and each grade contained ten *pāramitās* and thus thrity *pāramitās* were counted. In the pāramitas, the layman has the objective of getting some material gains, the arhat and the bodhisattva respectively have the goal of personal Nirvāṇa and universal liberation. The *Apadāna* literature of the *Mahayana* tradition glorified the Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas,* endowed with thirty *pāramitās.*

However, *daśa pāramita* is the popular usage and Buddha has been venerated and glorified as *dasabalan* perhaps because of his acquisition of the ten *pāramitas.* A different elucidation of *daśabalan* is to be considered, when we deal with *bala pāramitā* subsequently.

The following table explains the nomenclature of the ten *pāramitas* in the different traditions of Buddhism.

S.No.	Pali	Sanskrit	Tamil	English equivalent
1.	*dāna*	*dāna*	*tāṉam, koṭai*	Liberality, giving, generosity
2.	*śīla*	*śīla*	*cīlam*	Virtuous conduct

3.	*khānti*	*kṣānti*	*porai, kṣamā*	Forbearance, endurance patience
4.	*vīriya*	*vīrya*	*vīriyam*	Energy
5.	*metta friendliness*	*dhyāna*	*tiyāṉam Cīla camāti*	Concentration, meditation
6.	*upekkha* (Equanimity)			
7.	*Paññā*	*prajñā*	*uṇarcci prakñai*	wisdom (feeling)
8.	*nekkhamma*		-	Renunciation
9.	*sacca*		-	Truthfulness
10.	*adhiṭṭhāna*		-	Resolution

In the Sanskrit and Tamil traditions, the six perfections are uniformly found. In most cases, the Tamilized forms of the original Sanskrit words are used. In two instances, the Tamil equivalents *Poṟai* and *uṇarcci* are used in *Nilakeci* respectively to denote *kṣānti* and *prajñā*, though the commentator retained the originals. *Dhyāna* not only indicated *metta* and *upekkhā*, but also includes other two *bhāvanas*, viz., *karuṇā* (compassion) and *muditā* (sympathetic joy). However, the last three *pāramitās* in the above Pali list are not mentioned in the *Mahāyāna* tradition. The remaining four pāramitās, found in the Sanskirt and Tamil Buddhist works are given here under.

S.No.	Sanskrit	Tamil	English equivalent
7.	*upāya (or) upāya kauśalya*	*upāyam*	Skilfullness in the choice of means for conversion or succour
8.	*praṇidhāna*	*aruḷnilai vaittal* taya	Placing Compassion (on the beings) compassion

9.	*bala*	*palam*	Strength
10.	*jñāna*	*ñāṉam*	Supreme knowledge

Thus, it is beyond doubt that the Buddhist Tamil works closely followed the Sanskrit tradition to a large extent, and not the *Hinayana* fully in the presentation and interpretation of the ten fold *pāramitās*. As per the commentary of *Nilakeci* and *Civañāna Cittiyār parapakkam* it is understood that all the ten *pāramitas* are described in ten poems of *Tiruppatikam* (1000 A.D.), a minor Buddhist text dwindled into oblivion. Only two poems and the last lines of the rest belonging to this text are preserved in the commentaries.[45]

With this background, let us proceed to explore the Buddhist Tamil sources in the light of the *Mahāyāna* tradition to elucidate the significance of the individual *pāramitā*.

Dana Paramita

In Tamil *īkai* and *koṭai* are the equivalents of the Sanskrit word *dāna*, which simply means 'giving'. Since altruism and social service form the cheif concern of a *Bodhisattva*, the perfection of practising generiosity becomes essential. According to *Tiruppatikam*, he is prepared to donate his wealth, part with his body and limbs to the satisfaction of the suppliant. Since the *Bodhisattva* has resloved to save the whole world, he is practising this *pāramitā*. His generious heart prepares to give away the huge wealth of the size of Mount Meru to the suppliant, as if it is very little like a *kuṉrimaṇi* (the red seed of crab's eye).[46]

Due to his compassion, once he has taken the vow to give whatever the receiver needed. Some specific gifts are also noted in many poems. Let us consider them one by one.

The gift of eyes

In the Tamil Buddhist works, four references are available to the rare gift of the eyes by a *Bodhisattva*.[47] In *Manimekalai*, the following line discloses this gift:

> "kaṇpiṟarkku aḷikkum kaṇṇōy niṉṉaṭi".[48]
> (Oh the Compassionate One! I take refuge unto
> the feet of you, who spared your eyes to others).

Here, the recipient is not mentioned by any name, but merely 'others'. In a differet poem, he is referred as one who came to him begging (vantu *irantavarkku).* There is no mark of even a little pain when he sacrifices his eyes. Instead, his heart is full of joy and he is willingly giving, as indicated in the words *makilntē īyum.* Here, the *Bodhisattva* gets the name, *vāṉavar* (a celestial) and His abode has been erected in Māṉāvur, a Buddha *sthala.*[49] (It should be some where in Tamil Nadu, perhaps in the Thanjavur district).

In a different verse, the supplicant is specifically mentioned as *viṇṇavar Nāyakaṉ* i.e. the king of the *devas,* Indra.[50] The *Bodhisattva's* image was installed under the Bodhi tree. People believed that if one approched him, he was relieved from any pain.

In the Sanskrit texts, the *Bodhisattva* is named as king Sibi and the beggar is Śakra (the Buddhist name for Indra) Himself. Assuming the form of a blind Brahmin, Śakra went to the king Śibi to test his generosity and begged for his eyes. The king ordered his royal surgeon to pluck out one of the eye-balls and placed it in Śakra's hands. It was fixed in the socket of the recipient. To test him again, Śakra asked for another eye which was also donated without any hesitation. He vanished soon and the king lived blind for sometimes. To the wonder of all, Śakra subsequently restored both the eyes to Śibi, revealing the greatness of the King's generosity to the world. In the place of the previous physical eye, he got the eye of omniscience.

This story is originally found in *Suttapitaka* and then in *Jātākamālā.* It reminds us the story of Kannappar of Śaiva tradition. In all devotion, his gift of eyes made Lord Śiva graciously bestow eternal bliss on him. Nowadays, eye-donation after one's death is considered to be a great service.

Gift of human flesh

There are some panegyric poems to reveal the extreme compassion of *Bodhisattva* who cut a portion of his body and gave it cheerfully to the supplicant. The situation, that prompted the *Bodhisattva* to weigh his body in the balance to compensate the weight of the deceptive dove with an illusory body, chased by a vulture, is described in a poem.[51] In the *Jātaka* story, it is said that Indra and Agni, in order to test the liberality of the king Śibi, transformed themselves into a vulture and dove

respectively, the former chasing the latter as a prey, thus entering the palace of the king. Sibi was moved and wished to save the dove. He willingly accepted the demand of the vulture to offer equal flesh from his own body to the weight of the pigeon. The balance was brought. The dove was put on one pan and on the other, the flesh of the king was placed. Since the dove was something mysterious and very heavy, the king went on slicing his body to compensate the weight, but in vain. Finally he placed himself on the pan thus sacrificing himself to the satisfaction of the vulture. To bring the story to a comic end, the two celestials revealed their original form, restored the body of Sibi and blessed him.[52]

The story has already gained curency in the Cankam period as evidenced from the poems in Puṟanāṉūṟu.[53] In Cilappatikāram, this legend is mentioned in four contexts.[54] All these references indentified that the Chola monarchs were the descendants of the king Śibi. This view was further attested by the commentator of Vīracōḻiyam.[55]

Donation of Blood

Sacrificing one's limbs, body and blood has been glorified as Vīrakkoṭai,[56] i.e. heroic giving, since it involves bravery and strong resolution. In such testing circumstance, the *Bodhisattva* feels happy for getting a chance to give. There are poems that describe the *Bodhisattva's* gift of blood to the armed rakshasa. He pierced his body from where the blood gushed forth to the extent of quenching the thirst of the kindless supplicant.[57]

The details of this legend are found in the *Jātaka* stories.[58] Śakra assumed the form of *rākṣhasa* and praised the *Bodhisattva* king in beautiful poems. As a reward, he was fed with the king's flesh and blood. The *Bodhisattva* king, by the device of *satyādhiṣṭāna,* regained his original body with its beauty.

In a different *Jātakas* tory, it is stated that the physicians required human blood to cure the sick and the king Śibi willingly donated his own blood for six months.

In the Tamil poem, there is one more version of the same story stating the recipient being a ghost.[59] This version is sufficiently in conformity with the story narrated in *Bodhisattvāvadāna kalpalatā.* Also

in the *Maitribala Jātaka of Jātakamālā*, the supplicants are mentioned as *yakshas*. This story reveals the fact that the *Bodhisattva* has been gracious and merciful not only to the celestials, mankind and aśuras, but even to ghouls and ghosts. Thus, his generosity transcended all the limits.

Bodily Gift to the Tigress

Sacrificing the whole body to appease the hunger of a tigress is a touching story narrated in the *Jātaka* works and Tamil poems.[60] The tigress, that delivered several cubs in a deep ravine, was very hungry. The *Bodhisattva,* accompanied by his student, came that way and witnessed that the fatigued tigress was about to eat its own cubs due to extreme appetite. Immediately he directed his disciple to go away in search of some food for the tigress so that the cubs would be saved. He obeyed and left the place. Meanwhile, the *Bodhisattva* threw himself into the yawning mouth of the animal with sword-like teeth and ruined himself.

This self-sacrifice becomes the theme of two devotional Tamil lyrics in praise of the *Bodhisttva,* who was regarded to be the greatest supernatural being in the Buddhist pantheon. It is very important to note that this *Jātaka* stroy is found only in *Mahayana* works and not in the Pali *Jātakas.*[61]

Offering Material Wealth

In the list of the gift objects of the *Bodhisattva* wealth, land, white elephant, the philosopher's stone (*cintāmani*), crown and even his kingdom are enumerated in one Tamil poem.[62] In addition, houses, villages, horses, chariots, silver, gold, gems, ornaments etc. are also included as per the details found in *Jātakamālā, Bodhisattva Bhūmi* and other *Mahayana* works. It shows that the consummate *Bodhisattva* had no attachment with whatever valuable things that he possessed and he was willing to please others by the required gifts. This kind of indiscriminate and unprescribed gift is applauded as Varaiyāikai, and the Bodhisattva as pērarul vāman (i.e. the great compassionate vāma).[63] Vāma is a word denoting beauty. So, it is to be understood that the Bodhisattva shone in all glory and beauty reflecting his compassionate consummation.

Sacrificing the Wife and Sons

Departing with the material objects may be normal. But the boldness and resolute attitude of the Bodhisattva in giving even his own

wife and sons to the supplicant is quite unnatural. Since his family members, who were as his soul, were also treated as his possessions, he was prepared to sacrifice them to become servants and slaves to help others. This gift was considered to be the crown of munificence. The poem in *Nilakeci* mentions this gift.[64] A poem on the *Bodhisattva* of Māṉāvūr also vividly narrates this story.[65] The commentator of *Nilakeci* has specifically noted that the supplicant was a brahmin. The *Vessantara Jātaka* clearly mentions that Indra in the form of an ugly and wicked brahmin demanded the wife and children of the Prince Vessantara which he willingly gave. It was again a show to exhibit the acme of generosity of a Bodhisattva, and hence, Indra resumed his original celestial form, acknowledged the selfless sacrifices of the Bodhisattva king and appreciated.[66]

The commentator of *Nīlakēci* has quoted a poem that reveals the cruelty of the recipient who ill-treated and chastised the sons in the very presence of the *Bodhisattva* who neither intervened nor perturbed, but the whole earth quaked. This miracle is noted in *Cariyāpiṭaka.*[67] The *Mahayana* texts such as *Prajñā Pāramita Sataka, Saddharma Puṇḍarika* and *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* unfolded the same story with some difference.

The legend corresponds to the story of Iyarpakai Nāyaṉār, narrated in *Periayapurāṇam* (1150 A.D.). The story of sacrificing the children has its partial counterpart in the story of Ciṟuttoṇṭar of *Periyapurnam.* We have already noted that the story of Kaṇṇappar has resemblance to the similar legend of *Jātakamālā.* The commonness in the stories deserves a separate study to explore the degree of accidence and indebtedness, if any.

Alms Giving

Among the various gifts, alms giving tops the list. Appeasement of hunger is the keynote of altruistic Buddhism as found in *Manimekalai.* According to Cāttaṉār, the unique *dharma* for both the people and devas was to drive out the disease of hunger by offering food.[68] The introduction of the miraculous almsbowl (Akṣya Pātra) in the epic is very significant. The Tamil Buddhism emphasised the fulfilment of the threefold basic needs, viz., food, shelter and clothing and it was regarded the supreme virtue. In the list of gifts mentioned in the *Mahāyana* works, these three objects were also included.[69]

Since Buddhism was practical in its approch to alleviate the sufferings of the people, the fulfilment of basic needs, especially food-offering was considered to be the essential duty of a *Bodhisattva.*

Religious Instruction

The perfection of a *Bodhisattva* includes his mastery over the different disciplines of knowledge, especially Buddhism in all its aspects. He should be an effective preacher of the religion. He should utilise his skill in disseminating the Budhist principles to all. In the *Dharma Sangraha,* religious instruction has also been specified in the category of gifts.[70]

In the Tamil tradition, the teacher is known as *īvōṉ* (one who donates) and the method of teaching is called "ītal marapu" (the tradition of giving), the student is called "Koḷvōṉ" i.e. the receiver and the learning process, "koṭal marapu" i.e. the tradition of receiving. Hence, it is clear that imparting knowledge has been regarded as one of the gifts *(Jnāna dāna)* also in the culture of the Tamils.

In one Tamil poem, it is mentioned that the *Bodhisattva* delivered the sermon on the ethics, being described as nectar, to the five fighting *rākshas.*[71] The Buddha's preaching to the Nāga kings to abandon fighting is also noted.[72]

Supreme Gift

The cultivation of *dāna paramitā* with all implications made the *Bodhisattva* an exalted and supreme being, deserving the adoration of all. His service to the different beings was twofold viz. fulfilling the material needs and guiding them to tread on the royal road to attain *Nirvāna.* He worked not only for his personal salvation but also for others, indicating the absolute character of his abundant compassion.Because of this unique perfection, he was able to bestow *Nirvāṇa* to those who joined him with this objective. This supreme gift is noted in *Nīlakēci*

taṟcērntārkku viṇkoṭuttāṉ[73]

Here the word *viṇ* has some special connotation. It generally means 'heaven'. In its extension of meaning, it denotes *Nirvāna,* the eternal bliss. We have already noted that it was the vow of the *Bodhisattva* that he would willingly postpone the attainment of his own *Nirvāna,* till

all the beings become perfect and qualified to enter into the immeasurable bliss. The *Mahāyana* texts bear ample testimony to this noble gift of the *Bodhisattva.*

So far we have seen elaborately that the *Bodhisattva* devoted all his resources to cultivate the perfection of giving to the maximum extent. It is evident that *dāna pāramitā* occupies the central position among the different *pāramitās.*

Next in the order comes *śīla pāramitā. Dāna* and *Śīla* are coupled with each other in the Buddhist texts. Thus, their closeness is understood.

Śīla Pāramitā

Acording to the commentator of *Nīlakeci,* the consummation of *śīlas* constitutes *śīla pāramitā.* A minor Buddhist Tamil text (1000 A.D.), *Tiruppatikam* elucidates the strenuous exertions of a *Bodhisattva* for a continuous period of many aeons practising both *dāna* and *śīla* for the sake of others.[74] He is omniscient, despelling the darkness of ignorance. He is the abode of eternal good qualities. In this text, the *Bodhisattva* has been extolled as *emperumāṉ,* an epithet often denoting Lord Śiva in *Tirumuṟai* hymns, and also Tirumāl in the hymns of *Āḻvār.* In such instances, the apotheosis of a *Bodhisattva* is conspicuous.

The commentator also observes that *śīla pārmitā* manifests in the conduct in conformity with the rules prescibed in *Vinayapiṭaka.*[75]

Śīla denotes the Buddhist virutes in general. It has been more valued than gold or gem. *Śīlas* are also known as *sikkhāpada* in Pali and *sikṣāpadāni* in Sanskrit. The chief virtues as preached by the Awakened One (i.e. Buddha) are collectively called *pañca śīla.* They are the following.

1. Avoidance of killing living beings
2. Avoidance of stealing
3. Avoidance of lust (and illegal indulgence)
4. Avoidance of falsehood and
5. Avoidance of consuming alcoholic drinks.

The remaining five *śīlas* are enumerated in different ways. However, the following are the generally approved virtues:

1. Avoidance of eating in the prohibited periods
2. Avoidance of entertainments such as dance, music and drama
3. Avoidance of decoration, ornamentation and elevated seats
4. Avoidance of silver and gold and
5. Avoidance of eating before dawn.

In *Manimekalai,* only the first five *śīlas* are mentioned by name, perphas because of the prmary importance assigned to them.[76]

A Bodhisattva is required to practise the perfection of the aforesaid *śīlas. Prajñā pāramitā sataka, Daśa Bhūmika Sūtra* and *Samādhirāja Sūtra* prescribed that a *Bodhisattva* should have perfect control over his *trikaraṇa.* The mind of a *Bodhisatva* is purified by avoiding the three fold sins, arising from his body, viz., killing, stealing and lust. His speech is purified by avoidance of the fourfold evils, produced by his words viz, falsehood, back-biting, harsh words and frivolous talk. His mind is purified by refraining form hatred, anger and illusion. These negative virtues are also stated in *Suttapiṭaka* and also in *Maṇimēkalai.*[77] Hence the practice of *śīla pāramitā* may be taken as a development of the ancient Buddhist ethics.

Śīla contains in the rare qualities, being antidotes to the three sources of evil, viz., desire (rāga), hatred (*dveśa*) and delusion (moha) that are impediments on the path to Nirvāṇa. The Bodhisattva conquers lust, eradicates illwill and extirpates delusion through the constant cultivtion of *śīlas* and kindred *paramitas.*

Śīla is the primary requisite to practise *kṣānti* and hence both are juxtaposed.

Kṣānti Pāramitā

Patience secures happiness. It is the hallmark of all great beings. Kṣānti generally means peace. In the commentary of *Nīlakēci* (1350 A.D.), *kṣamā* is used as an alternative form of *kṣānti.* Its Tamil equivalent *poṟai* connotes endurance and forbearance. *Tiruppatikam* reveals that a *Bodhisattva* is pleasant even for those who are unpleasant.[78] The chapters in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* under the titles *atakkam uṭaimai* and *poṟaiuṭamai* are relevant with this *pāramitā.* The *Mahāyana* texts compared the forbearance of a

Bodhisattva to the patience of Mother Earth. This comparison finds exquisite expression in the couplet of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* which declares that one should forbear the insultors like the earth that supports the diggers. This kind of comparison goes back to the times of *Dhammapada.*[79]

Due to the fortitude and sense of patience, the *Bodhisattva* withstands the terrific weathers. Cold and heat, hunger and thurst do not affect him. Despondency is unknown to him. He laughs at calamity and adversity. In *Manimekalai,* we come across a *Bodhisattva Sangha Dharma,* by name whose face was emiting cool rays like a full moon, even under the scorching sun at noon.[80] This rare feat was possible for a Bodhisattva, because of the cultivation of *kṣāntipāramitā.*

Only those who practise *kṣānti* could conserve and preserve energy. So, next to *kṣānti, vīrya pāramitā* is placed.

Vīrya Pāramitā

The word, Vīrya is derived from the Sanskrit vīra and hence the heroic qualities are attributed to this *pāramitā.* The *Bodhisattva* should be mentally and physically strong to carry out his social obligations. So, the cultivation of *vīrya pāramitā* was an essential requisite for the consummation of a Bodhisattva's career. *Tiruppatikam* explains this *pāramitā* in a unique way.[81]

> "The Bodhisattva was tireless. He was striving
> strenuously with resoluteness till the attainment
> of *bodhi* (i.e. Enlightenment)".

From this passage, it is evident that he forged his full energy towards the attainment of Enlightenment. This purpose of *viryaparamita* is also noted in the *Mahāyana* texts. *Saddharma Pundarika* and *Bodhisattva būmi* declared that in the absence of *vīrya, bodhi* could not be realised.[82] Even in the empirical life, *vīrya* is essential for the wordly achevements.

Lalitavistara praised the Buddha, a great hero (*vīra*) and attributed his unique victory over *Māra,* the allegory of evil, due to his moral, psychical and physical strength. In *Manimekalai* the Buddha and *Bodhisattva* including the heroine *Manimekalai* have been glorified as spiritual warriors vanquishing *Māra,* the personification of lust.[83] It is

not out of place here to note that the conquest of *Māra* by the Tīrttaṅkara earned him the epithet, "Kāmaṉai Veṉrōṉ", as noted in the Cilappatikāram and hence he got the name 'Mahāvīra' (great hero).

Physical prowess and intellectual strength are illustrated through the admirable activites of Sangha Dharma and Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ respectively.

Next in the order comes *dhyāna pāramitā.* Without *vīrya, dhyāna* is impossible and hence their related proximity is apprehended.

Dhyāna Pāramitā

Dhyāna means contemplation and also meditation. It depends upon the stability of mind, which is the centre of all human activities. It should not ramble. Evil thoughts must be eschewed. Good thoughts are to be developed. The fixation of mind on the object of meditation is essentail, and then continues contemplation.

The perfection of practising *dhyāna* enables a *Bodhisattva* to experience serenity and quietude. It increases his psychic powers. To practise this *pāramitā,* renunciation is prescribed. Celibacy and seclusion are stressed. According to the *Mahāyana* texts, the cultivation of fourfold meditations called the *brahma vihāras* is required for the perfection of a *Bodhisattva.* The word *brahma* means sublime, while the word vihāra means the states of mind. Putting together, the whole word indicates "the sublime state of mind, excellent state, and the highest condition of mind"84. *Tiruppatikam* expatiates on this *pāramitā.*[85]

"Even if a *Bodhisattva* followed the benevolent course of virtuous life, he has to face things that would cause bewilderment. In such a critical condition, with unperturbed possession of courage, he has to resist them. Such kind of fullness (of power) would turn the earth into cotton." It implies that the *Bodhisattva* by virute of his spiritual power can do wonders.

This power seems to explain the spiritual strength, acquired by a *Bodhisattva* due to the practice of *dhyāna.* The commentator of *Nīlakeci* elucidated *dhyāna pāramitā,* also known as *sīla samādhi* that guarded *prajñā* from destruction.[86]

According to the *Mahāyāna* Buddhist works, the four *brahma vihāras* are the following:

1.	*Maitri*	-	friendliness
2.	*Karuṇā*	-	Compassion
3.	*Muditā*	-	sympathetic joy and
4.	*Upekṣā*	-	equanimity.

Sine these meditations are also mentioned in the Yoga sutras of Patañjali, Indologists are of the opinion that they belonged to the Pan-Indian tradition. It is curious to note that these meditations, according to the commentator of Paripāṭal are meant to cleanse the source of thought and five-fold senses, paving the way for perfect concentration on Tirumāl.[87]

The Pali Buddhism proclaimed that the cultivation of brahma viharas would secure one a good birth in the brahma world, whereas the Sanskrit Buddhism declared that the same would lead one to Nirvāṇa. The Tamil Buddhism also echoed the latter view. However, aśubha bhāvanā has also been included along with the above meditations to weed out the root cause of evil. These brahma vihāras are instructed to Maṇimēkalai by the great Bodhisattva A̲ravaṇa Aṭikaḷ to attain Nirvāṇa. Let us deal with each of the meditations.

Aśubha Bhāvanā

Among the three impediments to eternal bliss, lust comes first. It is the basic cause for all troubles. It is burning desire and sensual appetite, leading one to entanglement and misery. For the eradication of this evil, asubha bhāvanā has been recommended in the Buddhist texts. In the Mahayana tradition, Aśvaghoṣa and Vasubandhu regarded the four 'Fields of Mindfulness' (smṛty-upasthānas) to be antidotes to the fourfold perversions[88] (viparyāsas), causing evil arising out of wrong views, viz.

1. the belief in the permanence of objects
2. the belief in the existence of ātman
3. the belief in the purity of things and
4. the belief in the pleasant nature of things.

Such beliefs lead one to wrong views and to evils. An examination of the phenomena reveals the fact that things do not inherently

possess the above features. Hence, *aśubha bhāvanā* has been prescribed to be an antidote to the above said perversions. This meditation is the remedy to lust. It is beautifully outlined in these lines of Manimekalai.[89]

> "anitam tukkam anāṉmā acuc-eṉa-t-
> taṉittu-p-pārttu-p-paṟṟu aṟuttiṭutal".

All things are impermanent (*anittam*). All are sorrowful (tukkam). All are unsubstantial, i.e. They do not have soul (*anāṉmā*).

All are loathsome (*acuci*)- Thus scanning everything, cut at the root of lust. This is essence of the meditation. This *bhāvanā* is also mentioned in *Nilakeci.*[90]

Triple Bhāvanās

The second impediment in the spiritual journey is hatred. It arises out of lust. If the desired objects are not obtained, hatred arises. The vices of anger and the way of conquering it are brought out clearly in the chapter on Vekuḷāmai in Tirukkuṟaḷ. To counteract ill-will, the meditations of friendliness, compassion and equanimity are collectively recommended.

Maitri indicates friendly and benevolent attitude towards not only known persons but all. It is also the contenment of seeing others happy. In its presence, jealousy and malice automatically disapperar. It also denotes the aspiration to do good and to help others.

Karuṇā denotes mercy and compassion to all, especially to the unknown and unhappy beings. The meditation on universal sympathy is named *Karuṇā* . It is the quintessence of Buddhism. The boundless compassion (*mahakaruṇā*) of a *Bodhisattva* is compared to the adequate seasonal rain. The main purpose of taking numerous births of a *Bodhisattva* revolves around exercising the great compassion. His sacrifices that are enumerated under *dāna pāramitā* speak volumes to the greatness of his *mahākaruṇā.*

Muditā indicates sympathetic joy. The main features of *mudita* consist of satisfaction, appreciation, happiness and total freedom from dejection and despondency.

The cultivation of the meditations of *maitri, karuna and muditā* enables the *Bodhisattva* to conquer ill-well. All these three bhāvanas are exquisitely expressed in the follwing passage of Maṇimēkalai.[91]

"maitri karuṇā mutitai-y-eṉṟaṟintu
tiruntuanal uṇarval ceṟṟam aṟṟiṭuka"

Among the three, maitri bhāvana is also mentioned in Nilakeci.[92]

Upekṣā Bhāvanā

Upekṣā means equanimity, impartial and balanced outlook. It also means indifference. A *Bodhisattva is* required to practise this *bhāvanā* also to exterminate inequality found in the differen stratas of society. To an evolved *Bodhisattva,* the duality and polarity of things naturally vanish, since he has acqured sama citta. Nothing is pleasant or unpleasant, pleasurable or painful, good or bad. He neither hates nor loves. He treats gold and stone alike. He has transcended all the three-fold *vedanas,* (constituting one of the fetters in the chain of causation, known as 'pratitya samutpāda').

Upekṣā has also been included in the category of *bodhyangas* (factors of enlightenment)[93] In the Buddhist tradition, preserved in Manimekalai, there is no direct mention of *upekaṣā bhāvanā.* Only the learned editor, Dr. U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar considered that the following passage referred to this *bhāvana.*[94]

"Curuti cintaṉā pāvaṉā taricaṉai-k-
karuti uyttu mayakkam kaḷaika."

Neverthless, these lines disclose the component parts of *prajñā pāramitā* to be seen subsequently.

Prajñā Pāramitā

Prajñā means wisdom. Here it denotes the knowledge of four Noble Truths and the theory of Pratītyasamudpāda, that formed the main corpus of the two major divisions of Buddhism. The commentator of Nīlakēci called it, "mārkka Jñānam (i.e. mārga Jñāna),[95] i.e the knowledge in the philosophy. The perfection in the cultivation of supreme whisdom is the most requried qualification for a *Bodhisattva* to attain the ultimate goal of universal salvation.

Tiruppatikam (1000 A.D.) extols this perfection as "evvamtīr aṟivaracu" - the king of (supreme) knowledge that dispells all distress.[96] The Tamil equivalent for prajñā is 'aṟivaracu'. This word occurs with a slight change in Manimekaḷai. There, the form is 'aṟavaracu' meaning 'the king of ethics'.[97]

The constant practice of *prajñāpāramitā* enables the *Bothisattva* to annihilate all the heretic and erroneous views. It contains the following four parts:

1. *Curuti (Śruti)*

   It denotes hearing the lessons on Buddhism from a qualified Bodhisattva. It also includes the study of the standard Buddhist texts.

2. *Cintaṉā*

   After receiving the lessons from the preceptor, one should cultivate the habit of thinking and reflecting. Thus he is able to grasp the truth. If any doubt or misconception arises, the teacher immediately clarifies and removes them through detailed discussions.

3. *Pāvaṉā (bhāvanā)*

   After deliberations and understanding the right and perfect sense of the scripture, one should meditate on the essence of supreme wisdom. Bhāvanā indicates the assimilation of knowledge.

4. *Taricanai (darśanā)*

   Darśana literally means seeing. Seers are so called because they see the ultimate truth. A *Bodhisattva* is also a seer in the sense that he encounters with the true knowledge and the Absolute Reality. It denotes the perfection of realisation.

All these four parts constitute prajñā, according to the Tamil Buddhist tradition. It is essential and indispensable for a *Bodhisattva* to attain *Nirvāna,* the summum bonum of life, atleast at a later period in the course of his many births. In *Civañāṉa Cittiyār,* it is stated that these components of the acquistion of knowledge are collectively called *eḻil ñāna pūcai* (beautiful wisdom-worship) leading one to attain the lotus feet of Lord Śiva (a metaphoric expression to denote total liberation).[98]

Dhayāna and *prajñā* are intimately connected with each other. Nagarjuna in his famous work *Suhrllekha,* laid stress on the comparitive merits of these two.[99]

> "Where there is no prajñā (true wisdom) there
> is no comtemplation (i.e. *dhyāna or bhāvanā),*

where there is no contemplation, there is also
no wisdom; but know that for him who possesses
these two, the sea of existence is like a grove".

It is essential to note that the Mahāyana text, Prajñā Pāramitā Śutra was worshipped as a holy and reverential object by the Mahāyānists. In the Śaiva tradition Tiruvācakam, the sacred utterances of the Saint Manickavasagar is being worshipped even now at Tirupperunturai, the place where he was blessed by the Divine Guru, Lord Śiva.

So far we have discussed the basic six pāramitās that are needed for the spiritual consummation of a Bodhisattva. Now, let us pass on to deal with the four supplementary pāramitās which are conveniently subsumed under the relevant pāramitā mentioned above.

Upāya Kauśalya Pāramitā

This *pāramitā* is also known as upāya *pāramitā*. It denotes the cultivation of skilfulness or wisdom in the choice and adoptation of the means or expedients for converting others or helping them.[100] After the acquisition of perfect wisdom in the Buddhist principles and texts, the Bodhisattva is expected to develop the techniques and efficiency in imparting the knowledge not only to the adherents but also to the non-believers.

According to *Bodhisattva bhūmi*, a *Bodhisattva* should be an effective preacher. Saṅgha Dharma revealed this perfection when he convincingly preached the greatness of the Buddha and the *Bodhisattva*, their self-less service to all living beings and their turning the Wheel of *Dharma* for the welfare of the world. The efficacy of his words and benevolent deeds made the Jain nun Cutamati and his Vedic father to embrace Buddhism.[101]

Bodhisattva Aravaṇa Aṭikaḷ was an efficient teacher. He excelled in the acquisition of *Ūpāya Kauslaya Pāramitā*. The substance of his teaching depended on the standard and maturity of the recipient. The significance of *śīlas*, the doctrine of *karma* and the transient nature of existence formed the main themes of his preachings to royal persons and affected people, ultimately proselytizing them to become Buddhists. To the evolved disciple Manimekalai, he taught the Buddhist logic and philosophy, finally revealing the path to liberation.[102] It is essential to

note that Aśaṅga's *Yogācārya Bhūmi Śāstra* prescibed *vivāda* among the subjects to be known by a *Bodhisattva.* A<u>r</u>avaṇa Aṭikaḷ excels in the discipline of logic. For various reasons, he has been considered to be the *Bodhisattva Dharmapala,* a native of Kāñci, then went to the North and became the Vice-Chancellor of Nalanda University.

However, this paramitā deserves to be subsumed under dāna pāramitā.

Tiruppatikam describes the preaching of the Bodhisattva pertaining to the destruction of the cycle of birth. His way is called *peruvaḻi,* a Tamil equivalent to the word Mahāyāna. He gets the epithet, peruvaḻiyāṉ, i.e. one who preaches the Great vehicle or possesses the Great Way.[103]

So much we have seen the particulars of upāya pāramitā as evidenced in the Buddhist Tamil works. Next comes praṇidhāna.

Praṇidhāna Pāramitā (also Dayā Pāramitā)

Pranidhāna has been translated as prayer, entreaty and supplication.[104] It also denotes the earnest desire. It has been defined in three ways:

1. The aspiration to happy rebirths
2. The aspiration to the well being of all and
3. The aspiration for the purification of Buddha-fields.

According to the Mahāyana texts, Praṇidhāna denoted the wishful thinking of a liberated Bodhisattva for the deliverance of other beings. Perhaps, through the cultivation of this pāramitā, the devotion to the Buddha and the Bodhisattva should have been emphasised.

In the Tamil Buddhist tradition, in the place of pranidhāna, dayā pāramitā has been posited. Dayā denotes the consummation of compassion. In Jainism, this perfection is regarded to be the root for performing all kinds of charity, and hence *dayā mūla dharma* is emphasised in the ascetic life of a Jain. This technical term is enshrined in the hymns of Saint Appar, returned to Śaivism from the fold of Jainism.[105] However, dayā is to be ranked with karuṇā. The showering of the Bodhisattva's glorified grace is described in Tiruppatikam.[106] Hence it is proper to include *daya paramita* either under *śīla* or *karuṇā bhavanā* of the Brahma vihāra.

However, there are sufficient Jātaka stories found in the Tamil Buddhist literature to substantiate the significance of dayā pāramitā. They may be briefly enumerated.

The removal of the Naraka's distress

The mahākaruṇā of the Bodhisattva was instrumental for his entering the hell to remove the distress and torture of the Narakas. To reap the results of their vicious and wicked deeds, the wrong doers were punished to suffer in hell. In early Buddhism, the strength of karmic effects could not be mitigated. The Pali texts stressed on the inexorability of the theory of karma. But in the Bodhisattvayāna, there is place for grace. The sinners deserve to be saved by the extreme compassion and transfer of merit of the mahāsattvas. In Manimekalai, the following fragment of a full hymn (i.e. pranidhāna) denotes this unique feature of a Bodhisattva.[107]

"narakar tuyarkeṭa naṭappōy ni̱ṉnaṭi"

(I bow to the feet of Thou, who walked in the hell to alleviate the distress of the sufferers in Naraka).

The same gracious feat is also praised in the praṇidhāna poem, addresed to the Bodhisattva, as quoted in the commentary of Viracōḻiyam.[108]

"aruvi̱nai cilarkeṭa oruperu narakiṭai
eri cuṭar maraimalar e̱naviṭum aṭiyi̱nai"

In this poem, the inferno is described as 'the great unique hell.' The Bodhisattva had stepped into the hell, as if walking on the lotus flower.

In this stanza, it is said that he went there to redeem the chosen few from their rare karmic consequences. But in the first reference no such restriction to his mahākaruṇā is noticed.

The Buddhist Sanskirt texts provide enough materials to understand the great compassion of a Bodhisattva. Prajñā pāramitā Sataka proclaimed that the Bodhisattva out of his limitless compassion resolved to suffer the torments and turmoils of the dreadful hells for a very long period with the noble objective of leading all suffered to get perfect illunination.[109]

In the opening portion of Karaṇḍavyūha (200 A.D.), there is the description of Bodhisatva Avalokiteśvara's descent into the fireful Avici hell to liberate the afflicted lot from their torture:[110]

"No sooner does he enter it, then the scorching glow turns into agreeable coolness; in place of the cauldrons in which millions of the damned are boiling like vegetable, there appears a lovely Lotus Pond. The seat of torture is transformed into a pleasance".

This discription stands comparison with that of Saint Appar, when he was put in the kiln by the Jaina Pallava king, for restoring himself to his Śaiva faith, quitting Jainism.[111]

The removal of the Nāga's Distress

In the Indian legends, Nāgas are always opposed to Garuḍas. It is a belief that the efficacy of Garuda dhyāna would miraculously cure the snake-bite. However, the Bodhisattva could not tolerate the suffering of the snakes from the inimical garuḍa birds. This merciful act of Bodhisattva is noted in Manimekalai.[112]

"urakar tuyaram o̱lippōy niṉṉaṭi"

(I bow to the feet of Thou who alleviated the distress of uragas)

Since the Nagas became devotees of the Buddha, U̱raiyur in Tiruccirāpaḷḷi has been named as *uragapuram* according to the Buddhist Tamil tradition.

The poems quoted in the commentary of Viracōḻiyam contain many references of the Bodhisattva's concern for the Nagas.[113] The substance of these poems would reveal his compassionate outlook. In one poem, the liberation of the Nāgas from the destined hell is applauded. The Nāgas are depicted to have the brilliance and beauty (because of the association with the radiance of the Bodhisattva). Some poems disclose the Bodhisattva's preaching on the ethics of grace (dayā dharma) to the king of Garudas in order to save the whole community of the suffering Nāgas. Dayā dharma is glorified in the epithets vāymaine̱ri (the path of truth), a̱ram (ethics) and vāyamiḻtam (the nectar of truth).[114]

The Jātaka stories furnish sufficient materials to understand the whole backgroud of this rare achievement of the Bodhisattva.

Jimūtavāhana, being a prince lived with his father in the woods. His wife, Malayavati was a princess. One day when the princess was strolling, he witnessed a young boy, Saṅkhacūḍa of the Nāga tribe, coming on the way followed by an attendant to don him with red garments subsequently to offer himself as a prey to Garuḍa. The prince came to understand that the cruel Garuda demanded the Nāgas to give him every day a human offering. That day was the young boy's turn. His mother wept over the plight fallen on his dear son However, the Bodhisattva prince decided to save the boy and his mother, by sacrificing his own body to the vulture. But, when the carnivorous bird approached him to eat, it was surprise to see him in a joyous mood that made it realise its folly and asked the pardon of the prince. Further,it promised to refrain henceforth from killing any living being. The preaching of the Bodhisattva on the merits of dayā mercifully tempted the Garuda to procure nectar that restored all the dead Nāgas to life.[115]

The Avadāna of Dṛṣṭiviṣa

The Bodhisattva in one of his innumerable births was born as the king of Nāgas with the name Saṅkapāla.His world was a land of pleasure. Everybody was joyous. So the king got no chance to exercise his compassion. In order to make his body useful to others, he incarnated himself again as Dṛṣṭiviṣa (the snake with deadly poisonous vision, the mere sight of which would burn anyone to ashes). He coiled himself around an ant-hill by the side of a highway with the aspiration of sacrificing his skin and flesh to the needy. The hunters who came that way attempted to kill it with sharp stakes. The Bodhisattva-snake kept his eyes closed, otherwise his mere sight would kill them. In the meanwhile, a land owner of Mithilā, who passed that way, noticed the hunters disturbing the snake. In a sympathetic mood, he offered them enough gold coins and thus delivered the snake. After resuming his royal shape, Sankapala returned to the world of Nāgas and the land owner was invited to his court and sumptuously rewarded.[116]

The Saṅkapāla legand is briefly stated in the commentary of Nilakeci.[117] (In Manimekalai references to Dṛṣṭiviṣa-snake are found 9.50; 11.100; 21.11 etc.).

The Sacrifice of the Hare

In *Nīlakēci,* there is a reference to *sasa jātaka* of the *Bodhisattva* to illustrate his perfection in the cultivation of *dayā pāramitā.*[118] The

poem of Māṉāvūr also refers to this *jātaka.* This story has many versions, but all of them denoting the *mahākaruṇā* of the great *Bodhisattva.* The popular version of the story is briefly summarized here under.

In a forest, four animals lived as comrades. They exercised hospitality to the guests. As usual in most of the *Jātaka* stories, Indra, assuming the form of a brahmin, came to the forest to test the extent of hospitality exhibited by the individual animals. They accorded a warm reception to him with a request to stay with them for long. To start with, the otter treated the guest with some fishes procured from a pond. Similarly, the jackal offered him sour milk and a lizard. The monkey, for its turn, gave him mango fruits. When the turn came to the hare (*sasa, muyal*), it blinked since it could not get anything except a few blades of grass. Finally, it resoved to ruin itself in the miraculous fire to become the palatable food for Indra. To the wonder of all, the sky showered flowers. The unique sacrifice of the hare was extolled and its image was scribed on the disc of the moon.[119] This *Jataka* story is implicitly stated in the *Caṅkam* classic, *Kalittokai* 'tiṅkaḷuḷ tōṉṟi-y-irunta kuṟumuyāl' (144.18).

Similar stories of the animals and birds serve as parables to expose their greatness and the littleness of human beings. They are meant especially to the unlettered to grasp the significance of kindness, compassion and hospitality, and also to the elite to get themselves corrected. These stories have also missionary zeal of propaganda.

There are some more *jātakas* revealing the grace of *Bodhisattva* noted in the Tamil works. They may be summarized briefly.

The Avadāna of the Monkey

In the text and commentary of *Nīlakēci,* the *avadāna* of the *Bodhisattva* monkey has been unfolded.[120] It is based on the *mahākapi jātaka.*[121] The *Bodhisattva* in his birth as a monkey had a retinue of several thousand monkeys. Indra created a sweet mango tree on the banks of a river (Ganges) to feed them. It so happened that a fruit, fallen into the river, was seized by the king of Banaras while he was bathing there. He tasted it. The extreme sweetness and excellent flavour of the mango fruit made him to instruct his forest guards to protect the tree. On hearing that the fruits were plucked by the monkeys, the king ordered to kill them. One day, the guards noticed the monkeys seated in the tree. In order to

save the monkeys from the guards the *Bodhisattva*-monkey asked some of his partners to bring a very long and sturdy bamboo shoot, to be tied one end to the nearest branch of the tree and the other end to his own body, thus making a cause-way across the river so that all the monkeys could escape safely. Accordingly, it was brought. Since the bamboo was a little bit short, he compensated the gap by miraculously lengthening his body enabling the monkeys to expedite their escape. Since the *Bodhisattva* remained alone, allowing all his kinsfolk to escape he was caught by the guards. Knowing his magnanimous attitude, the king did not do any harm to him. The *Bodhisattva* while preaching the ethics of polity to the king, lost his consciousness. In the place of his demise, a shrine was erected and thus he was honoured. The king closely followed the ethics, ruled righteously and finally attained celestial life.

The glorification of monkey is found in the *jātakas,* next to the epic *Ramāyaṇa.* The significance of sweet mango fruit of the above *jātaka* legend stands partial comparison with that of the Tamil chieftain Naṉṉaṉ of Cankam period, and of Kāraikkal Ammaiyār of the Pallava period.

The Avadāna of the Matsya Bodhisattva

The *Bodhisattva,* in one of his births, was a fish living in a pond.Sometimes, there was no rain. The tanks were dried up. Since there was no water in the pond all the fishes, frogs and other aquatic beings in it got burried in the mud. So, they became easily a prey to the vultures and crows. On seeing the plight of his kinsfolk, the *Bodhisattva-fish* came out from its hideout. In all sincerity and mercy, he entreated the king of devas to shower sufficient rain to save all the fellow creatures. It rained and thus the fishes were saved. This story of the matsya *Bodhisattva* is noted in one panegyric Tamil poem addressed to *Mahāsattva.*[122]

It is to be mentioned that the *Bodhisattva* willingly abandoned the attainment of *Nirvāṇa,* undertaking different births of various species and genus, not out of karmic effect, but because of his remitting compassion to save all kinds of beings. Therefore, their births were not in accordance with the doctrine of *karma.* They may be compared with the incarnations of Tirumāl, who has also taken the birth of a boar, fish, tortoise, hamsa etc., to save the world. If the birth of a *Bodhisattva* as a bird or an animal was presumed due to the effect of his previous *karma,* then as an animal or a bird, he could not have spoken, tusk grown and

sacrificed his meat to others, as per the commentary of *Nīlakēci.* Unlike the ordinary animals and birds, the *Bodhisattva* in these forms did yeoman service to make all fellow beings lead a happy life.

The Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* are always eulogized in the Tamil texts, as *paratukka tukki,* i.e. one who feels sorrowful on seeing the sorrow of others. The Jātaka legends uniformly disclosed the fact that mankind has to learn many things from the birds and beasts to restructure the social order, soaked with mercy and compassion. When we read these stories, we are reminded of the famous utterance of Wordsworth: *'Let nature be your Teacher'.*

So far, the cultivtion of *dayā pāramitā* has been illustrated from the *jātaka* stories, referred in the Budddhist Tamil poems. Next in the order of *pāramitās* stands *bala pāramitā.*

Bala Pāramitā

This denotes the perfection of strength. *Tiruppatikam* descibed this *pāramitā,* by praising the *Bodhisattva* possessing full vigour and strength and bereft of any blame.[123] Among the thirty seven practices and principles *(bodhipakṣāya dharmaḥ)* that enable a *Bodhisattva* to attain Enlightenment, five-fold balas are considered prominent.Different lists of *balas* are found in the *Mahāyana* texts. The following two sets of *balas* are the most significant.[124]

One set of five balas

This category included faith (*śraddhā*), energy (*vīrya*), mindfulness (*smrti*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajña*).

Another Set of Five Balas

In this series *puṇya* (merit), *prajñā* (wisdom), *jñāna*(knowledge), *kṣānti*(mental peace) and *vīrya* (enery) are enumerated. All of them indicate the moral, psychical and also physical prowess of a *Bodhisattva.*

When we look into the above lists, some common *balas* are found. The *pāramitās* are also counted. A *Bodhisattva* is required to cultivate the perfection of *bala* so that his psychic and physical features would be strong enough to discharge his missionary duties.

Usually the Buddha has been dignified as *daśa bala,* since he possessed all the ten *balas.* The *Bodhisattva* also was honoured with this appellation.

Normally, *bala pāramitā* deserves to be counted under *vīrya pāramitā,* since both are related.

Bala is connected with *jñāna* which is counted as the tenth *pāramitā.*

Jñāna Pāramitā

Jñāna denotes spiritual wisdom. The commentator of *Nīlakēci* explained this *pāramitā* as the perfection in the study and realisation of the contents of Abhidharma pitaka.[125] It is pertinent to note that Abhidhamma piṭaka belongs to the *Hīnayāna,* while *Abhidarma piṭaka* belongs to *Mahāyana.* Since the form *Abhidharma* (the Sanskrit form) and not *Abhidhamma* (Pali form) is found in the commentary of *Nīlakēci,* it goes without saying that the *Bodhisattva* is required to study and assimilate the essence of the *Mahāyāna Abhidharma.* It is to be borne in mind that the *Mahāyanists* have developed their own *Tripiṭaka,* all written in Sanskrit.[126]

The poem of *Tiruppatikam* already quoted to illustrate *prajñā pāramitā* has been presented again to elucidate the *jñāna pāramitā* also. Here, the epithet denoting this perfection, *a<u>r</u>ivu aracu* means the acme of wisdom. Thus, it is clear that *jñāna pāramitā* deserves to be treated with *prajñā pāramitā* , instead of considering it as a separate perfection.

As it has already been pointed out, the attempt to count the *pāramitās* with decimal accuracy resulted in the sub-division of some of the original *pāramitās* to be treated as supplementary*pāramitās.*

Ascetic Practices

The *Bodhisattva* should cultivate all the prescribed *pāramitās* for universal enlightement and liberation. In addition, he should also practise the ascetic norms, originally promulgated to be strictly adhered by the *Arhats* of *Hīnayāna.* In the Pali tradition, these ascetic practices are clssified into thirteen groups.[127] They are collectively called *dhūtaṅgas,* In the Sanskrit Buddhism, they are known as *dhūtaguṇas,* and their number is twelve. The word *tutāṅku* is also used in *Nīlakēci* to

denote the same (356). In the same text and its commentary, the words *tutāṅkaṉam* (316) and *pāraviṭṭam* (359) also meant the same. The word *dhūta* denotes a purified and perfect ascetic while *angas* or *gunas* mean the component parts or qualities.[128] In the commentry of *Nīlakēci* the practice of these ascetic norms is noted as *tutāṅkānuṣṭāṉam.* i.e.the observance of dhūtāṅga.[129] After the enumeration of the ten *pāramitās,* the *dhūtāngas* are enlisted in *Nīlakēci.*[130] The text, to a larger extent, followed the *Viśuddhimārga* of *Buddhaghoṣa* in describing the twelve *aṅgas,*[131] These practices are devised with the main objective of reducing the wants of an ascetic or a *Bodhisattva* to the bare minimum, so that any passion or temptation is not allowed to arise.

According to the *Mahāyana* texts such as *Daśa Bhūmika Sūtra* and *Samādhi Rāja Sūtra,* the cultivation of these ascetic practices by a *Bodhisattva* procured him the specific psychic powers and super-knowledge known as *abhijñās.* Each of them may be briefly explained.[132]

Virukkamūli-y-ākal

This practice indicates that a *Bodhisattva* should reside at the foot of a tree or beneath the shade of a tree. Usually, he is described as *Pōtimātavaṉ* i.e. an ascetic dwelling at the foot of *bodhi* tree. Even Tirumūlar, the Śaiva saint expressed in a figurative language that he existed under the shade of Śivabodhi. Lord Śiva in his manifestation as Daksiṇāmūrthy is seated under a banyan tree in a meditative posture. So residing beneath a tree indicates aloofness, essential for contemplation and it seems to be a common feature in Indian religions.

The *Bodhisattva* who is seated under the *Bodhi* tree is reminded about the impermenence by perceiving the fallen leaves of the tree. He is expected not to live in luxurious buildings. Forest life is conducive for his spiritual life. That is why he should keep himself far away from the madding crowd.

This practice is called *virkṣa mūlikah* in *Mahāyana* texts. In the Sanskrit tradition, living in the forest is known as *āraṇyakaḥ* which is counted as-a separate ascetic practice. It is to be understood that even in the living at a forest the *Bodhisattva* is to be seated under the bodhi tree and hence the practices *āraṇyakaḥ* and *vṛkṣa mūlikaḥ* are not different.

Veḷḷiṭai Uṟaital

This practices is also concerned with the *Bodhisattva's* residence. In a developed stage, he should neglect his dwelling even at the root of a tree and be prepared to halt in the open unsheltered space. Because of his consummation of *bala* and *vīrya pāramitās,* he could withstand the inclemencies of the seasons. Like the free animals rambling in the open space fearlessly, he leads a care-free life. Under the roof of the heaven, the luminaries in the sky provide light for his habitation. His closeness to nature and solitude bring him solace, serenity and peace. This practice corresponds to *abhyavākāsikaḥ* mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist works.

Marukkaiyiṉ Mayāṉattu-c-Cēkkai

This practice denotes the residence of *Bodhisattva* in or near a cemetery or cermatory. When he sees the dead bodies either buried or burnt, the transient nature of human life is brought to his mind. He could cultivate the *aśubha bhāvanā* on seeing the loathsome aspects of the corpse.

This exercise in the *Mahayana* tradition is called *Śmāśnikah.*

Peṟṟataṉṉiṟ Cēkkai

The *Bodhisattva* should be contented with any bed, offered by a devotee or a laymen. He would not aspire to get a convenient or better bed. This ascetic practice is meant exclusive for a monk and not for a nun. He should bear all kinds of sufferings.

According to the commentator of *Nīlakēci, cēkkai* means uncertain habitation. This habit resembles *yathā-samastarikaḥ* of the *Mahāyana* texts. It is evident that the practice of the austerities of the ancient Hindu ascetic comes very close to the severe discipline of an *Arhat* and *Bodhisattva.*

Iruttal Niṟṟal

Iruttal means sitting and *Niṟṟal* denotes standing. Even lying on the ground was considered to be a luxury and it may develop sluggishness and hence, to be avoided.

Iruttal here indicates remaining in the meditative posture, contemplating on Buddha and his *dharma.* Such a habit would develop

the psychic power. Once in a while, he may stand and sometimes walk. All these habits avoid the luxury of laying.

In the *Mahāyana* works, it is stated that a *Bodhisattva* should remain in sitting posture. There is also a different elucidation of this practice, i.e. he should live in a small tent, accomodating only a single person. This *dhūtaguṇa* reminds us the story of the early *Āḻvārs (oruvar paṭukka, iruvar irukka, mūvar niṟka).* This practice stands on a par with *naiśadikaḥ* of the Sanskrit Buddhism.

The aforesaid five practices indicate the gradually restricted provision for an ascetic or a *Bodhisattva* with regard to his dwelling.

Iṭṭa Kūṟai Eytal

The *Bodhisattva* should get only the robe, offered by the devotees and laymen. He should not aspire to get costly clothes. The Pali and Sanskirt texts explained this practice in a different way. The *Bodhisattva* had to collect the worn out rags thrown out by the people as useless, and make out of them a robe for his clothing. This practice is known as *pāmśukūlikaḥ.* It shows that the *Bodhisattva* was to cultivate the sense of indiference not only with regard to his residence, but also to his dress. Since his mind is pure, there is no botheration about his dirty dress. He should delight himself even at the worst circumstances. Also it may be said that he carried dirty only around his body, while others settled in their mind. However, the inner purity is the essential feature of an *Arhat* and a *Bodhisattva.*

Attiṭṭu Āṭaikōṭal

The *Bodhisattva* should cover his body with the three kinds of clothes, prescribed in the Buddhist scripture. They are: 1. loin cloth, 2. upper garment and 3. shoulder garment. This habit of dressing is called *mūvāṭai-p-paḻakkam* in Tamil. It corresponds to the Sanskrit, *traicivarikah.* The Buddhist ascetic was identified by his dress 'civaram' in *Tēvāram* hymns.[133] He is often contrasted with a Jain monk who never wore any cloth.

The above mentioned two practices indicate the restriction of dress intended to a *Bodhisattva.*

Maṉaikaḷai Varucciyār Pukutal

The *mahāsattva* is common to all. All are equal to him. So, he should not discriminate the houses for getting alms. He avoided the invitation of the people to dine with them. He accepted food from any house-holder, without considering his status. He was expected to visit every house iṇ an order to receive food. This practice was called *paiṇḍapātikaḥ* in Sanskrit Buddhist texts.

Maṟṟavaṟṟōṭu Uṇṭal

This prescription denotes that a *Bodhisattva* would eat whatever food was offered to him. He had to satisfy with any food and should not prefer tasty food. It implied that he should not become a slave to the tongue.

According to the commentator of *Nīlakēci,* the bhikṣu was allowed to consume *Kalpya māmsa* (meat obtained not killed by himself).[134] But, the *Mahāyana* texts prohibited totally any kind of meat eating.[135] In some Sanskrit texts, the practise of eating at one sitting and having only one seat, known as *aikāsanikaḥ* has been included in the list of ascetic prescriptions of *Bodhisattva.* Ehaltasanikaḥ becomes *aikāsanikaḥ.* Since *Nialakeci* is a Jain literature, one cannot expect all details of the practices of the *Bodhisattva* as recorded in the Buddhist works.

Amaiyum Eṉa Niṅkutal

Moderation in the food was essential for a *Bodhisattva.* He must give up begging as soon as he received sufficient food just to appease his hunger. He should not take additional food after eating the first meal. Dhammapada and Tirukkuṟaḷ stressed on the restriction of food to maintain a healthy body.[136]

Pērttu Uṇṇātu Oḻital

The commentator interprets this practise indicating the avoidance of food at improper times. In the Pali tradition, the practitioner is called *Khalu-pacchā bhattika* that means a person who rejects alms offered to him after the proper time. In the Sanskrit tradition, he is known as *Khalu-paścād-bhaktikaḥ,* a person who does not take food for a second time on a day. It is meant that a *Bodhisattva* eats only once a day. In this context,

it is essential to point out the Tamil proverb stating that a persion eating three times a day is a rogi i.e., a patient, two times a day is a bhogi i.e. a sensuous person and once a day a yogi i.e., mystic. Hence, it is better to note that restriction of food and concentration on the goal are treated to be a common feature in Indian spritual life.

Piccai Kuṟittuḻi-p-Pukāmai

The *Bodhisattva* should not go for alms thinking the house of a particular person. Or it may mean that if someone fixes a time and place for providing alms, the *Bodhisattva* should not entertain the offer. This practice is to be treated under *maṉaikaḷai varucciyar pukutal,* noted above (See.8).

Tuṟṟiyuyttal

The commentator of *Nīlakeci* defines this practice indicating the reduction even of the minimum meal by one or two handfuls. Again excessive moderation is stressed for the career of a *Bodhisattva.*

Practices from 9-13 refer to the restriction of food. When compared with the practices connected with residence and dress, these are numerically more, stressing on the importance of moderate eating.

Thus, the *dhūtāṅgas* are explained in the light of the Buddhist texts. However, in the order of enumeration of these ascetic practices, some notable changes are found. In addition, certain practices are defined by different terms. One or two are not uniformly found in all the lists. For instance, *nāmatikaḥ* denotes the practice of wearing woolen garment. The reason for the omission of this practice in the Tamil list should be due to the climatic condition of Tamil Nadu where such a robe was not required. However, in the essentials no remarkable change is noticed. It is pertinent to note that reference to the twelve fold (or thirteen) *dhūtāṅgas* is not found in the Buddhist Tamil epic *Manimekalai* (500 A.D.). The absence to this in the epic is beyond the cognition of the present author.

All the *dhūtāṅgas* or *dhūtaguṇas* speak only the minimum needs of a *Bodhisattva* concerning with his dwelling, clothing and eating. The Tamil Buddhism stoutly proclaimed that providing these three requrements to all (including the ascetics and *Bodhisattvas*) constituted the basic and fundamental virtue.[137]

So, in the spiritual and altruistic life of a *Bodhisattva,* the cultivation of *pārmaitās* and *dhūtāṅgas* was considered essential as per the details available in *Nilakeci* and its commentary.

In the *Mokkala vātac carukkam,* it is clearly stated that these perfections and ascetic practices are meant for the excellent *Bodhisattvas* who are in the process of becoming "Buddhas".[138] After transcending the levels of *Arhat* and *Pratyeka Buddha,* the *Bodhisattva's* ultimate achievement is to become 'Buddha'. That is clearly noted in the text. That is why the concept of innumerable Buddhas finds a supreme place in *Mahayana* Buddhism, allowing all the qualified beings to attain *bodhisattvahood,* ultimately leading to *Buddhahood.*

The particulars with regard to these perfections and ascetic practices found in the Buddhist Tamil works are in conformity with their counterparts in Pali and Sanskrit texts to a larger extent. Some minor variations that are indicated in the course of this article reveal the unique features of the Tamil Buddhism, prevalent in the South during 450 A.D. to 1400 A.D. The absence of notable differences in the observations of the *Bodhisattvahood* indicates the fact that the Tamil Buddhists were sincere and serious to a larger extent in adopting the principles prescribed in the authoritative Buddhist texts.

Conclusion

As a result of the study carried out in the foregoing pages, the following findings are to be reckoned:

1. The *Bodhisattvayāna* is variously known as *pāramitayāna, eka-yāna* and *Mahāyāna.*

2. The *Bodhisattva* has been regarded more than an Arhat and a *Pratyeka Buddha.*

3. Altruism and absolute compassion are the essence of *Bodhisattvayāna.*

4. The Buddhist Tamil epic *Maṇimēkalai* and the poems quoted in the commentaries of *Nīlakēci, Vīracōḻiyam* and *Civañāṉa cittiyār* contain sufficient materials to substantiate the noble concept of *Bodhisattva* who rejected personal *Nirvāṇa* in order to strive for the welfare of all beings.

5. The word *pōticattuvar,* the Tamilized form of *Bodhisattva* occurs for the first time in *Nilakeci.* A *Bodhisattva* is also referred merely as *cattauvar (sattva)* in the same text.

6. The commentator of *Nilakeci* has used the word *Āḻvār* to denote a *Bodhisattva.*

7. In *Manimekalai,* atleast four *Bodhisattvas* are clearly identified. Among them *Bodhisattva* Aṟavaṇa Aṭikaḷ is held supreme.

8. In the text and commentary of *Nilakeci,* the *avadāna* of the Tooth-*Bodhisattva* has been recorded.

9. In the Tamil Buddhist grammatical work, *Vīracōḻiyam,* the *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara has been glorified. He is regarded to be the preceptor of the Saint Akattiyar who learnt Tamil from him and disseminated the language in the word.

10. Unlike the Sanskrit Buddhism which considered Avalokita to be the personification of compassion, the Tamil Buddhism extolled him to be the god of learning. He was treated on a par with Lord Śiva.

11. The primary requisites of a *Bodhisattva* are the cultivation of *paramitas* and constant practice of *dhutangas* as mentioned in the Jain polemic epic *Nīlakēci.* This concept of *Bodhisattva* is in complete agreement with the main details furnished in the Pali and Sanskrit texts.

12. The Sanskrit word *Pāramitā* usually means 'highest perfection'. In the Tamil Buddhist tradition, it is meant *Pūrittal, Pūraṇai and Niraittal* denoting consummation (of good qualities).

13. In the Sanskrit Buddhism, *pāramitā* and *pāramī* are alternant forms to indicate 'supreme perfection.' These words are also used in the Tamil Buddhist works. In addition, *pāram* and *pāravatam* are also used as synonyms.

14. Normally the number of *pāramitās* are ten in the *Mahāyāna* tradition. In the Tamil texts, they are counted even as thirty and in one context they are said to be limtless signifying its absolute character.

15. In the Tamil Buddhistic tradition, *kṣānti* and *pranididhāna pāramitās* are named respectively as *kṣamā* and *dayā*. The names of some *pāramitās* are rendered into Tamil.

16. The minor Tamil Buddhist work *Tiruppatikam* elucidates all the ten *pāramitās*.

17. Most of the *jātaka* stories and *avadāna* legends found in the Tamil works are clearly the adaptations of their original Sanskrit versions.

18. The legends and parables are very many to illustrate *dāna pāramitā* and hence its significance in the career of a *Bodhisattva* becomes evident.

19. In defining *dhyāna pāramitā*, the Tamil tradition has its special feature.

20. The *bhāvanās* are prescribed in *Manimekalai* to root out the three fold evils of lust, hatred and illusion, which are the impediments in the road to *Nirvāṇa*.

21. *Prajñā pāramitā* is known as *aṟivaracu* in *Tiruppatikam*.

22. *Mahāyana* is called *Peruvaḻi* in the Tamil Buddhistic tradition.

23. *Dhūtāṅga* is referred by the words *tutāṅku, tutāṅkaṉam* and *pāraviṭṭam* in *Nilakeci*.

24. The ascetic practices of a *Bodhisattva* are described in *Nilakeci* and its commentary closely following Buddhaghosa's *Viśuddhimarga*.

25. The concept of *Bodhisattva* is essentially concerned with boundless compassion, complete enlightenment and universal *Nirvāṇa* as evidenced from the Buddhist Tamil poems.

NOTES

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2. *Nilakeci*, Cakkaravarti Nayinar Edition [Reprint], Thanjavur Tamil university, 1984, p.138

3. Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, London, 1921, p.9

4. Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 49-50

5. Nariman, J.K., *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism,* New Delhi : Motilal Banarasidass, 1972, p.47

6. Ibid., p.50

7. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature,* London, 1932, pp.4-9

8. *Nilakeci,* p. 9, p.138

9. *Manimekalai,* XI-64

10. Ibid., V-73. This concept had its roots also in *Akanāṉūṟu,* 54, *Puraṉaanūṟu* 182.8-9 and *Naṟṟiṇai,* 186. It is be understood that the ancient Tamils upheld the noble concept of living for the benefit of others. This view is in conformity with that of a Bodhisattva.

11. *Maṇimēkalai,* XXV-116-117

12. *Viracoliyam.* Edited by K.R. Govindaraja Mudaliar, Madras, 1970, p.125

13. Ibid, p.143

14. Ibid, p.114, p.144

15. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature,* p.18

16. Kandaswamy, S.N., *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam,* Madras, University of Madras, 1977, pp.23-29

17. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine...* p.29

18. Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism, its Doctrine and Methods through the Ages,* London: Tharpa Publication, 1987, p.433

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20. Ibid, 176

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22. *Manimekalai,* XI-43; 73-74; XII 101-102; XII-111; XI-29; XXIX.23-24; XXX 10-11

23. Kandaswamy, S.N., *Buddhism as Expounded in Manimekalai*, Annamalai Nagar, Annamalai University, 1978, p.124

ii. *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam*, pp.26-27

24. Ibid, i. pp.124-127, ii. pp.27-28

25. Ibid, i.pp.127-134, ii. pp.28-30

26. Ibid, i.pp.134-139, ii. pp.30-33

27. *Takkayāka-p-paraṇi*, U.V.S. Edition, Madras, 1930, p.78

28. *Nilakeci*, p.128

29. *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam*, pp.39-40

30. i. *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, pp.72-76

ii. *A History of Indian Literature*, pp.307-309

31. *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam*, pp.39-40; ii. Hindusim and Buddhism, Vol.II, p.15

32. *Nilakeci*, pp. 144-145

33. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp.165-7

34. *Maṇimēkalai*, XXVI-45; XXIX-26

35. *Nīlakēci*, 354, 359

36. Ibid, 357

37. *Vīracōḻiyam*, p.141

38. Ibid, p.142

39 i. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p.168

ii. *Manimekalai*, XXIV-137; XXX-1

40. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p.167

41. i. *Nilakeci*, 354

ii. *Viracoliyam*, p.140; p.144

42. *Manimekalai*, XXVI-45; XXIX-26

43. Kandaswamy, S.N., "Pautta Camaya Nulkaḷ," *Teyvattamiḻ*, Madras: University of Madras, 1975, p.383

44. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine;* p.171

45. Vide, No.43 above; *Nilakeci,* pp.144-5

46. *Nilakeci,* p.144

47. Ibid., 205; p.78 *Viracoliyam,* p.125

48. *Manimekalai,* XI-66

49. *Nilakeci,* p.78, f.n.

50. *Viracoliyam,* p.125

51. i. *Nilakeci,* 205; also see the poem quoted in page 78 of the same text.

    ii. *Viracoliyam,* p. 115

52. *History of Indian Literature,* Vol.II, p.282

53. *Puranānūru,* 37,39,43 & 46

54. *Cilappatikāram,* XX 51-2; XXII:58; XXVII 166-168; XXIX 17, 1-2

55. *Vīracōliyam,* p.61

56. Ibid., p.115

57. Ibid.,

58. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine...* pp.183-184

59. *Nīlakēci,* 233, pp.84-5

60. i. *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism,* pp.42-44

    ii. *Nīlakēci,* 205

    iii. *Vīracōliyam,* pp.140, p.142

61. *Viracoliyam,* p.114; p.126; Also see: *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism,* p.42

62. *Nilakeci,* p.78 the poem with the start 'mikka tanaṅkaḷai'

63. *Viracoliyam,* p.115

64. *Nilakeci,* 205

65. Ibid., p.78; p.65

66. *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II.pp.151-2

67. Ibid., p.163; *Nilakeci, Introduction,* p.115; also vide, the poem quoted in p.66 in the commentary

68. *Manimekalai,* XII 115-118

69. *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam,* pp.172-173

70. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p.173

71. *Viracoliyam,* p.144

72. *Manimekalai,* VIII 54-63

73. *Nilakeci,* 205

74. See above No. 43

75. *Nilakeci,* p.144

76. *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam,* pp.125-148

77. Ibid, pp.152-154

78. *Nilakeci,* p. 144

79. Kandaswamy, S.N. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Kūṟum Uṟuti-p-poruḷ,* Madras: Manivasagar Patippagam, 1977, pp.181-183

80. *Manimekalai,* V-60

81. *Nilakeci,* p.144

82. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p.217

83. *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam,* pp.140-141

84. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* pp.225-226

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86. Ibid.,

87. Kandaswamy, S.N. "The Philosophical aspects of Paripāṭal", *Philosophical Heritage of the Tamils,* Madras: I.I.T.S. 1983, p.130

88. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p.91

89. *Manimekalai,* XXX 254-5

90. *Nilakeci,* p.160

91. *Manimekalai,* XXX 256-257

92. *Nilakeci,* p.142

93. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p.149; p.153

94. *Manimekalai,* XXX 258-9; p.389, f.n.

95. *Nilakeci,* p.145

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97. *Manimekalai,* XXIX-27

98. *Civañāṉa cittiyār,* 8.23

99. Das Gupts, S.N., *A History of Indian Philosophy* Vol.I Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963, pp.144-145

100. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p.248

101. i. *Buddhism as Expounded in Maṇimēkalai,* pp.124-127.

ii. *Tamiḻ Ilakkiyattil Pauttam,* pp.27-28

102. Ibid., i. pp.134-139, ii.pp30-33

103. *Nilakeci,* p.145

104. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p.64

105. *Tirumuṟai* VI 20.6; 40.6

106. *Nīlakēci,* p. 145

107. *Manimekalai,* XI-69

108. *Viracoliyam,* p.140

109. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* p.178

110. *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism,* p.76

111. *Tirumuṟai,* V 90.1

112. *manimekalai,* XI-70

113. *Viracoliyam,*p.140, 142, 144

114. Ibid., p.244; p.142

115. i *History of Indian Literature.* Vol. II, pp.293-4

ii.*The Bodhisattva Doctrine,* pp, 184-5

116. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II, p.202, p.386

117. *Nilakeci*, p.199

118. Ibid., p.271

119. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II. p.150, f.n.3

120. *Nilakeci*, 221. p.84

121. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II, pp.150-151

122. i. *Nilakeci*, p.79

ii. *Viracoliyam*, p.141

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124. *The Bodhisattva Dotrine*, pp.141-142

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126. *Tamiḻum Tattuvamum*, pp.141-142

127. Law, B.C., *A History of Pali Literature*, Vol.II, London, 1933, p.402

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130. Ibid., 355, 356

131. See above No. 127

132. *Tamiḻ Ilakkiyattil Pauttam*, pp.59-61

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134. *Nilakeci*, p.145

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THE TYPES OF SYLLOGISM IN INDIAN LOGIC WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TAMIL

All the systems of Indian philosophy are broadly divided into two groups, viz., the orthodox and the heterodox. The former accepted the Vedic works as the supreme authority, whereas the latter repudiated their infallibility and based their philosophy on their own treatises. There is one more division of Indian philosophy which accepted the *Agamas* as the primary source. All these systems developed their own theory of knowledge in order to establish their own view points.

The study of logic is an essential and integral part of Indian philosophy. The main aim of most of the thinkers has been to identify the Ultimate Reality, delineated as *Satyam* (-Truth), *Śivam* (-Goodness) and *Sundaram* (Beauty). These three aspects of the Supreme Reality are to be grasped through the study and realisation of the triple branches of Indian thought viz., logic, ethics and aesthetics. Here, our primary concern is with regard to the first, i.e. logic. The factors of knowledge, the ways of knowing, the various forms and sources of knowledge, their classification and their practical efficiency in the proper understanding of the physical and metaphysical realities contribute to the stuff and substance of Indian logic.

Significance of Reasoning

Indian philosophers were neither dogmatic nor sceptic. They gave much importance to the process of reasoning. Only the statements that withstood the test of reasoning were held valid. Intellectual inquiry, empirical experience and spiritual insight occupied important place in the domain of Indian logic. Debates and discussions, being intellectual tournaments, were based on the principles of logic. Even grammarians were great dialecticians, as evidenced from the canons of syntactical structures, interpretation of the semantic significance of third and fifth case signs and adducing realtionship between *sabda* and *artha* (i.e. word and its meaning), etc. Rhetoricians exhibited their involvement in logic when they discussed some forms of figure of speech, such as *upamāna, hetu,* etc.

So far scholars have unearthed materials for the study of Indian logic only from Sanskrit and Prakrit sources. It is a pity that rich materials embalmed in the Tamil classics, both secular and philosophical, did not receive the required attention from Indologists to study Indian logic and philosophy. This paper mainly aims to discuss only one aspect of Indian logic, viz., the types of syllogism as developed in the various schools of Indian philosophy, taking into account the rich data available from Tamil sources.

Two types of Inference

The overt classification of inference into two categories, viz., inference for oneself *(svārthānumāna)* and inference for others *(parārthānumāna)* was first made by Dignaga (400-450 A.D.), the great Buddhist logician of the Sautrāntika Yogācāra school and a native of Kānci. Though his works dwindled into oblivion in his native land, they were preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. They were rediscovered and interpreted by great indologists like G. Tucci and others. Inference for oneself indicates an iternal process of congnition of an individual. Inference for others denotes the methods of communicating to the audience inferential knowledge in the form of syllogism.

Syllogism is a method of a logical argument based on inference leading to a valid conclusion. In the beginning, the method of syllogistic reasoning was used for the inference for oneself. In course of time it was utilised as a technique transmitting one's own inferential knowledge to others. However, the classification of inference into *svārthānumāna* and *parārthānumāna* was made only after Akṣapāda 150 A.D., the celebrated author of *Nyāya Sūtra*. *Svārthānumāna* denotes the inference for oneself. It has been named in the Tamil classics as *Taṉporuṭṭu anumāṉam*. *Parārthānumāna* denots the inference for others. It has been called *Piṟar poruṭṭu anumāṉam* in Tamil. This kind of classification is not found either in Aksapada's *Nyāya Sūtra* or Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra*. Authoritative writers on the subject like Stcherbatsky and Keith are of the opinion that the overt classification of inference into two categories viz., inference for oneself and inference for others was first made by Dignāga 450 A.D., the reputed Buddhist logician. It was then adopted by Praśastapāda and others. It is to be understood that the debates and discussions in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems were conducted in the conventional forms before the period of Dignāga.

Next to Akṣapāda, Dignāga is venerated as the great exponent of Indian logic. He is considered by Vidyābhūṣaṇa and others to be the father of medieval Indian logic. In his *Pramāṇa Samuccaya,* he has discussed in the second chapter elaborately the inference for oneself and in the next chapter, the inference for others. Pararthānumāna is always preceded by Svārthānumāna.

Praśastapāda, the younger contemporary of Dignāga and the elaborate commentator of *Vaiśeṣika Sutra* has indicated the usefulness of inference for others. It removes the doubts of others with regard to a particular idea. It creates a change in the psyche of a person who advocates a contrary view. Also it teaches a person who is not conversant with the particulars of the *prbandum* Latin: thing to be proved. In addition, *parārthānumāna* is employed as an effective technique in philosophical debates and intellectual tournaments which are called *Paṭṭi maṇṭapam* in the Tamil tradition, as preserved in the Buddhist Tamil epic *Maṇimēkalai* and the Saiva devotional literature *Tiruvācakam.* Sivagrayogin, the celebrated commentator of *Civañāṉa Cittiyār* (1250 A.D.) named parārthānumāna as *paropadeśa* i.e. instruction for others. Its main aim is to illuminate and elucidate the audience.

Parārthānumāna, i.e. inference for others assumes the form of a syllogism consisting of various members called *avayavas.* The number of members determines the type of syllogism, used in the debate and discussion. As already pointed out, the syllogism, known as *Nyāyavākya* in the Indian tradition, helps one to acquire personal inferential knowledge, as understood from *Nyāyasūtra.*

Ten-membered syllogism of the Nyāya system

In the history of Indian logic, we are able to identify at least four clear types of syllogism involved in the process of reasoning. It seems that the syllogism with ten members belongs to an early period, even before the advent of Akṣapāda. Vātsyāyana has made a clear reference in his *Nyāya bhāṣya* 1.1.32 to the existence of one school of logicians who used a syllogism consisting of ten members *(daśāvayava)* in their arguments. Perhaps these logicians belonged to the orthodox systems such as Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika.[1] According to Karl H.Potter, the ten-membered syllogism was written around 550 A.D. Even heterodox Jainistic logicians also utilised the ten-membered syllogism as revealed

from the *Daśavaikālika-niryukti* of Bhadrabāhu who is considered to be a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II who ruled in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D.[2]

First of all let us consider the pre-Akṣapāda system of ten-membered syllogism as noted by A.B. Keith.[3] The ten members [*dasa-avayava*] are the following:

1.	*Pratijñā*	-	Proposition
2.	*Hetu*	-	Reason
3.	*Udāharaṇa*	-	Example
4.	*Upanaya*	-	Application
5.	*Nigamana*	-	Conclusion

These are the primary members in a *Nyāya Vākya*. The additional five members are given below:

6.	*Jijñāsā*	-	Desire to know the truth through investigation
7.	*Saṁśaya*	-	Doubt about the correct nature of the object of investigation.
8.	*Śakyaprāpti or Śakyatāprāpti*	-	Capacity in the possible solution to the doubt.
9.	*Prayojana*	-	Usefulness of the argument, and
10.	*Saṁśaya vyudāsa*	-	Removal of doubt about the truth of *anumāna*.

The aforesaid members consitute the form of *daśāvayava* syllogism as developed in some orthodox systems. An illustraion is given below:

Five Primary members:

1. *Pratijñā* (Proposition) There is fire in the hill
2. *Hetu* (Reason) Because there is smoke
3. *Udāharaṇa* (Example) Wherever there is smoke, there is fire, as in the kitchen.

4. *Upanaya* (Application) There is smoke in the hill.

5. *Nigamana* (Conclusion) Therefore the hill has fire.

Five additional members:

6.	*Jijñāsā*	(Investigation of the proposition) Has the hill fire in all its parts or in a particular spot?
7.	*Samśaya*	(Doubting the reason) The smoke, which is adduced as *probans* (Latin: thing proving something else) to prove the *probandum* fire, is doubted as vapour.
8.	*Śakya-prāpti*	(Capability of the example to come to the conclusion) Is it correct that smoke and fire are co-existing, since smoke is absent in the red-hot iron ball?
9.	*Prayojana*	(Purpose of the conclusion) This cannot be demonstrated in the form of a sentence. It includes the ascertainment of the actual conditions of the hill, whether it is approachable or not for practical purposes.
10.	*Samśaya-vyudāsa*	Doubts with regard to the concomitance of smoke and fire, approachability etc., are dispelled.

If we look into the contents and purpose of the members of the syllogism, it becomes transparent that the additional members, though they help us to have clarity, are not essential and indispensable for an argument. Vātsyāyana and also Uddyotakara (575 A.D.) condemned the concept of *daśāvayava* in a syllogism, since they felt that the additional five members are not logical steps in the process of reasoning and drawing a conclusion.[4] It may be true that they found a place in the course of discussion before the period of proper development of formal logical process.

Vātsyāyana considered that the first additional member, viz., jijñāsa was not restricted to inference alone, since desire to know a thing is the fundamental factor of other sources of knowledge also. *Samśaya,* the second additional part arises even in the process of the determinate type of perception. Though it evokes some aspiration in the knower to cognise something, mere doubting does not help one to prove something. Thus, it is futile in a syllogistic argument. The third superfluous *avayava,* i.e. *Śakyaprāpti* denotes the validity of method or the means of solution. It is not peculiar only to *parārthānumāna,* for it is equally necessary in the use of other sources of knowledge. Vātsyāyana similarly disallows the fourth additional *avayava* i.e. *prayojana* indicating that it cannot be a part of the syllogism, because it comes only after the syllogistic argument. The last additional member i.e. *Samsaya Vyudasa* aims to dispel the doubt and has no direct bearingwith the steps of argument. Thus Jayanta, the author of *Nyāyamañjari* (850 A.D.) also treated it to be a different statement, having little connection with a well-knit syllogism. Vātsyāyana considered that the additional members reflected only the psychical processes and the motivating factors pertaining to the knower and hence they are out of place in the required list of steps, meant for *parārthānumāna.* Of course, they may be useful as the mental conditions in *svārthānumāna.* Udayana (950 A.D.), the famous author of *Nyāyakusumānjali* concluded that the additional members would assist one to infer for himself and they are not necessarily to be understood by the audience to whom the inferential knowledge is being transmitted. Thus their presence in the structure of syllogism was not accepted by the exponents of Nyāya philosophy.[5] A.B. Keith after a careful study came to the conclusion that the contribution of Gautama, another name for Akṣapāda, to the development of the reasoning included the removal of the additional five members which did not find a just place in inference.[6]

Ten-membered syllogism in Jainism

Next, let us move to consider the position of ten-membered syllogism as envisaged by the Jain logician Bhadrabāhu and attested by Anantavīrya, the commentator of *Nyāyāvatāra* (1050 A.D.). In their opinion, the best form of syllogism consists of ten members, the mediocre of five members and the worst of two members.[7] So, it is clear that the ten-membered syllogism was favoured by the Jain logicians at least in the early period. Their *daśāvayavavākya* is different from that of the Sāmkhya or early Naiyāyika logicians.

In the history of Jainism, there are two persons with the same name Bhadrabāhu, one of them belonged to the fourth century B.C. and the logician who is called Bhadrabāhu the Junior lived in the fourth century A.D. We are concerned here only with the latter. He has written a commentary on *Daśa-vaikālika sūtra* in Prakrit known as *Daśavaikālika-niryukti.* In this commentary, he has evolved a syllogism consisting of ten members not with the objective of making a system of logic, but with the main purpose of elucidating the truth of the cardinal tenets of Jainism. He employed the *daśāvayava nyāya-vākya* to demonstrate the prinicples of his faith. An illustration to this syllogistic form is presented here.[8]

1.	*Pratijna*	(Proposition) Ahimsa is the greatest of virtues.
2.	*Pratijñā-vibhakti*	(The limitation of the proposition) Ahimsā is the greatest virute, as advocated by the Tīrthankaras.
3.	*Hetu*	(Reason) Ahimsā is the greatest virute, because those who practise it are loved by the celestials and honouring them is an act of merti (*puṇya*) for men.
4.	*Hetu-vibhakti*	(The limitation of the reason) Only those who practise Ahimsā go to stay in the heavenly abode of virtue.
5.	*Vipakṣa*	(Heterologue or antithesis) But, those who disregard the Tīrthaṅkaras and kill living beings are said to be favoured by the celestials and men also consider it as an act of merit to respect them. Also those who perform animal sacrifices go to heaven and become the favourite of gods. In addition, persons who respect their fathers-in-law earn merit, even though the latter practise killing and disregard the Tīrthaṅkaras.

6.	*Vipakṣapratiṣedha*	(The opposition to the anti-thesis) The people who kill living beings against the teaching of the Tīrthaṅkaras are deprived of merit and are certainly not loved by the celestials. If one says that they are honoured, it is just like saying that fire is cold. Buddha, Kapila and other exponents of various systems are honoured for their miraculous deeds and words, while the Tīrthaṅkaras are venerated on account of their absolute truth.
7.	*Dṛṣṭānta*	(Example) The arhats and other Jain sādhus never cook food, since some unknown life may be killed in so doing. So they depend on the śrāvakas for their food.
8.	*Āśaṅkā*	(Doubting the validity of the example) Śrāvakas (householders) prepare food for the arhats and sādhus and also for themselves. So, if any unknown and unseen insects are killed during the cooking, the former should share the latter's sin. Hence, the example is not valid.
9.	*Āśaṅkā-pratiṣedha*	(Opposition to the Āśaṅkā) Arhats and sadhus visit the śrāvakas for their food without previous notice and hence it cannot be said that the latter prepared the food for the sake of the former. So, if there is any sin in the act of cooking, it is not shared by the former.

10. *Nigamana* (Conclusion)
Therefore avoidance of killing is the best virtue (*Ahimso paramodharmaḥ*), since those who practise it are loved by the celestials and honouring them is an act of merit for the people.

Through the aforesaid syllogism, the greatness of ahimsā (non-injury), the caridanl principle of Jainism, has been emphasised. The additional members in this type of syllogism that come after the respective main members are totally different from those of the ten-membered syllogism of the homogeneous systems. However, syllogism evolved by Bhadrabāhu is not resorted to communicate one's own inferential knowledge to the understanding of others, but to establish the main doctrine of his own faith, i.e. Jainism.

Another version

There is one more version of ten-membered syllogism in the logical system of Jainism which is different from the one, propounded by Bhadrabahu. It seems that this form was popular in the Svetāmbara sect of Jainism. Purna Chand Nahar has made a reference to the new type of ten-membered syllogism in his monumental book, entitled *An Epitome of Jainism.*[9] He calls this syllogism the *uttama* or the best type of exposition. The *avayavas* of the syllogism are as follows:

1. *Pratijna*-Proposition
2. *Pratijñā*-śuddhi-Correction or purification of the proposition
3. *Hetu*-Reason or the middle-term
4. *Hetu-śuddhi*-Purification or correction of the reason
5. *Dṛṣtānta*-Example
6. *Dṛṣtānta-śuddhi*-Correction of example
7. *Upanaya*-Application
8. *Upanaya-śuddhi*-Correction of application
9. *Nigamana*-Conclusion
10. *Nigamana-śuddhi*-Correction of the conclusion

Examples to illustrate the aforesaid members of syllogism are not given by Puran Chand Nahar. Howerve, one can surmise that this type of *Nyāya-vakya* is only the extended form of the popular five-membered syllogism. In this developed type, correction or purification of each of the five members is invariably included. So, it is evident that the advocates of Jainism adopted a technique by admitting an additional member which is intended to make each of the statement examined and perfected by way of correction or purification, through rethinking and reflection.

Such forms of syllogisms with ten members indicate the earliest trends in the realm of formalistic logic. However, in the course of time, the exponents of both the orthodox and heterodox systems of Indian philosophy felt the need for abbreviated and accurate types of syllogism to forcefully communicate personal inferential knowledge to others. So they left out the superfluous and redundant members and constituted the syllogism consisting of five members for *parārthānumāna.* Though Akṣapāda adopted for the first time the syllogism of five members, he meant it only for the process of reasoning for oneself. However, in dealing with this second major type of five-membered syllogism, it is better to commence from the exposition of the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika. Before doing that, it is useful to describe briefly the significance of each of the five members in the scheme of reasoning.

Five members

1. *Pratijñā or pakṣa* (Proposition)

The first member of the syllogism is also called *dharmin,* subject, statement, proposition, thesis, minor term etc. It is essential to record that *pratijñā* was a Naiyāyika term, while *pakṣa,* a new term to denote a thesis, first introduced by the Buddhist logicians of the Sautrāntika Yogācāra school. Nandi Sivāgrayogin defined *pratijñā* to be the fundamental member which proclaims what one intends to prove (i.e. declaration of *iṣṭārtha).*[10] It is the pronouncement of a *probandum.* It indicates the locus and also the object of *anumāna.* It is a hypothetical judgement expressed in the form of a sentence which contains a subject and predicate. The subject is known as the minor term and the predicate as the major term or *anumeya* which is also called *sādhya* or *probandum.*

The proposition presents the tentative view of a person to be strengthened by the succeeding members of syllogism. If valid reason

and concrete example support the proposition, then it is to be concluded as a fact.

2. *Hetu* (Reason)

The second member in the ascending order is the *hetu*. It is also designated as *sādhana,* linga (-kuṟi in Tamil), mark, sign, probans, middle term, ground, the means of proof, etc. It informs the existence of the reason in the *pakṣa.* Nandisivāgrayogin has elucidated that the probans has pervasion with the probandum. Dignāga was the first logician to establish the *trairupya* theory of reason. According to him, the valid reason possesses three characteristic features which are endorsed by Cāttaṉār in *Manimekalai.* The passage under reference is quoted below:

moḻinta pakkattu ūṉṟi niṟṟalum
capakkattu uṇṭātalum
vipakkattu iṉṟiyē viṭutalum (29:122-4)

The portion of the epic indicates the compulsory presence of the probans in the subject wholly and also in the homologues only, while its absolute absence in the heterologues is emphasised as essential.

The subsequent writers on Buddhist logic like Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara adopted the *trairupya* theory of reason. Also, the Jain logicians Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka and others supported the same theory.

3. *Udāharaṇa or Dṛṣṭānta* (Example)

The third member *Udāharaṇa* is called *Dṛṣṭānta* in the Sautrāntika Yogācāra Buddhist school and *Nidaraśana* in the system of Vaiśeṣika. It is translated as example. In the Tamil texts of Śaiva Siddhānta, it is known by the term, *uvamai* or *upamānam* or *eṭuttu-k-kāṭṭu* meaning analogy or comparison.

Akṣapāda treated example as a similar instance possessing the essential feature of the major term. He has noted the positive and negative examples which are termed as *Sādharmya* and *Vaidharmya.* In the logical tradition of *Manimekalai*, these two terms denoted respectively the affirmative and negative types of examples.[11]

Nadiśivāgrayogin, the commentator of *Civaneṟippprakāśam* explicated the example which provides the universal concomitance between the probans and probandum. Since the concomitance or *Vyāpti* occurs in two ways, viz., positive and negative, the example are also twofold.

4. *Upanaya* (Application)

The fourth member of the syllogism is *Upanaya.* It is the application of a general principle to a particular instance. It denotes that the proposition deserves to be brought under general principle.

Upanaya indicates that the reason exists in the statement itself, just like the example refers to the universal concomitance between the *sādhana* and *sạdhya.*

The difference between the reason and application is to be keenly observed. Reason provides simply any positive or negative concomitance existing between itself and proposition, while application strengthens the relation between the two. *Upanaya* is also of two kinds depending upon the twofold types of example.

5. *Nigamana* (Conclusion)

The last but not the least member in the syntactical structure of syllogism is called *nigamana* or conclusion.It passes the final judgement. It ascertains the statement, already made in the proposition. It confirms the relation between the minor term and major term which are expressed respectively in the subject and predicate of the first statement called *pratijñā.*

So far, the significance of the fivefold members of a syllogism has been outlined. Next, let us consider the views or Praśastapāda with regard to the constitution of the five-membered *syllogism.*

The view of Praśastapāda

The aforesaid five members with notable alterations in nomenclature are accepted by Praśastapāda.[12] According to him, *pratijñā, apadeśa, nidarśana, anusaṁdhāna* and *pratyāmnaya* are the syntactic constituents of *parārthānumāna.* Except the first member, the names of the rest are changed. Let us briefly present the definition of these members.

1. *Pratijñā*

It is the proposition which sets forth the probandum that is not in contradiction with any other source of knowledge. It contains a subject

as qualified by the *dharma* (property) the knowledge of which it is intended to express. So, it is also known as *dharmin.*

Eg. "Wind is a substance".

2. *Apadeśa*

It denotes the reason. It has been defined as that which follows the *sādhya,* is found in the homologues and is absolutely absent in the heterologues to the *sādhya.*

Eg. Because of possession of movement
or
Because of possession of qualities.

3. *Nidarśana*

It denotes the concrete example to support the reason. Examples are of two types, i.e. positive and negative. The first type operates through likeness, revealing that the *linga* (mark or reason) is always associated by the *sādhya.*

Eg. Whatever possesses movement is a substance like the arrow.

The second type of example operates through unlikeness, revealing the absence of the reason in the things which are opposite to the *sādhya.*

Eg. Whatever is not a substance has not movement like being (*sattā*).

4. *Anusaṁdhāna*

This member denotes the application of the general to the particular. It is the statement in which the reason is applied to the subject.

Eg. So the wind possesses movement.

5. *Pratyāmnāya*

This member reasserts the proposition. It is essential to produce credibility about the *sādhya* which was in the beginning in an uncertain condition.

Eg. Therefore the wind must be a substance.

Since the remaining members do not give the certitude of the proposition, this final member is very important.

However, the popular members of a syllogism are those which are originally introduced in the system of Nyāya, as noted already. Let us present some samples of five-membered syllogism as constituted by Caraka and the exponents of some systems of Indian philosophy.

Caraka's system of Five-membered syllogism

Caraka was a great physician and author of a popular medical treatise known as *Caraka samhita.*[13] He was also a famous logician as understood from the interlude chapter on logic inserted in his work (*Vimānasthāna*, Chapter viii). According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, he lived before the period of Akṣapāda, perhaps in the first century A.D. He has provided the earliest information on syllogism and analyses a demonstration (*sthāpana*) and a counter-demonstration (*pratisthāpana*) in his *samhita.* First of all, the syllogism for *sthāpana* is given here below:

1.	**Proposition**	The soul is eternal.
2.	**Reason**	Because it is non-produced.
3.	**Example**	Whatever is non-produced is eternal like the ether.
4.	**Application**	As ether is not a product, so the soul.
5.	**Conclusion**	Therefore the soul is eternal.

In the original text, the word *purusha* means soul according to Vidyabhusana and man to H.N. Randle.[14] The former connotation is agreeable in the system of Sāmkhya that denoted soul by the word *purusha.*

The syllogism to demonstrate the counter argument (*pratisthāpana*) is as follows:

1.	**Proposition**	The soul is non-eternal.
2.	**Reason**	Because it is knowable by the senses.
3.	**Example**	Whatever is knowable by the senses is non-eternal like a pot.
4.	**Application**	The soul is knowable by the senses.
5.	**Conclusion**	Therefore the soul is non-eternal.

In the first form of syllogism, the eternality of soul was reasoned out. In the second form of syllogism, the non-eternality of soul was inferred. This type of proposition consisting of a thesis in one case and an anti-thesis in another is also found in *Manimekalai.*[15]

It is not certain whether Caraka has formulated the structure of syllogism all by himself or derived it from some of his predecessors. It may also be argued that somebody after the advent of Akṣapāda should have interpolated the section on logic in Caraka's treatise whose chief occupation was to deal with medicine in all its details. In the absence of authentic records with regard to the historicity of our ancient authors, indologists felt the difficulty of fixing their age which has been done only on some hypothetical basis, unless some reliable accounts were made available. However, the system of syllogism as seen above does not vary much from that of the Naiyāyikas.

Syllogism of the Naiyāyikas

Akṣapāda has dealt with the five-membered syllogism in the second chapter of Nyayāsūtra. It is curious to note that Cāttaṉār has presented similar syllogism in *Manimekalai,* while expounding the logical theories as taught by Aṟavana Atikal, [who is considered to be Acarya Dharmapala], to *Manimekalai,* the Buddhist neophyte and heroine of the epic, which is named after her. The syllogism as found in the Tamil epic is given hereunder.[16]

1. *Pakkam* (Tamilized form of *pakṣa*)

We have already noted that only in the Sautrantika Yogācāra Buddhist logic, the technical term *pakṣa* was first introduced to replace *pratijñā,* the Naiyāyika term. However, the content of the member is not changed. *Pakṣa* is illustrated thus:

The mountain has fire.

2. *Ētu* (Tamilized form of *hetu)*
   Because it has smoke.

3. *Ṭiṭṭāntam* (Tamilized form of *Dṛṣṭānta)*

Again it is to be recalled that this term of the Sautrantika Yogācāra school substituted the Naiyāyika term, *udāharaṇa.* It is of two kinds, viz., *cātaṉmiyam* i.e. *sādharmya* and *vaitaṉmiyam* i.e. *vaidharmya.* They are given as follows:

a. Wherever thers is smoke, there is fire as the kitchen (positive example).

b. Whatever that does not possess fire has no smoke as the lake. (negative example).

4. *Upanayam* (Tamilized form of *Upanaya)*
So, the mountain has smoke.

5. *Nikamanam* (Tamilized form of *Nigamana)*
Therefore that, which has smoke, has fire.

(i.e. The mountain has fire)

It is essential to mention that a minor change in the order of enumeration of the twofold examples is significantly noticed in *Manimekalai.* When the author presented the positive example as the third member of the syllogism, along with it the negative example is expected to be produced. But, only after completing the last two members, the author has given the negative example. It may be due to the copyist's error which should have occurred when the text was transmitted to posterity through palmyra manuscripts over many centuries. Or, it may be said that the significance of the change is beyond the cognition of the present author.

It is not out of place, if we mention that the early Buddhist logicians like Maitreya, Asanga and Sthiramathi have adopted the five-membered syllogism. In the view of Vidhyābhūṣaṇa and Stcherbatsky, Asaṅga was the first Buddhist logician to introduce the concept of the five-membered syllogism into the usage of the Buddhist circles. The author of *Nyāyapraveśa* has also enumerated the five members of the syllogism in the following aphorism:

pakṣa hetuḥ dṛṣṭāntaḥ upanayaḥ
nigamanam ceti pañcavayavaḥ

So, it is clear that honouring the early tradition of the Budhist logicians, Cāttaṉār, the author of *Manimekalai* has also admitted the five-membered syllogism in the study of logic. However, he has recorded the contemporary developments of his period, when he has expounded three-membered syllogism as envisaged by Dignāga, the eminent Buddhist logician.

Let us present some illustrations of the five-membered syllogism as adopted in the system of Śaiva Siddhānta, the choicest product of the Tamilian intellect.

In the system of Saiva siddhanta

Ñāṉāmirtam, an authoritative text on Saiva Siddhanta authored by Vākīśa Munivar (1150 A.D.) examined the existence of triple realities viz., God, soul and matter through the process of reasoning. Here only the syllogism which intends to establish the existence of God is presented from the above text.[17]

1.	*Pratijñā*	The universe has an intelligent agent known as *Pati* (God).
2.	*Hetu*	Since it is insentient, without an intelligent agent its evolution and involution is impossible.
3.	*Dṛṣṭānta*	That which is insentient, but moves is always moved by the mover, being an intelligent being as in the case of a chariot driven by a charioteer.
4.	*Upanaya*	Like the chariot and other insentient things require an intelligent principle for their movment, the universe should have an intelligent Being to actuate it.
5.	*Nigamana*	Therefore the principle that actuates the universe judicially is known as *Pati* (God).

Similar arguments for the existence of the Supreme Being are found in Pauṣkarāgama, the essence of which is distilled not only in the above text, but in some other texts like *Sivaneṟiprakāśam* and its commentary.

Aruḷnandiśivam (1200 A.D.) who followed Vakīsa Munivar has demonstrated through the method of five-membered syllogism the existence of the Supreme Reality.[18] It is presented hereunder:

Proposition	There must be some one to cause the Universe to come into being.
Reason	Since the universe comes into existence, continues and then goes out of existence.

Example	Like the pot etc. from clay comes into existence due to the potter.
Application	So, the universe has come into existence.
Conclusion	Therefore it has a Creator (God).

In the system of Saiva Siddhanta, the realities of God, soul and matter are accepted, though there is difference in their intrinsic [*svarūpa*] and related natures [*tatastha lakṣaṇas*]. These three categories are postulated to be eternal. The exponents of this system expounded that due to the immense compassion for the souls which are countless, Lord Śiva has created the universe from primordial matter, called Māyā, which is a positive entity, unlike the illusory Māyā of Vedanta.

So far, we have discussed some forms of five-membered syllogisms as enshrined in Indian thought. Next in order, le us proceed to deal with the three-membered syllogism.

Three-Membered Syllogism

Buddhist logicians of the Mahayana schools examined the relevance and role of the five members of syllogism and established that the first three members were enough to produce an inference in the mind of the hearer. Nagarjuna, the earliest exponent of Mādhyamika system, is considered to be the first Buddhist logician to formulate the syllogism with three members. In his treatise *Upāya kauśalya hṛdaya śāstra* which is preserved only in the Chinese translation, he emphatically stated that a thesis can be established through a reason and an example which may be either positive or negative.[19] So, he accepted that the first three members were sufficient for the communication of one's own in iferential knowledge to others. The last two members, viz., application (*upanaya*) and conclusion (*nigamana*) are superfluous and not better than *analogous rejoinders.*

Maitreya, one of the earliest advocates of Yogācāra Buddhism, adopted the three-membered syllogism first introduced by Nagarjuna in his work *Yogācārya Bhūmiśāstra* which is available from the Chinese translation. According to him the members are:

1. *Siddhānta* (proposition);
2. *Hetu* (reason); and
3. *Udāharaṇa* (example), affirmative or negative.

Both masters Nagarjuna and Maitreya rejected the last two members, viz., application and conclusion as superfluous on the ground that they were not different from the reason and proposition. Both of them have given the following illustration for the three-membered syllogism.

1. **Proposition** The hill has fire
2. **Reason** Because it has smoke
3. **Example** That, which has smoke, has fire as a kitchen (positive). That which has not fire has no smoke as a lake (negative).

In the writings of Vidyābhūṣaṇa, the technical term to denote proposition given by Maitreya is *Siddhānta.*[20] But according to G. Tucci, it is pratijñā.

The most dynamic dialectician to expound the three-membered syllogism is considered to be Dignāga, the exponent of Sautrāntika-Yogācāra Buddhism. In his *Nyāyamukha,* he declares thus:[21]

"I refute the theory of those logicians who consider the thesis (*pakṣa*), the application (*upanaya*) and the conclusion (*nigamana*) as separate members of the syllogism".

From the above reference, it is evident that Dignāga has treated the last two members under the first i.e. thesis or proposition. In this context, it is pertinent to note that one of his predecessors, i.e. Nagarjuna, simply discarded *upanaya* and *nigamana* stating that they were analogous rejoinders. But Maitreya treated them to be non-different from reason and example. It is interesting to note that Cattanar, the Tamil logician of the Sautrāntika Yogācāra school stated that both *upanaya* and *nigamana* go along with the example.[22] However, all the aforesaid logicians of Mahayana Buddhism were unanimous in upholding the view that the three- membered syllogism was sufficient for *parārthānumāna.* Thus the stand-point of the logicians in the assignment of validity and credibility to the three-membered syllogism may be very well understood.

The significance and relevance of the syllogism may be appreciated in the light of the theories of fallacies evolved by the Buddhist and non-Buddhist logicians through the ages. According to them, there

are only three kinds of fallacies which arise due to the transgression of the rules governing the first three members, viz., *pakṣa, hetu* and *dṛṣṭānta.* So, there are logical works dealing with the fallacy of thesis (*pakṣābhāsa*), the fallacy of reason (*hetvābhāsa*) and the fallacy of example (*dṛṣṭāntābhasa*). None of the authors or commentators of logical treatises ever mentioned the fallacy of application (*upanayābhāsa*) or the fallacy of conclusion (*nigamanābhāsa*), since it is understood, that the last two members are not essential in a syllogism

Illustrations

Let us consider some examples to illustrate the syllogism with three members. The example from Dignaga's *Pramāṇa Samuccaya* and *Nyāyapraveśa,* which are preserved in the Chinese and Tibetan translations, remains the same as quoted by Nagarjuna and Maitreya cited above. However, Dignāga has also given fresh examples. In the syllogistic sentence, the subject of the proposition constitutes the minor term and the predicate the major term and the second member, i.e. *hetu,* the middle term of the Aristolean system of logic. Dignāga has elucidated the three varieties of necessary relation between two terms that are essential to cognize one thing through its invariable connection with the other. A thing can be cognized either throught its effect, or through its being an inherent property, or through its negative counterpart. Therefore Dignāga classified syllogistic inference into three kinds according to its content. They are respectively called the causal, analytical, (synthetical) and negative deduction. Hence, three figures of syllogism are formed and they are meant both for *Svārthānumāna* and *Parārthānumāna.*

In conformity with the Aristotlean syllogism which starts by proclaiming the general rule and by quoting the example to support it and then proceeds to the deduction of the partiucalr from the general, the Dignāgan syllogism also commences with the major premise and proceeds to the minor premise along with the conclusion. Let us produce the three forms of three-membered syllogism as taught in the Dignāgan school of Buddhist logic.

I. The causal Syllogism

Every event has an essential cause as indicated by the middle term. This causal inference is based upon the causal relation between two facts, viz., cause and effect, as exemplified by fire and smoke. All

causal cognitions which are synthetic in nature are reduced to the type of *kārya- kāraṇa bhāva.*

Eg. Wherever there is smoke, there must be fire as in the kitchen, etc. (Major premise)

And there is such a smoke on the hill. (Minor premise) [Therefore the hill has fire-conclusion].

This syllogism consists of *sapakṣa* (i.e. homologue) with example. In this inference, the proposition, application and conclusion go together under minor premise. The reason and example constitute the major premise. From the general i.e. 'All the places having smoke possess fire', the particualr place i.e. hill possessing smoke and hence, necessarily the existence of fire has been deduced. In this syllogism, causal relation between two facts viz., cause and effect (smoke and fire) is found. This kind of deduction is also noticed in *Manimekalai.*[23]

II. The Analytical Syllogism

Analytical reason or essential reason is one from which the predicate, i.e. *sādhya,* is analytically deduced. It is denoted by the term *svabhāva hetu* by Dignāga and *ētucupāvam (-Hetu svabhāva)* by Cāttaṉār.[24] This type of inference is founded on the identical reference of two concepts, viz., impermanence *(anitya)* and production *(kṛtakatva).*

The middle term, i.e. the logical reason, may be the fact of greater comprehension and lesser extension from which a fact of lesser comprehension and greater extension can be deduced. The reason is called identity becasue it is inherent in the same entity as the deduced term. All analytical processes of thought are brought under this type of *vyāpya-vyāpaka bhāva.*

Eg. Whatsoever is produced is impermanent like a pot (Major premise)

And such are the speech sounds. (Minor premise). [Therefore they are impermant - conclusion]

This syllogism is in the form of *sapakṣa* with example, establishing the impermanence of a particular product, i.e. sound, as deduced from the general, i.e. "All products are impermanent". This kind of syllogism recalls the Aristotlean counterpart which is oft-quoted in the following form:

"All men are mortal
Socrates is a man
Therefore Socrates is mortal"

III. The Negative form of syllogism

This type of inference is founded on negation. The logical reason i.e. the middle term may be the fact of non-perception of something that could be visible (*dṛṣya anupalabdhi*).[25] All negative deductions are subsumed under this category.

Eg. Whenever we do not preceive a thing.
we deny its presence (Major premise)

1. As we deny the presence of the horns on the head of a hare (homologue with example) (Minor premise)

2. Whatever exists will be seen like a myrabolan in the palm (heterologue with example)

In this inference also, from the general as indicated in the major premise, the particular is deduced, as noted in the minor premise. The probandum is established through affirmative and negative examples.

The aforesaid forms of threefold syllogisms are meant for *parārthānumāna* as preserved in the logical tradition of Dignāga and Cāttaṉār. In some places, Cāttaṉār has adduced original examples, as seen in the negative form of syllogism, which are different from their counterparts found in the works of Dignāga and others.

In the systems of Sāmkhya, Mimāmsaka and Advaita Vedānta, the first three members constituted the syllogism.[26] Among them, the last two systems accepted either the first three members or the last three members to form the structure of syllogism. Varadaraj (1150 A.D.) in his *Tarkikarakṣā* refers to the Mimāmsaka who commenced the syllogism with an example or ended it with the same.[27]

Eg. All that has smoke has fire [Example] as a kitchen.
The hill has smoke (Reason)
Therefore it has fire (Conclusion) or proposition

The other way of argument is given below:

Proposition	:	The hill has fire
Reason	:	Because it has smoke
Example	:	All that has smoke has fire, as a kitchen.

In the two syllogistic forms, the descending and ascending order of the members is found. Nevertheles, they served the same purpose.

In Tolkāppiyam

In *Tolkāppiyam* (500 B.C.) the earliest extant Tamil grammar and poetics, notable accounts of logical significance are found. One of them is concerned with the three-membered syllogism as per the interpretation of Ilampūraṇar (1100 A.D.) the earliest known commentator of the text. In the last chapter of *Poruḷatikāram* under the caption *Marapiyal* dealing with some commentarial traditions and other aspects, the aphorism (648) elucidates that the *Kāṇṭikai* type of commentary should not deviate from the substance of the *sūtra* and should elaborate its contents through the techniques of reasoning and adducing illustrations. Ilampūraṇar explains the meaning of the aphorism under reference giving a specimen in the following way:

1. **Substance of the *Sūtra* :** The mountain has fire
2. **Reason (*ētu*):** Because it has smoke
3. **Example (*eṭuttuk-kāṭṭu*):** Like the kitchen.

After presenting this, he advises the commentators or the teachers to explicate the sense of a *sutra* in the afore-mentioned syllogistic form.

Actually, in the text the phrase *ētu naṭaiyiṉum eṭuttukāṭṭiṉum* occurs. The word ētu is the Tamilized form of *hetu* and *eṭuttukkāṭṭu* is a native word to mean example. Some scholars are of the opinion that the aphorism under reference and the related aphorisms should have been interpolated into the text since in the penultimate chpater of *Poruḷatikāram*, i.e. *Ceyyuḷiyal*, the author has elaborately dealt with the details of commentary. Hence, the present *sutra* is a repetition, not made by the author. However, even if it is an interpolation, it is older than Iḷampūraṇar who lived in the eleventh century, since he has commented on it.

Now, let us proceed to quote some specimens of three-membered syllogism which are current in the logical tradition of Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy. First of all, illustrations may be produced from *Ñaṉāmirtam*.[28]

E.G. **Proposition :** The universe, consisting of the conglomeration of various objects like the mountain etc., should have a creator.

Reason : Because it is an unparalleled effect (product)

Example : Like a pot

The commentator of the text explains that the inference, made through this syllogism is based on the process of positive concomitance (-*kevalānvayānumāna*). According to Saiva Siddhanta, all the objects that are perceived are the evolutes of Primordial Matter (*Māyā*). The seen universe, constituted by the innumerable parts of objects, has been produced from the material cause *Māyā* by the intelligent agent, Lord Śiva who is the efficient cause while his inseparable Śakti is the instrumental cause. As in the case of a pot, the clay is the material cause, the potter is the efficient cause, the wheel and other instruments are the auxiliary causes. Thus, the creation of the universe has been established through the three-membered syllogism.

Another illustration from the same text for this type of reasoning is produced here below.[29]

Proposition : Śiva cannot be easily perceived.

Reason : Because He is to be seen through the eye of divine grace.

Example : Like the blind man cannot see the luminous sun.

In this inference, the tenet of the system, that the Supreme Lord cannot be seen through the naked eye and He is to be experienced with the help of divine grace, has been established. Even though the sun illumines the whole world, the man who is deprived of eye-sight cannot

see. So also ordinary mortals who never practise the ethics required for the realisation of the Absolute cannot have a vision of Him. The commentator has noted that the inference of this syllogism is based on the proces of negative concomitance *(Kevla vyatireki anumāna)*.

So far, we have dealt with the syllogism of three parts. Let us proceed to discuss the syllogism with barely two members.

Two-membered Syllogisn

Some logicians, those who even though advocated the syllogism with many members, had also contemplated reducing the members of syllogism and ultimatley worked out a syllogism with two members. From the available data it is understood that Vasubandhu (400-450 A.D.), the preceptor of Dignāga, was the first logician to constitute a syllogism with two members. According to him, the proposition and reason are the sufficient members.[30]

Eg. **Proposition :** Sound is non-eternal

Reason : Because it is a product.

The hearer with some intelligence can understand that any product cannot be permanent as a pot. Hence, the *sādhya* being the proposition, i.e. non-etenality of sound, is suported by the reason, 'being a product'.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa pointed out that the Jain logician Siddhasena Divākara (550 A.D.) in his *Nyāyāvatāra* made an indirect reference to Vasubandhu, stating that a proposition can be established without producing an example if invariable concomitance is found between the probans and probandum and if such concomitance is not present, even if one produced the example for support, the proposition cannot be proved.[31] Vasubandhu employed the five-membered syllogism in debate and the two-memberedd syllogism during an ordinary occasion. Dharmakirti (650 A.D.) has been credited with the definite formation of a syllogism with two members. In Jaina logic, Akalankadeva (750 A.D.) and Mānikyanandi (800 A.D.) expounded the two-membered syllogism. These two logicians admitted only the first two members, viz., proposition and reason, as originally enunciated by the Buddhist logician Vasubandhu. They considered that example is not at all necessary either for the understanding of the *sādhya* or for the ascertainment of concomitance. However, the view of Dharmakirti in the formation of two-membered syllogism deserves

speical mention.[32] In his *Nyāyabindhu,* he has stated that *pakṣa* was not a necessary member of the sylogism. The reason (*hetu*) and example (*dṛṣṭānta*) are the required parts to form a syllogism. This type of two-membered syllogism consisting of *paksa dharma vacana* i.e. *hetu* and example i.e. *dṛṣṭānta* has been noted by the Saiva apostle Tirunjāna Campantar (650 A.D.) in the following passage of one of his hymns.[33]

ētukkaḷālum eṭutta moḻiyālum mikkuc-
cōtikka vēṇṭā cuṭar viṭṭuḷan eṅkaḷ cōti

The substance of the passage is as follows:

> "Do not investigate the existence of our Self-luminous Being (i.e. Absolute God) through the means of *hetu* (-reason) and *eṭuttamoḻi* (example)."

It is a direct reference to the Buddhist logicians who advocated that the syllogism with the two members was sufficient to examine the existence, validity and characteristics of everything including the Supreme Reality. To them, the boy-saint admonishes that such vain attempts prove futile in the realisation of God. Since Buddhists rejected the reality of soul and also God, Tirujnāna Campantar infuses hope in the veins of Tamils to tread on the path of devotion to Śiva who becomes the object of enjoyment through one's filial piety and faith.

It is esential to mention that Dharmakīrti was a contemportary of Campantar and a native of Kāñcipuram, the citadel of the Pallava dynasty and a centre of Buddhist learning. In other passages of the *Tēvāram* hymns, references to the Buddhists as specialists in the science of logic (*Tarkkacāttirattavar*) were made by the same Śaive saint. The hymnologists of Śaiva devotional literature (500-1200 A.D.), among whom Tirujnāna Campantar, Tirunāvukkaracar, Cuntarar and Māṇikkavācakar are held in high veneration by Śaivites, showed easy and efficacious means of winning divine grace through devotion, service and realisation. They are mystics who have really experienced the ambrosia of God's grace and never indulged in the logical path to know reality.

However, the authors of *Meykaṇṭa Śāstras* (1150-1350 A.D.) Meykaṇṭār, Aruḷnandiśivam and others adopted logical means to investigate and establish the existence of triple realisties viz., God, soul and matter. They were guided by the authors of Śaivāgamas and also the

Naiyāyikas. Meykaṇṭar employed the two-membered syllogism in his treatise *Civañānapōtam* to prove the reality of soul. Some illustrations from his text are presented hereunder:-

Proposition	:	The soul exists (*Uḷatu āṉmā*)
Reason	:	Because it is denied, (*Ilatu eṉṟaliṉ*)

In this inference, the Saiva Siddhantin attempts to prove the existence of the soul on the basis of the Lokayata's denial of it. The very act of denial suggests the existence of the subject that makes the denial. The materialists indicate the physical and psychical organs and deny that they are soul and also argue that there is nothing in the human organism to be called as soul. The argument of the Lokayata recalls the statement of the Western philosopher Descartes who said *'I think, therefore I am'*. Similarly, the doubt implies the existence of the doubter. So also, denial denotes the person who denies. Thus the principle in the person that makes the statement of denial is nothing but soul. This type of syllogism consisting of a proposition and reason reminds the one of Vasubandhu, as noted already.

Another illustration to prove the existence of soul is given in the same text.

Proposition	:	The soul exists *(āṉmā uḷatu)*
Reason	:	Because it says, "my body" *(eṉatu uṭal eṉṟaliṉ)*

One division of materialists said that the body is the soul. In statements such as 'I am fat', 'I am reduced', 'I am black' ect., the quality viz., fatnes, littleness, blackness etc., are attributed figuratively (*upacāra*) to the soul. Hence, the body cannot be equated with the soul. Since in such statements like 'my hand', 'my leg', etc. hand and other parts that constitute the body are spoken as different from the possessor which is to be identified as soul.

Another group of materialists argued that *indriyas* (sense organs) constituted the soul. To refute their argument, this syllogism is intended. One sense organ for instance eye can cognize only the object of sight. It cannot cognize other things such as smell. Even in a dead body the eye is present. But it cannot cognize. So it is inferred that there must be some

underlying intelligent principle in the human organism to cognize all the objects of senses throught the aid of the organs. That priniciple is the soul.

Similar syllogisms are many not only to prove the existence of soul but to establish the cardinal tenets of Saiva Siddhanta. In a laudatory poem, suffixed to the text of *Civañānapōtam,* it is stated Meykaṇṭār expounded the principles of Saiva Siddhanta through reasoning *(hetu)* and example *(dṛṣṭānta),* thereby suggesting the syllogism consisting of these two members. Since example is given, the first member *pakṣa* is not mentioned. In some schools, a syllogism with reason and example was in force, as noted in *Nyāyabindu* and *Tēvāram* which were quoted already.

There are some logicians like Varadaraja who upheld that reason alone suffices in the process of inference and hence other members in a syllogism are not necessary. His statement has relevance only to the matured and most evolved persons.

Conclusion

In the foregoing pages, a detailed study on the types of syllogism available in logical works of the various systems of Indian philosophy is carried out. The members of the syllogism are but the gradual steps in the understanding of an unknown thing through a known object. Depending upon the maturity of the hearer and the capacity of the exponent, the members of the syllogism varied from ten to two, as revealed from the various systems and schools of Indian logical traditions. The normal form consisted of five members, each of which has its own role in the process of inferential knwledge for oneself and for communicating to others. Mahayana Buddhist logicians of the Yogācāra school were the pioneers to reduce the number from five to three, and thus the three-membered syllogism gained currency even among the exponents of some homogeneous systems. Again, Budhist logicians like Vasubandhu and Dharmakirti shortened the structure of syllogism by admitting only two members, which was attested in one of the hymns of Tiruñāna Campantar, and also was enforced by Meykaṇṭār, the reputed author of *Civañānapōtam.*

The Tamil classics *Manimekalai, Ñāṉāmirtam, Civañāṉa Pōtam, Civañāṉa Cittiyār* and other texts have copious illustrations to exemplify

the use of various types of syllogism with five, three and two members in the investigation and establishment of facts. These texts reveal the involvement of Tamil philosophers in the utilisation of syllogisms to refute the views of opponent systems and to establish their own tenets. It is hoped that this study may evoke interest in aspirant researchers not only to trace the evolution of syllogistic arguments in different systems of Indian philosophy including theistic schools, but also to assess the contribution of Tamil philosophers of different systems to the field.

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THE CONCEPT OF SOUL IN THE NON-VEDIC SYSTEMS

The systems of Indian thought that do not accept the authority of the Vedas are known as the non-Vedic systems or heterodox systems. These systems are four in number. They are the following:

1. *Lokāyatā* also known as *Cārvāka* or *Bhūtavāda*
2. *Buddhism*, the philosophy of Buddha
3. *Jainism*, the philosophy of Jina and
4. *Ajīvaka* systems, the system of Markali Gosāla.

These have some common features. They rejected the infallibility of Vedas. They repudiated the priestly supremacy. They never accepted God. They neglected the rituals. They scorned at the inequalities caused by the Vedic institution of *Varṇa* and *Āśrama*. They were atheistic. They laughed at the blind beliefs and superstitions. All of them have a high antiquity. Definitely these systems existed long before 500 B.C. However, these four systems vary significantly on the basis of some ideology and principles. They have their own founders and original texts, some of which were destroyed due to religious animosity, exhibited by the followers of Vedic faith.

The Tamil classics provide rich materials to study the thoughts of not only the non-Vedic systems but the Vedic systems, viz., *Samkhya-Yoga, Nyāya-Vaiśesika, Mimamsa and Vedanta,* leave alone the Agamic system of Saiva Siddhanta and Tamil Vaiṣṇavism. Among the Tamil texts which possess philosophical and theological contents, Manimekalai stands supreme. It is a Buddhist epic poem, composed by Cāttaṉār, who lived in the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries A.D. The 27the chapter of the epic is a manual on the various religious and philosophical systems which were current in Tamilnadu. It is heartening to note that the chapter under reference bears the name "*Camayak-kanakkar tam tiram ketta katai*" which is, beyond doubt, the first compendium of Indian Philosophy ever written in an Indian language.

Even *Madhava's Sarva darśana samgraha* belonged to fourteenth century A.D. There may be some Jain writers on the subject, but they too came after Cāttaṉār. Another Tamil work that has philosophical themes is the Jain epic *Nilakeśi* (900 A.D.) which has been richly commented by Camayadivākaravāmaṉa Muṉi (1350 A.D.). The third work is the Parapakkam of Sivañāna Siddhiyār (1250 A.D.)which is the intellectual product of Arulnandisivam who has been credited with the rare title, "Sakalāgama Paṇḍita", meaning an expert in all the texts of various systems of Indian philosophy. He was an able exponent of Saiva Siddhanta. In the first part of his treatise, he has presented the doctrines and principles of fourteen schools and also refuted them from the view-point of his own philosophy i.e. Saiva Siddhanta. That is why the first part is called *Parapakkam* i.e. *Parapakṣa*. The second part is *Cupakkam* i.e. Sva pakṣa where he established actually the basic principles of Saiva Siddhanta. There are some other Tamil works which provide incidental references to the study of Indian philosophy. The ancient Sangam poems (500 B.C. to 300 A.D.) the Tirumuṟais (500 A.D.1200 A.D.) and Nālāyira Divyappirabandham (500 A.D. - 900 A.D.) possess credible accounts on the subject.

In this chapter, an attempt is being made to examine the concept of soul as elucidated in the aforesaid systems of non-Vedic origin.

Most of the systems of Indian philosophy have identified the dichotomy of soul and matter to be two ultimate realities. Soul is variously called as ātman, puruṣa. pacu, cit, uyir, aṇu, etc., while matter is named as pradhāna, prakṛiti, māyā, jaṭa, Ajiva, pāśa, acit,etc. The former reality is characterized by intelligence, while the latter is characterized by inertness. Soul or self is subjective, while matter is objective. However, there are two extreme systems, one of which being Carvāka admitted that matter alone was the sole real entity. Advaita Vedanta advocated that Ātman alone was the Absolute Reality while matter was illusory. Other systems such as Sāmkhya, Nyāya, etc., accepted the absolute character of both soul and matter. Restricting our present scope to the non-Vedic systems, we commence our study from Cārvāka.

I. Cārvaka's theory of Consciousness

Indian materialism has been variously known as Cārvāka, Lokāyata and Bhūtavāda in the Tamil texts. The word Cārvāka means the sweet-tongued (cār + vāk), thereby denoting the advocates of the

materialistic doctrine, famous for their attractive oration. Some scholars take it to be the name of the founder of the system. Lokāyata gets the name, since it consders that only this world is a reality. According to some, it denotes the śāstra of the system. Bhūtavāda indicates the unique advocay of the reality of matter alone. The word 'Nāttikam' is found in Tiruvacākam. It is the Tamilized form of Nāstika, i.e. the system which did not accept god or soul. Manickavacakar (800 A.D.) has called the Lokayata as a powerful serpent (vide, Tiruvācakam 4.56-7)). In the commentary of Sivañāna Siddhiyār, Tattuvaprakācar has stated that Indraprohita (i.e. Brhaspati) has created the Lokāyata Siddhanta in order to divert the attention of Indra from doing tapas and to make him indulge in sensuous pleasure just like Vasudeva through his preaching of Gita diverted Arjuna from performing tapas, in order to kill his own kinsfolk.[1] Since the commentator was a Saivite he gave his own interpretation to the creation of Gita. However neither the text of Brhaspati nor any work of the Lokayata system is available now. It seems that not only the Vedic systems but even the other non-Vedic systems were hostile to Cārvāka and hence the Indian materialism struggled severely even for its existence. What all we learn about the tenets of this system are made accessible only from the polemical works. Since the germs of Cārvāka system are noticed in the Rig Veda, the specialists argued for its very high antiquity. In Puranāṉūru (29.11-12), a reference is made to the non-acceptance of the doctrine of karma by the Lokayatas. Paripatal (5:76) calls them "*maṭavār*", the imbecile who did not accept the next birth.

The cardinal tenets of the system are very plain. The Cārvākas rejected the exisence of God and soul. They had no belief in the doctrine of karma and consequently in the transmigration of souls. Thus, the concept of heaven and hell had no meaning to them. They accepted only pratyakṣa i.e. perception as the only source of knowledge. In Sivjñāna Siddhiyār, six kinds of perception as expounded in the system have been elucidated. They are: 1. doubtful, 2. sensory, 3. determinate, 4. positive, 5. negative and 6. erroneous perceptions.

With regard to the number of gross elements *(Mahābhūtas)* that constituted the physical reality, there are two schools. In Maṇimēkalai, there is no reference to their exact number. The advocate of the system is introduced with the name "Bhutavadin" (27:263) and reference to the Bhūtas in general is found (27.266-70). But, in Nilakesi the advocate of

the system is named Pisācaka. It is a nickname given by the Jain author denoting a devil or a ghost. In his presentation, all the five elements are accepted to be the eternal realities. The order of enumeration is: Fire, Earth, Water, Air and Space. Out of them, the five sense-organs viz., eyes, nose, tongue, body and ears are respectively emanated. From them, colour, smell, taste, touch and sound are respectively evolved.[2] But, in the version as found in Sivajñāna Siddhiyār, the Lokayatas accepted only four Bhūtas, excepting space. The order of enumeration is : Earth, Water, Fire and Air. They are respectively associated with the qualities of smell, taste, colour and touch. They are eternal entities. Due to thier combination various objects are evolved.[3]

The Lokayatas have sufficiently contemplated about the principle of intelligence and its origination out of the combination of the gross elements. In this respect, all the three Tamil texts have given identical views with some specific particulars. In the exposition of Bhūtavāda as enshrined in Manimekalai, it is found that due to the mixing of these elements, life appears just like the inebriating potency is the result of the mixture of tātaki (dhātaki) flower (flower of common mountain ebony), jaggery and the related ingredients.[4] Cāttaṉār has clearly stated that the life principle is formed out of the combination of the conscious elements while the body is the product of the unconscious elements. This kind of classification of the Bhūtas themselves into two kinds, viz., the conscious and the unconscious is not found in the other two Tamil classics. Further, Cāttaṉār mentions that like the sound of the drum slowly fades away, so also the conscious elements in the body during the time of destruction return to their original elements and thus disappear completely. According to the Bhūtavādin, the products or effects alone are non-eternal and their causes, viz., Bhūtas are eternal realities. So, this birth and its effects conclude now itself. There is no after-birth. This is the substance of the argument of the Lokāyata, as represented in Maṇimēkalai. In Nilakesi it is said that just like the inebriating power of intoxicating drink is produced out of five objects, such as flour etc., due to the combination of five elements are evolved intelligence, pleasure etc., whose features develop with the development of the five elements and vanish with the disintegration of the elements. With their disappearance, the qualities of intelligence and other features go out of existence without leaving any residue. So, apart from the matter consisting of the fivefold elements, there is nothing real. The clever advocates of soul theory deceive the ignorant people. The Bhūtas are the ever-existing entities.[5]

In Sivajñāna Siddhiyār, the eternality of fourfold elements has been emphasised. The commentator beautifully portrays the substance of the text. According to him, the materialist holds that the elements are the God; their increase and decrease are the karma (action). The consciousness arising out of their combination is the soul. Apart from them there is no god, karma or soul.[6]

Further, with regard to the manifestation of innumerable forms in the universe, the exponent of the system explains that they emanate from the intermingling of the Bhutas, like the pot and other objects originate out of the clay, placed in the potter's wheel. As the bubbles appear in the water, so the principle of intelligence, qualities, sense-organs, tanmatras (subtle elements) etc., arise out of the physical forms. If the Bhūtas disappear, then the products viz., intelligence, sense organs, etc., also disapear. Thus all the beings both movable and immovable become dead. When these, being the effects disintegrate, become again the causal elements.

In one poem (22), the advocate of the system emphatically says that apart from the bodily quality, there is no such thing as soul. If there is soul, it should become the object of any one of the sixfold perceptions. Aruḷnandiśivam has given a fresh analogy to the germination of consciousness. Out of the mixture of lime, betel and leaf the red colour is produced. So also the consciousness is produced due to the mingling of the elements.[7] This analogy is also found in Śarvadarśana Saṁgraha. The comparison is utilised by Naccinārkkiṉiyar (1400 A.D.) to explain the Aḷapeṭai which is similar to the Plūta in Sanskrit. Due to the combination of long vowel and its homogeneous short vowel is born Aḷapeṭai (-the elongated vowel sound), just like the red colour is born out of the chemical combination of the aforesaid three ingredients.[8]

In another poem (25), sensuous pleasure has been stressed as the only aim of life. The exponent ridicules those, who renounce the worldly pleasure in order to gain the unseen heavenly bliss, resemble the innocent people who give up the available water before them to quench their thirst, trace the path of a person, who assures the existence of better water in a far off place and in their pursuit, they meet only with sufferance and not water. In support of his argument, he quotes the instance of the celestails Rudra, Brahma and Viṣṇu who respectively keep their betterhalfs in head (Gaṅgā), tongue (Saraswati), chest (Lakṣ mi) and Indra has

withstood the curse of Gautama on account of his contact with Ahalya. Hence, conjugal life should not be discarded. Though he advocates a kind of hedonistic life, he has laid stess on ethical life when he mentioned that people should obey the royal order and amass wealth to conduct pleasureable life. However, in one poem (26) it is said that slaughter, theft, etc., which are given up by the cowards are taken by the materialists as means of livelihood. This statement seems to contradict with the one that emphasises the observance of king's command (32). So, in a polemical work, the actual tenets of Lokayatas are naturally twisted with the main aim of refuting the weak points of the opponents.

In more than thirty poems, Aruḷnandiśivam has made a strong refutation to the principles of Lokayata. Similar remarks are also found in the other two Tamil classics. However, the valid points to refute Lokayata in holding that apart from consciousness arising out of the combination of elements there is no soul, deserve to be briefly presented.[9]

The elements (*bhutas*) are insentient and hence they cannot produce sentience or consciousness. The red-colour analogy has been held fallacious, since the mere presence of the betel leaves, arecanut and lime cannot produce the red-colour, for the realisation of which an intelligent being is necessarily required. Likewise, the mere combination of various elements in the physical frame cannot produce consciousness. There should have been some underlying intelligent entity to actuate the organs. Also it is to be understood that when the aforesaid triple ingredients are mixed, the red quality alone is produced, nothing more. Unlike it, in the structure of body tanmātras (*pulaṉ*), sense organs (*poṟi*) and different qualities (*kuṇaṅkaḷ*) are found.

Nilakesi also refuted the views of Bhūtavādi in caustic language.[10] Consciousness and other psychical aspects cannot be the products of the Bhutas which are non-intelligent by their very nature. There should be a *chetana* principle from which alone consciousness and other related psychical elements could be evolved. If consciousness would evolve from matter then the pot, cloth,etc.should have consciousness. It is not so. Hence, apart from the gross elements Jiva exists as a separate entity.

In Maṇimēkalai, there is no direct refutation to the concept of consciousness, perhaps because it is an epic of propagating Buddhist

principles including the anātma vāda, which occupies a central place in Buddhism. But, Cāttaṉār has criticised the concept of perception and pointed out that without inference even the Bhūta vadin cannot identify his own parents.[11] Thus, he maintained that perception and inference are the two valid means of knowledge.

However the Buddhist, Jain and Saiva works as noted above, presented the philosophy of the age old Indian materialist in their own way, perhaps even distorting the contents of the system. None of them rejected the two-fold classification of the gross elements viz., the conscious and the unconscious, holding responsible respectively for the psychical and physical constitution of human beings. Lokāyata may be a crude system, since it was the primary and fundamental philosophy in the long and perennial journey of Indian philosophical thoughts. But it represents the pre-historic and primitive life of the people who considered that matter alone was the physical reality as experienced by them. The people in that undeveloped stage did not think about unseen realities. Even after the advent of some theistic systems, Lokāyata did not alter his stand- point and continued to practise his philosophy. It is a known fact that even in most of the theistic people, the Lokayata instinct is strongly alive. Some of them turn to be hypocrites, since they cannot practise what their religion preaches. Hence, a sympathetic and sincere approach to study the doctrines of Lokayata was felt essential. This has been done by Chattopadyaya in his book on the subject.

However, the attitude of the system has paved the way for the germination of other systems which worked out their own theories with regard to the physical and metaphysical realities. Next in order, let us briefly present the view of the Buddhist on the concept of soul.

II. The Buddhist Non-soul theory

According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Buddha and Samkara are the two great intellectual giants, India ever produced. Buddha, as a soical scientist, examined the existent evils in the society and effected efficacious reforms through his moral philosophy. Though Buddha never entered into the logical cobwebs and metaphysical subtleties, it seems that perception and inference held valid in his system. He advocated the doctrine of karma. He preached practical ethics. But, he questioned the established Vedic traditions and made many original concepts of

metaphysical importance. With regard to the atman theory of Vedic system, he raised his protest pointing out that there was nothing in the human being to be called as soul. One of the central doctrines in his philosophy is the non-soul theory or *Anātmavāda*. In the section, *Anatta lakkaṇa sutta* of Sutta Piṭaka, he has elaborately dealt with this theory. It is said that he has taught first this theory to the first converts from Vedic religion to Buddhism. In the Buddhist epic Manimekalai, the following passages are relevant for the study of *Anātmavāda*:

1. *Pauttaṉ....... anāṉmavāti ātaliṉ* 29:173-78
   (Because the Buddhist is an advocate of *anātmavada*)
2. *Cukamum āṉmāvum tām icaiyāmaiyiṉ* 29:185
   (pleasure and *atman* are disagreeable)
3. *epporuḷukkum āṉmā ilai* 30:175-8
   (There is no soul in any kind of object)
4. *anittam tukkam anānmā acuci* 30:254-5
   (Everything is impermanent, sorrowful, devoid of soul and loathsome)

Cāttaṉār has made the references in various contexts especially through the character Bodhisattva Aṟavaṇa Aṭikal, who has been equated with Ācharya Dharmapāla and who transmitted the basic-principles of Buddhist logic and philosophy to the evolved young nun, after whom the epic is named *'Maṇimēkalai'*.

Buddha analysed the constitution of a sentient being and concluded that the human personality was a compound, consisting of some physical elements and also some psychical elements. He named the first group, "Rupa skhandha" and the latter, "*Nāma*-skhandha." According to him, *Nama-Rupa* is the proper title to denote a sentient being. *Rupa* is concerned with the body, while *Nāma* is concerned with the psyche. *Nāma skhandhā* consists of four psychical aspects which are technically called *Vedana, Saññā, Samskāra* and *Viññāna*. Among them, *Viññanaskhandha* denotes the aggregate of consciousness, *Samkāra skhandha*-the action-intention, *Vedanā skhandha* the aggregate of feelings and *Saññā Skhandha* the aggregate of innate impressions. On the whole, these four groups of *Nāmaskhandha* are accounted for a man's knowledge,

aspirations, activity, etc. The specialists have interpreted that wherever there is *Rupa,* there is *Viññāna* (consciousness) accompanying it, even as the electrical and magnetic forces are found copresent. *Viññāna* or consciousness is cognitive, emotional and volitional. All the activities of a sentient being are carried out through and as a result of consciousness. After making this kind of analysis, Buddha questioned the upholders of *Ātmavada* about the functions which are left out to be performed by the "*Ātman*" (soul). All functions which are assigned to the soul in other systems of *Ātmavada* are actually done by *Viññāna* i.e. consciousness. Hence, Buddha felt that a soul without any funtion was an unwarranted postulate. Thus, he disproved the existence of soul.[12]

The exponents of *Ātmavāda* meant by the term *ātman* permanence, independence and blissfulness. Buddha elucidated that these qualities ascribed to the so called *ātman* are not present either in the physical elements or in the psychical aspects of a sentient being. Nāma skhandha and Rūpa skhandha, otherwise known as the psychical and physical elements that constitute the human personality are really evanescent and temporal. Nāma and Rūpa are interdependent. Everything is dependent on some other thing for its origination. Buddha explained this fact in his theory of dependent origination, i.e. *Pratītya Samudpāda.* There is nothing eternal and enduring in the constitution of a human personality which is in a state of constant flux. The pleasure, one enjoys is not permanent. It is fleeting and often ends in misery. Thus, Buddha disproved the existence of soul with the characteristics of permanence, independence and blissfulness.

Buddha attributted three *lakṣaṇas* to sentient being. They are collectively called *Tilakkaṇa* in Pali piṭakas. It is derived from the Sanskrit word Trilakṣaṇa. Accordingly, all things are impermanent (aniccam), sorrowful (dukkham) and without self (an-atta). However, in the Mahāyāna Buddhism, a fourth characteristic viz., aśuci has been added by Asvaghosa, Vasubandhu and others. It denotes the loathsome nature of all things. Thus, the Mahayanists modified the original teaching of Buddha and codified the Catur lakṣaṇa which has been presented by Cāttaṉār in the following passage of Maṇimēkalai.

anittam tukkam aṉāṉmā acuci-enat
taṉittup pārttup paṟṟu aṟuttiṭutal (30:254-5)

One has to cut asunder the strong hold of lust by the realisation of the impermanence, sorrowfulness, soullessness and loathsomeness of all things.

Buddha taught the moral value of the non-soul theory. He firmly hoped that the knowledge of non-soul theory would lead one to liberation. On account of cravings and desires, man commits sinful deeds lodging him at misery and sorrow. The root cause for man's cravings and aspirations is the notion of self. Bṛhadāraṇya Upanisad (1.4.8) has proclaimed that it is self that man deisres most. If he realises that the elements of a human being either individually or collectively are not the self, he turns away from them and by the extirpation of desire, he attains liberation. In Buddhism, Sakkāya diṭṭi (Sat kaya dṛṣṭi) i.e. the view of ātman has been considerd to be one of the ten fetters (daśa samyojnaṣ) on the road to the attainment of Nirvāṇa, the Buddhist release.

Even in our period, Mahākavi Bharātiyar, who is a Vedāntin, in his Vināyakar Nāṉmaṇimālai, has made a supportive reference to Buddha's non-soul theory.[13] .

Nevertheless, in Nilakesi and Sivajñāna Siddhiyār, a strong protest to the anānmavada of Buddha has been made. The two texts consider that even the psychical aspects denoted by Nāma skhandha are material and hence they effect consciousness and sensations, only if the intelligent and enduring principle of atman exists in the human being. In a dead person, all the elements are present, but do not funtion. Hence, the principle that has left the body is known as ātman which through the instruments of internal and external indriyas function. It is a permanent entity, while all other elements in a person are impermanent.

Lokāyata's two-fold classification of bhūtas viz., the conscious and unconscious may have partial comparison with Nāma skhandha and Rūpaskhandha of the Buddhists. However, in the history of Indian thought, Buddhism shows a marked development worth mentioning.

Next, let us proced to discuss the concept of soul as expounded in Jainism, another prominent system of non-Vedic origin.

III. The Jain Concept of Soul

Mahāvīra was the historical founder of Jainism. His name connotes that he was a great hero, characterised by a new type of heroism.

Normally, a hero was one who killed his enemies and slaughtered the cavalry and elephantry. Though it was a success due to prowess, self-conquest was venerated to be the great victory. Control over the senses and moral strength gained the great title Mahāvīra. Tiruvalluvar has talked of the great heroism as *'pērāṇmai.'*[14] Buddha also was a Mahavira and Jina in a sense. Mahavira was the elder contemporary of Buddha. Both of them hailed from royal families. Ironically enough, they did not indulge in the pleasures of kingly life. They renounced the household life and undertook severe penance in order to find out ways and means to guide the people attain eternal salvation. Though Mahavira and Buddha shared some common ethical principles, ideological differences were many between them. One of the areas of doctrinal difference is concerned with the concept of soul. As already noted Buddha did not recognize the reality of soul in human personality, whereas Mahavira classified all the perceptual and conceptual objects into two categories, viz., 1 *Jiva*-those which possessed the principle of life and 2. *Ajiva*- those which do not possess life. *Jiva* denotes the animate and organic beings, while *Ajiva* refers to the inanimate and inorganic material objects, devoid of any sensation. *Jiva* and *Ajiva* correspond to soul (*Puruṣa*) and matter of *Sāmkhya* and other homogeneous systems. These two categories are ever-existing and not created by any one. The basic principles of Jainism, as taught by Mahavira were originally preserved in the Angas and other texts written in Artha-Magathi, the spoken language of the people of Magatha. The teachings of Mahavira reached the Tamil country in 400 B.C. through the missionary activities of Bhadrabāhu and other monks who came after him. As a result, the philosophical texts in Tamil sufficiently focused on the discussion and exposition of Jainism.

Jainism taught pluralistic realism, since it accepted many realities which are collectively called Navapadārthas. They are 1. Jīva (uyir), 2. Ajīva (uyirallatu), 3. Puṇya (aṟam), 4. Pāpa (maṟam), 5. Āśrava (ūṟṟu), 6. Saṃvara (ceṟippu), 7. Nirjara (utirppu), 8. Bandha (kaṭṭu) and 9. Moksa (viṭu). All these categories are vividly discussed not only in the Jain Tamil classics such as Nilakesi and Merumantirapurāṇam, but also in the Buddhist epic Maṇimēkalai and Saiva Siddhānta cononical text Sivajñāna Siddhiyār. Let us limit our attention to focus on the concept of Jiva as elucidated primarily in the Jain Tamil classics.

The Jains accepted the plurality of souls, as against the Advaitic view of ekānmā (one ātman appearing as many). In Nilakeśi (76), the yonibheda of the innumerable souls is numbered eighty-four lakhs. The same idea is already expressed in one of the Saiva hymns of Tirujnāna Sambandhar (650 A.D.), and other Saiva works.[15] However, a detailed classificaion of living beings on the biological basis has been done by the author of Nilakesi. He has made a descriptive analysis of the countless souls into various kinds of animals, the mobile and immobile, birds, insects, reptiles, etc., culminating with the mankind. He has devoted about ten poems (I. 76-86) to delineate the peculiar features of the various kinds of living beings. The scientific basis of Jainism, especially the biological background in classsifying the animate beings is superb and wonderful. Since Mahavira taught Ahimsa i.e. non-injury, to be the greatest of all virtues, this kind of minute classification on the basis of sense-organs, was felt essential. The Jains took the vow of non-injury even to ants, insects and other insignificant beings. Though Buddha preached avoidance of killing as one of the Pañcaśilas (five virtues), Mahavira practised Ahimsa to the core. Thus, the status of Jainism in regard to the reverence shown to living beings is something unique. The frequent references in the Tamil literature to the Digambara monks using the broom, made of peacock feathers in order to remove the tiny insects on the way, speak volumes to their saturating compassion towards jiva.[16]

Nilakesi should have derived the pattern of classifying the souls on the basis of sense development from the ancient Tamil grammatical treatise Tokappiyam wherein similar grouping of living beings has been done.[17] The souls that possess only the sense of touch formed the first group. To this category belonged the grass and tree. Iḷampūraṇar explains that they cognize only through their physical body. Under the second group conch, snail, oyster, etc. are subsumed. They possess the sense of touch and taste. In them the body and tongue are formed. The third category included ants, white ants, leech, etc. They have the sense of touch, taste and also smell. The fourth group consists of cancer, beetles, etc., which possess sight in addition to the three. The fifth division includes the beasts and undeveloped people (mākkaḷ) who possess the sense of hearing in addition to the four.

Thus, the first five categories are in the ascending order of evolution increasing in the number of sense-faculty from one to five.

But, the sixth group considers only the matured people of rational thinking in whom in addition to the fivefold sense organs, the mental faculty is also functioning. In this division, even parrots, monkeys and elephants that exhibit the human cognition are also included. This sort of classification is also found in the texts of both the sects of Jainism, viz., Digambara and Svetambara. Kundakundāchārya (50 B.C. - 50 A.D.), the reputed Digambara scholar and Umāsvamin (50 A.D.), the renowned Svetambara teacher have mentioned the same type of classifying the souls in their respective works *Pañcāstikāya samayasāra* and *Tattvārthasūtra.*[18] Both the scholars of Jainism lived in the Tamil country. Since Tolkappiyam has been considered to be a treatise written during 500 B.C to 300 B.C. the presence of the aphorisms under reference in it tempted the scholars to decide that the same sutras should have been interpolated into the last chapter of the text in the later period. However, the interpolation should have occurred long before the period of the commentator Iḷampūraṇar (1110 A.D.), since he has commented on the spurious aphorisms. Be that as it may.

The Jains agree that the nature of Jiva is knowledge and Jiva is both the agent (karta) and experient (bhokta). Thought it has no form (amūrta), it is held that it assumes the size of the body in which it is embodied. For instance, in an ant the size of the soul is small and in an elephant it is big. This concept of soul is beautifully portrayed in the Tamil Jain ethical work thus: *"Periyataṉ āvi peritu"*.[19]

Further a threefold classification of souls is also made in Jainism. Accordingly, the group of souls enmeshed in the mire of empirical life come under the category of the Baddha i.e. the fetterd. The liberated souls, who will not return to the earth since the taints of karma in them are completely wiped out due to their moral life and austerities, are grouped under the division of the Mukta i.e. the released. The most evolved and perfected freed souls, are called the Nitya Siddhas forming the thrid group. They are supposed to be existing in the highest supra-mundane plane, known as Cittasīla.

Even in Saiva Siddhanta, the various categories of souls based on the sense-organs are noted. In *Sivapurānam,* the opening poem of *Tiruvācakam,* Manickavacakar (800 A.D.) has stated the various kinds of birth in which he got transmigrated and finally released due to the onset of divine grace. Similarly the classification of *Baddha* and *Mukta*

is also found in Saivism. However, the originality of Jainism in establishing the individualistic concept of soul can hardly be questioned. In the *Parapakkam* of *Sivajnana Siddhiyar*, some aspects of the Jainistic view of soul have been criticized. Aruḷnandisivam raises the question that if the soul, as the Jain considers pervades the whole of body, and if a part of the body is removed, the soul and its knowledge also should be reduced. But it is not so. Further, if the body perishes the soul also should perish along with the body, since the two are interdependent, just like the water pot. When the pot is broken, the water also is dispelled. So, the concept that the soul assumes the size of the body does not hold good.

It is the customary practice of a philosopher to criticise the theory of his opponent. Despite the criticism levelled against Jainism, its concept of soul which is based on biological knowledge deserves the appreciation of the great thinkers who pay due respect to other living beings.

Next, the doctrine of soul as enunciated in the system of *Ajivaka* has taken for consideration.

IV. The *Ajivaka* Concept of Soul

The *Ajivaka* system is as old as Jainism and Buddhism. Its earliest founder, Makkhali Gośala was an elder contemporary of Mahavira. In the initial stage both of them were in friendly terms and practised mendicant life. On some issues, they differed and hence parted to found different systems. The word *Ajivaka* has been connoted variously by scholars. According to Burnouf, the word consists of the negative prefix/ a/+*jiva* and the sufix /*ka*/, each has its own sense. *Jiva* means livelihood and Ajiva denotes the absence of livelihood. The whole word *Ajivaka* conveyed the sense of one who does not have his own livelihood but lives on the charity of others. Lassen interpreted that the word indicates the mendicant who never eats meat. Hoernle considered that *Ajivaka* is so named since it taught the ways of living either as a recluse or a householder.[20]

Dr. A.L. Basham has made a wonderful study on the history and doctrines of the *Ajivaka* system on the basis of the materials culled out not only from the Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit sources, but from the Tamil classics and inscriptions also. He has identified two more anchorites viz., *Pūraṇa Kassapa* and *Pakudha Kaccāyana* along with Makkhali Gosāla to be the earliest known teachers of *Ajivaka* system. The texts in full

form belonging to this system are not accessible now. However, the *Piṭakas* and their commentaries of the Buddhists and the works of the Jains provide sufficient materials to know the history and doctrines of the *Ajivakas*. *Manimekalai, Nilakeci* and the *Parapakkam* of *Sivajñāna Siddhiyar* contain portions delineating the doctrines of the system, especially from the view-points of a staunch Buddhist, Jain and Saivaite respectively.

In the *Sāmaññapala sutta* of *Suttapiṭaka,* a reference is found to the sevenfold categories *(Sapta padārthas)* which are admitted to be the realities in the system of *Ajivaka.* They are: 1. earth, 2. water, 3. fire, 4. air, 5. pleasure, 6. pain and 7. soul. It seems from this account that the four elements of the *Lokayatas* are accepted even by the *Ajivakas* to be the eternal entities. In addition, the existence of soul, unknown to the Indian materialism has been admitted as a reality. Its experience whether pleasurable or painful is also treated as a reality.

In the enumeration of the various systems, Cāttaṉār has placed *Ajivaka* system, to be followed by *Nirgrantha vāda* (-Nigaṇṭhavāda) i.e. Jainism. Even in the commentary of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar on *Tolkappiyam,* the reference to these systems is made in the same order. He mentions *Ajīvakappaḷḷi*-the monastery of *Ajivakas* and *Nikkantakkōṭṭam* i.e. the temple of Nirgrantha.[21] In *Cilappatikāram* (300 A.D.), it is noted that Mānāykan, the father of Kaṇṇaki, the heroine of the epic renounced the worldly life after the disappearance of his daughter and son-in low and became a recluse of the *Ajivaka* order.[22] In *Brhadjataka,* Varāhamihira foretells that the mendicant of this sect would be born when the planet mercury was in the exalted position.

Thought the system was prevalent in all parts of India, it did not become very popular and prominent like Buddhism and Jainism.

In *Manimekalai,* the atomic theory of the *Ajivakas* has been expatiated. All the objects in the world are produced out of the atoms of fourfold *bhūtas.* Markali is said to be the author of the authoritative text of the system. In *Nilakesi,* the text is named "oṉpatu katir" i.e. *Navakatir-* literally meaning nine rays. The book is lost beyond recovery.

Another important theory is called *niyati* i.e. fatalism. It is different from the doctrine of *karma.* Everything occurs according to the force of *niyati. Niyati* is the cosmic priniciple that governs the universe

and everybody. In *Purananuru* [192], this *Niyativāda* is noticed. The poet says like the raft that goes along the course of the running water, so the soul goes according to the *Niyati* which is variously called Muṟai, ūḻ etc.[23] in the Tamil classics. *Ajivakas* were adepts in astrology. The Sangam poet who denoted the *Niyativada* was also an astrologer. *Svabhāvavāda* is another doctrine of this system. Accordingly, the sharpness in the nail, the brightness in the light etc., are not thrust into the concerned objects by any external agency. They are innate, *svabhāva* to them.

Unlike the *Lokayata* and Buddhist, *Ajivaka* agrees with Jainism in accepting not only the reality of soul but their different grades based on their merits or demerits.

Classification of Souls

In the *Ajivaka* system of *Manimekalai*, the classification of souls is elaborately made. They are based on colours. It seems that Cāttaṉār should have derived the details from *Anguttara Nikāya* of *Sutta piṭaka* and its commentary of Buddhaghosa. What is known as *Abhijāti* in the Pali texts is called *piṟappu* in Tamil. It means birth. Let us present the enumeration of colours of the different birth of souls as found in *Manimekalai* and Pali texts.[24]

Serial No.	*Tamil*	*Pali*	*Meaning*
1.	Karumai	Kaṇha	Black
2.	Karunīlam	Nīla	Dark blue; Blue
3.	Pacumai	Halidda (4)	Green
4.	Cemmai	Lohita	Red
5.	Poṉmai	Sukka (sukla)	Golden; White
6.	Veṇmai	Paramasukla	White; Supreme White

If we look into the list, some minor changes are to be noted. In the Tamil tradition of *Ajivaka,* the green comes third, but in Pali, it is the fourth in the order. In the former a new entry i.e. *Poṉmai* (Golden colour) is found. It may be equated with ordinary white in the Pali tradition. However, Cāttaṉār has noted in the same passage "*kaḻiveṇ piṟappu*" (27:155). The Tamil usage "*Kaḻiveṇmai*" is really an equivalent of *paramasukla* (sukla) of the Pali tradition. Cāttaṉār has clearly mentioned

that the soul with supreme white colour would attain eternal release (Mokṣa). It will never return.

In Manimekalai, particulars of the birth that the souls with other colours undertake are not provided. But they are given in the Pali text. The souls with black colour are the most degraded. The people of the black souls would be cruel. They indulge in killing the living beings. Hunters, thieves, fisher men and similar people are classified under the category of *Black souls.*

The pseudo-monks are the blue souls. The Niganthas, i.e. monks of Jainism, are the red-souls. But they wear a single garment. The laity of the *Ajivaka* system possess green-souls. They are treated with more respect than the ascetics of other religions. The *Ajivaka* monks and nuns are the white souls. All the evolved ascetics, Tirthaṅkaras and āptas of *Ajivaka* sect are the supremely white souls.

In *Sivajñana Siddhiyar,* the order of colours is changed. It is as follows: White, Golden, Red, Blue, Supreme White and Green.[25] It seems that during the time of Aruḷnandisivam, the full significance of the colours of the souls became confused, indicating that the system of *Ajivaka* was not in existence and hence the confusion in the orderly arrangement of the colours. However, next to *Nirganthavāda, Ajivakavāda* is placed. Thus, the author was aware that the two are different systems.

It is essential to note that similar classification is also made in the Jain texts. But it is more based on psychic aspects. They are called *leśyas* in the Jain scriptures. Accordingly, the people with black soul are harsh and violent. Those with blue soul are envious and deceitful. The grey souls are prone to stealing. So, the souls with these three colours are considered to be the evil ones. The red souls are the industrious and disciplined. The yellow souls are calm and firm. The white are the supereme. They control the senses and self. They are untouched by the taints.

Though the colour classification of souls is found in *Ajivaka* system and Jainism, there is a difference. The former is based mainly on profession, while the latter on the qualities and psychical growth. *It is to be understood that there is no link between the non-Vedic classification of souls, based on colour with the arrangement of Varṇa classification of the Law-givers belonging to the Vedic faith.* It is also possible to suggest

that the commonness of the colour classification found between *Ajivaka* system and Jainism indicates the once-existed intimate relationship between their founders. In the Tamil Vaiṣṇavism, the reference to white souls is found.

It is the firm conviction of the *Ajivakas* that every body should undergo all the births with the sixfold colours. The proverb, that every saint has a sinner's start is applicable to the system. If one wants or not, one day he will get the final release. So, the system is not pessimistic since it assures salvation to all through the evolution of character.

Conclusion

So far a close study of the concept of soul as evolved in the four significant systems of non-Vedic origin has been made. These systems reflect the different attitudes and trends in the realm of thought. In the *Lokāyata,* matter alone was conidered to be the absolute reality. Even the consciousness of living beings was treated to be the product of matter, which was severely criticised by all schools of heterogeneous and homogeneous systems of Indian philosophy. In the absence of any original text, a sympathetic study would reveal that the *Lokayatas* paid sufficient attention to practical ethics.

The Buddhist accepted the sentient beings to be the composite of psychical and physical features. They designaed them as *Nāmarūpa.* The moral argument of *anātmavata* was significant in Buddhism.

In Jainism, the classification of all things into *Jiva* and *Ajiva* is noteworthy. Among the non-Vedic systems, it is the earliest to identify the absolute existence of various categories of souls. The biological classification of souls based on the sense formation is peculiar to Jainism.

In *Ajivaka* system, the classification of souls on the basis of colour is distinct. It is an atempt to identify the different stratas of society on the basis of their quality and activity.

Among four non-Vedic systems, *Lokayata* alone did not subscribe to the doctrine of *karṃa* and hence the transmigration of souls. Buddhism and Jainism accepted the theory of *karma* and consequently the concept of pre-birth and re-birth. But, the *Ajivakas* introduced the doctrine of *Niyati* which is very similar to fatalism. It is found in one of

the earliest *Sankam* poems *Puram* [192]. The last two systems advocated pluralistic realism. *Lokayata* may be called in one sense 'Monism', as different from Vedantic Monism. Buddhism developed 'Idealism' in the course of time, though it preached initially Nihilism on the basis of the ever changing character of all things.

Thus, the study of the concept of soul in the non-Vedic systems presents the various layers of thought, produced by the Indian mind.

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THE CONCEPT OF GOD IN ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

Introduction

The philosophical system of the Tamils, based on the Saiva Agamas, Upaniṣads, Tirumuṟais and Meykaṇṭa Śāstras, is known as Śaiva Siddhanta. Siddhanta[1] literally means the established conclusion, and in its extension of meaning it denotes any system of philosophy. Śaiva Siddhanta indicates the philosophy of those who worship Lord Śiva as the Supreme Being. This system of philosophy has been very popular in South India as evidenced from the great temples dedicated to Lord Śiva and the mine of source materials embedded in the Tamil language.[2] It is a living system taking its origing in the Indus Valley Civilization.

As opposed to Vedānta (i.e. the Conclusion of the Vedas), Śaiva Siddhanta is called Āgamānta (i.e. the Conclusion of the Agamas). The Primary Śaiva Agamas are twenty-eight in number. Early available references to the Agamas are found in the Sāntiparva of Mahabharata and Badarayana's Vedanta Sutra.[3] A.P. Karmarkar is of the opinion that the Agamas are older than the Vedas.[4] Tirumantiram (500 A.D.) preserves the quintessence of the Śaiva Agamas and it is the earliest extant Tamil treatise on Śaiva Siddhanta. The name 'Saiva Siddhanta' occurs in this text for the first time.[5] Tiruñāna Campantar (7th century A.D.) extols Lord Śiva as 'AKAMAC CELVAR' (the Rich One who revealed the Agamas).[6] He also mentions that the people of Kokaranam (a place in the Karnataka State in South India) professed the faith of Śaiva Agamas.[7] His contemporary Saint Tirunavukkaracar points out in one of his hymns that the Lord revealed the Agamas to His consort beneath the marutam tree in the shrine at Tiruviṭaimarutūr.[8] Cuntarar (8th century A.D.) praises the Lord as the 'Ancient One' who revealed the Agamas to the celestials.[9] He also refers in one on his last hymns to the chanting of Sivanāma by those who were well-versed in the Agamas.[10] In one of his inscriptions, Rajasimha Pallava (691-729 A.D.) is mentioned as 'ākamappiriyaṅ' (lover of Agamas) and '*caiva cittāṅtattir pērarivu uṭaiyavaṉ*' (one, who has immense knowledge in Saiva Siddbanta).[11] References to Agamas are many in Tiruvācakam.[12] In this work, the author Manikkavacakar (800

A.D.) mentions that the Lord revealed the Agamas to His consort in the Mount Mahendra.[13] He has also indicated the superiority of the Agamas over the Vedas in the Civapurāṇam, the preface to Tiruvācakam.[14] In the opening portion of this hymn, he says that the Lord Himself is the Agama conferring the bliss on His votaries.In a subsequent passage of the same hymn, he declares that the Lord transcends the triple dimensions of height, breadth and depth untouched by the Vedas assuming the subtlest form.[15] References to the Agamas in the Meykaṇta Śāstras are many.[16]

The Saiva Siddhanta is mainly the outcome of Agamic tradition. But, this does not mean that it rejects the Vedic tradition.[17] The vedas are held to be the general source for almost all the systems of Indian Philosophy including Saiva Siddhanta.The Agamas form the special source for this system. Most of the Agamas contain four portions dealing with *cariyā, kriyā, yogā, and jñāna*. It is essential to note that the Pinkalantai Nikantu (800 A.D.), a metrical lexicon in Tamil, categorically states that Agama means jñāna.[18] From this, it may be understood that the jñāna portion of the Agamas is very significant as it actually deals with the basic principles of Saiva Siddhanta.

Chronologically speaking the Sangam classics (500 B.C. to 300 A.D.) are older than the Tirumuṟais (500 A.D. - 1200 A.D.) and the Meykaṇṭa Śāstras (1200 A.D. - 1400 A.D.). They bear ample testimony to the spiritural supremacy of Lord Siva.[19] Some of the principles of Saiva Siddhanta would be traceable in them. In the Buddhist Tamil epic, Manimekalai (450 A.D. - 500 A.D.), there is a chapter that deals with the various schools of Indian philosophy which were current during the period of its authour, Cāttaṉār. Among them, the Saiva system is also included.[20] The exponent of this system is known as *Saiva vādi* (one who debates or argues for the cause of Saivism) and through him Cāttaṉār expressed some of the docrtines of Saiva Siddhanta. It is interesting to note that Madhava (1238 A.D.) in his Sarvadarsana Samgraha, presented the principles of Saiva Siddhanta under the caption, *'Saivadarśana'*.[21]

The heyday of Śaiva Siddhanta is the period of the Imperial Colas. The temples, being the centre of arts and religion, were constructed in accordance with the prescriptions of the Saiva Agamas. *Ñānāmirutam* (12th century A.D.), a classical text on Saiva Siddhanta was written by Vākīca Muṉivar in the style of Sangam Tamil.[22] Subsequently two more works viz., *Tiruvuntiyār* and *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyar* were composed

respectively by Uyyavantatevar of Tiruviyalur and of Tirukkaṭavur. Then commences the renowned Meykaṇṭār school of Śaiva Siddhanta.

Meykaṇṭār (13th century A.D.) is highly esteemed to be the first systematic exponent of the Siddhanta philosophy.His immortal treatise Civañānapōtam and its metrical commentary Civañāna Cittiyār by his disciple Arulanticivam form the foundational bedrock upon which the edifice of the existing Saiva Siddhanta is erected. Another great exponent Umāpaticivam (14th century A.D.), the disciple of Maraiñāna Campantar, nurtured the system by his contribution of eight works on the subject.[23] Among them, Civappirakācam and Tiruvarutpayaṉ are held in high esteem.Civañāna Muṉivar (1800 A.D.), the commentator of the Siddhanta canonical works, is respected to be the official interpreter of the system.

Śaiva Siddhanta is a theistic philosophy. It contains both religion and philosophy. It is also known as pluralistic realism, since it accepts more than one reality to be eternal entities. It deals with the three eternal realities, viz., Pati, Paśu and Pāśa. All categories that are perceived and conceived are brought under these three. Pati indicates the Supreme Lord. Paśu denotes the myriad souls, Pāśa refers to the triple bonds of āṇava, karma and māyā. All the three realities are ever-existing. Like God, paśu and pāśa are not created. Among the three, pati alone is independent, omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent. The soul's faculties are restricted and constricted from the very beginning due to the envelopment of the root evil, āṇava. In order to eliminate this evil, the Lord out of His mercy creates the world form māyā, the primordial matter and provides the desolated souls with the necessary equipment just to enable them to engage in activities with the ultimate purpose of casting away the evil and to gain eternal union with Him.

With this background, an attempt is being made here to outline the concept of God as found in Saiva Siddhanta. Only after having understood the existence of God, one would aspire to know about his nature in order to develope a sense of devotion to realise and reach Him. First, let us consider the important proofs for His existence.

Proofs for the Existence of God

Saiva Siddhanta is firmly rooted on revelation. Like all other theistic schools, it gives due importance to Scripture to prove the existence of God.The biography and literature of the Saiva Nāyaṉmārs disclose the

fact that they came into direct communion with God. For them, God was not a subject of ivestigation, but an object of experience. Their personal experience with the Lord is beautifully portrayed in the emotional outpourings of their devotional literature. But there are some systems of Indian philosophy which do not accept verbal testimony as a valid source of knowledge.To them, citations from the religious hymns do not carry any weight. God is held to be transcending all limits of our knowledge. He is super-sensuous.So, sense-Perception is naturally to be eliminated to prove His existence. Some other means agreeable to both the parties are to be sought. Inference is admitted as a sound source of valid knowledge by all systems except Cārvaka. So, the exponents of Saiva Siddhanta endeavour to establish the existence of God through inference that leads one from the seen to the unseen.

Cosmological argument

Vākīcamuṉivar, the author of Ñāṉāmirutam presents cosmological argument based on inference to prove the existence of God.[24] According to this argument, the aggregation of the gross elements commencing from earth and various objects like mountain that constitute the universe should have a creator, because these components are products without comparison. The example given to support the proposition is that of a pot. The syllogism of this argument requires some elucidation. A product is one which is subject to division and which undergoes changes. Each one of the contents of the phenomenal world is divisible and mutable. Since the products are inert and non-intelligent, they require an all-intelligent being for their division and changes characterised by production, existenc and destruction. Since the intelligence of the souls is limited and they get the knowledge only after getting a body, they could not effect the changes and classification all by themselves, Any product for its inception requires the co-operation of three causes, viz., the material cause, the instrumental or auxiliary cause and the efficient cause as evidenced from the empirical experience. For the production of a pot, clay is the material cause, the potter's wheel and other instruments are the auxiliary cause, while the potter is the efficient cause. The world is a product and its production also involves three causes. Māyā, the primordial matter is the material cause. Śiva's inseparable Śakti and the root karma of the souls form the auxiliary cause, while Śiva Himself is the Efficient Cause. Śiva through the instrumentality of His Sakti causes the universe to emerge from Māyā.

According to Saiva Siddhanta, God does not create the souls or the primordial matter which are eternal like Himself. Eternity does not mean equality. Just like the potter who cannot create clay but can effect only the pot, so also the Lord creates only the manifested world and not its primal core, i.e. māyā which is ever existing. In Saiva Siddhanta, creation means the kārana rupa (i.e. the causal form of māyā assuming the kārya rūpa (i.e.the effected form of māyā while destruction means the kārya rūpa returning to its original state of kāraṇa rūpa. There is no complete destruction. Kārya rūpa is fleeting and ephemeral, while kāraṇa rūpa is a reality.

Though the cosmological argument attempts to prove the existence of God, it is not free from defects. Standing form the side of a novice, the author of *Ñāṉāmirutam* finds some drawbacks in the theory of causation. The first remark is as follows:[25]

A man, who has noticed the co-presence of a pot and its maker at one place, notices only the pots at a different place and not their maker. His previous knowledge of concomitance of the potter and pot educates him in the second instance to infer that there should be a potter, even though he was not seen there. But with regard to the universe, if one has ever seen the creator and the universe existing side by side, then if he happens to witness a different universe without the presence of its maker, he could very well infer the existence of its author. This riddle is resolved by the author through an illustration.[26] A person observes the concomitance of a small column of smoke and fire in a kitchen and simiiar places. In a different situation, he happens to notice a large column of smoke on the summit of a mountain. It is reasonable for him to infer the existence of large fire in the invisible part of the mountain. Despite the difference in the volume of smoke, the common feature in both cases being smoke, which is always concomitant with its cause viz., fire, forms the symbol of inference. If it is admitted that the world is a product, then there is little hesitation to account for its creator. Whether the product is a small one like the pot or a stupendous one like the universe, it requires a producer.Further it is to be understood that analogy is always partial and one shoul not read complete agreement between the objects of comparison and objects compared. The purpose of the above comparison is to indicate that every product, whether it is small or big, requires causal agency and to exhibit the known in order to infer the unknown.

However, the reality of God cannot be grasped completely by cold logic or subtle philosophical theories which only provide the clue of understanding the absolute reality.

The second remark[27] is with regard to the nature of ether which is incorporeal (arūpa) and hence would not be a product, even though it forms part of the universe. But, Vākīcamuṉivar rejects this view stating that even the ether is undoubtedly a product, since a product is characterised by its quality and ether has sound for its quality. Further, the sound potential, being an aspect of ether is mingled in the remaining four grosss elements (i.e. air, fire, water and earth).For this reason, these elements are said to be the constituent members of ether. So, ether is divisible. What is divisible should be a product. Since these products have origination, they are subject to decay and their changes account for an efficient cause.[28]

The Meykaṇṭār School

The cosmological argument advanced by Vākicamuṉivar is further developed in the *Meykaṇṭār* school, as noticed in *Civañāṉa potam* and *Civañāna cittiyar.*[29] The first aphorism in *Civañāna potam* purports to prove the existence of God through anological reasoning.

The world is inert and non-intelligent. It undergoes three operative functions viez., production, maintenance and destruction. Among the three, through the first two functions it assumes *sthūlarūpa* (i.e. concrete, visible form), while through the last one, it resolves into its original *sūkṣmarūpa* (subtle, invisible form). Since the world is inert, it cannot dissolve into its causal form and also it cannot manifest again all by itself. So, the reality of the phenomenal world comes out of the ground of God whither it is resolved and whence it re-emerges. The reason for the dissolution is to give rest to the wearied souls and for the recreation is to enable them to exhaust their *āṇava.* The cosmic changes could be effected only by one who is changless. From the seen word, the reality of its author viz., the unseen God, is to be inferred.

The first aphorism like the rest is terse and cryptic. It contains three parts known as *adhikaraṇa* each of which is formulated in a syllogistic form. Let us consider them one by one.

First Adhikaraṇa (Part 1)

The proposition or thesis (*i.e. pratijñā* or *svapakṣa*) is that the phenomenal world, identified as he, she and it, undergoes threefold changes viz., production, maintenance and destruction.

The *prima facie* view or antithesis (*pūrvapakṣa* or *parapakṣa*) quesitons the validity of the above statement raising the doubt wheher the universe undergoes the aforesaid changes.

This member of the syllogism represents the view of the opposing systems. The *Lokāyatas* of the Non-Vedic group and the *Mīmāmsakas* of the Vedic group envisage that the world is eternal and it is improper to state that it suffers changes and for this reason it requires an intelligent agent known as God.

The rejoinder to this objection to pass for a conclusion is known as *Siddhānta* which is supported by two other memebers viz., reason and exmaple. To establish the original proposition, the following three reasons are adduced by the *Saiva Siddhāntin.*

1. The sense-perceived universe is made up of various parts. It is composite whole. A composite is conditioned by a cause or causes. The component parts that constitute the universe are convenienctly classified on the principle of gender. ie., masculine, feminine and neuter. A particular object in the universe is a 'he' or 'she' or 'it'. 'He' or 'She' denotes only the physical features of sentient beings for there is no gender in the soul, while 'it' indicates the in-organic and non-sentient beings. This sort of classification or division, regularity and design could not be self-made. Therefore, it is suggested that there must be a classifier or designer.

2. Each one of the component parts in the entire universe differs from one another. There is difference between two men, two women and two things. There is no sameness even between two homogeneous things. There are innumerable kinds of things belonging to inert matter. Manifoldness and materiality are the significant feature of the phenomenal world which could not self-exist. *Saiva Siddhanta* postulates the difference in the *karma* of the individuals for the differnece in their being. There should be an intelligent cause to effect the diversity and mutability of things in the universe.

3. The sense-perceived objects that constitute the visible universe are liable to undergo changes and transformations. That which is cognized through the means of determinate perception is known as *acetanapirapañcam* (insentient material universe) which is classifed as he, she and it. These things being the object of determinate perception are subject to change. So, the pheneomenal world as it appears could not be considered as an entity, since an entity could not be divided into parts, and also it should not suffer change which occurs only in that which is made up of parts.

To sum up, since the phenomenal world is classified into three broad divisions, each of which is manifold and different from one another undergoing transformations and also becoming the subject of determinate perception, there must be an omniscient being to effect the changes.

The example to support the aforestated reasons is that of a cloth. In the cloth, the manifold inert yarns constitute the warp and woof which, being the component parts of the cloth, suggest the existence of its weaver. The weaver of the universe is God.

This syllogistic inference is admissible only to the *Mīmāmsaka* who accepted *anumāna* as a valid source of knowledge. But, the *Lokāyatas* (the Indian materialists) do not accept *anumāna.* Their only source of valid knowledge is perception. In order to convince them, the *Saiva Siddhāntin* employs *pratyakṣa* (perception) to establish his original proposition viz., that the universe is subject to threefold changes. The adduced reason is as follows:

"*Because origin and end lay on the sides of the existing thing*"

Without origination, the particular thing could not have come into existnec. So existence indicates its previous position of origination, for without origination existence is impossible and inconceivable. It is followed by destruction. Mere observation or perception is enough to instruct the *Lokāyata* that the sense perceived things undergo three-fold changes as mentioned above. Since the component parts are subject to change, the universe being the whole should naturally undergo the same changes. To explain this point, an analogy is given:

A particular kind of plants, fruits or insects appears in a particular season and goes out of existence at the end of it. This process is repeatedly

seen. So also, the phenomenal world which is ephemeral comes into existence, stays for some period and again resolves back to its original state.

Second Adhikaraṇa (Part II)

This *adhikaraṇa* is intended for those, especially the *Sāmkhyas,* who admit that the universe undergoes changes, but do not accept an intelligent agent to effect the changes. The members of the syllogism pertaining to this second part of the argument are the following:

Proposition	:	'The world exists.'
Reason	:	Because there is no origin to that which does not exist.
Example (negative)	:	Like the hare's horn.

In the calf of a cow and in the young one of a hare, the horn is not found. When the calf grows, the horn is seen visibly in its head. But, in the case of the hare, the horn is absent completely at all times. This indicates that which is not could not come into existence like the hare's horn, and also it implies that what were already there in abstract and unseen form *(sūkṣma)* is evolved into a concrete and visible form *(sthūla)* like the calf's horn. The effect is emanated from its cause in which it existed already implicitly. The essence of effect is not different from its cause. This concept is known as *Satkāryavāda* in *Śaiva Siddhānta.* The rational basis of this concept may be exemplified. From clay only a pot could be produced and not a cloth. From a timber, a chair could be made and not a jewel. The significant relationship between the cause and effect is to be considered.

The *Satkāryavāda* out of logical necessity postulated the existence of the premordial entity (the material cause) known as *māyā* - the seed principle out of which the parts that form the unvierse are evolved and into which they again resolve. *Māyā* is a very subtle entity in which the penomenal world exists implicitly before its manifestation, just like a big banyan tree is latent in a minute, tiny seed, prior to its evolution.

Next, the *Saiva Siddhāntin* proceeds to postulate the existence of the efficient cause and instrumental cause. The syllogism for this postulation is as follows.

Proposition : The existing world has a creator.

Reason : Because that which exists could not be produced without a creator.

The *Sāmkhyas* held that the world would evolve by itself from the primordial matter, and hence no need for a creator. Though they accepted *Satkāryavāda,* they did not accept an efficient cause. The *Saiva Siddhantin* points out the defect in their argument and stresses the necessity of threefold causes for the production of anything that we have already noted. One could amplify the examples. A pot requries a potter, a chair a carpenter and a book an author. But one cannot question who is the creator of God, for it would lead to infinite regress. That is why the Absolute is depicted in the Tamil devotional literature as one having no father and mother.[30]

After proving the existence of God, the Siddhāntin proceeds to propound that the efficient cause should be the Universal Destroyer. The syllogism for this argument follows thus:

Proposition : There is no evolution except in dissolution.

Reason : Because it (the evolved world) becomes dissolved there (in involution).

Even if one accepts the efficienct cause for the creation of the world, views differ with regard to the agency in the theistic schools. The *Pāñcarātras* held that the protecting agent, Vāsudeva should be the efficient vause, while the *Brahmavādins* maintained in its place the creating agent, Brahma. According to *Saiva Siddhanta,* these are petty deities and they are only the evolved souls. By virtue of their accumulated merit, they obtained the authority from the Mahadeva (Lord Śiva) to create and to protect. Further, the elements and worlds existing in the five *kalās* viz., *Nivṛtti, Pratiṣṭhā, Vidyā, Śānti* and *Śāntiyatīta* are respecitvly absorbed by Brahma, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Ananda and Sadāśiva under the mandate of Lord Siva who actually actuates the Mahāsamhāra (the Great Cosmic involution) through the agency of Sadāśiva. So, the operative agents stand to Lord Śiva what the ministers to the emperor. There may be many directed agents to carry out the various activities; but, Lord Śiva is held to be the directing overall agent. K. Sivaraman in his dissertation explains this concept of Supreme God thus.[31]

"The entire universe with its creators, conservers and destroyers is under Śiva's control even as dried leaves whirl under the control of a stormy wind... The Destroyer is the only transcendent Being *(tattvātīta)*, transcending all *tattvas*........ The designation of the Supreme Reality as Destroyer is metaphysical as it is also mystical. The Concept of Destroyer represents God as the Universal Being. Everything is 'nought' *(śūnya)* before being. God is not something or someone which exists along with the totality of beings. He is Being itself...... The Destroyer stands for eternity which truly transcends temporality... Only the Destroyer is the Death of Death *(kālakāla)*, the realm beyond the realm destroyed, and is the ultimate foundation of ontological courage in the face of anxiety of transitoriness."

During the period of *Mahāpraḷaya*, the whole universe with all its contents including the aforesaid minor gods are dissolved in Him. Hara (another name for Śiva) is the Universal Destroyer who is the ground of the dissolved universe. The phenomenal world is resolved in its material cause, *Māyā*, which takes its ground under the feet of the Lord. The relationship between the material cause *(māyā)* and the efficient cause (the Lord) is described as *abbinnābhāva*, i.e., inseparatble union like that of Vyāpaka and Vyāpya (the Pervader and the Pervaded) and that of *ādhāra and ādbeya* (the Supporter and the Supported).

God as the Material Cause

The material cause *māyā*, its product the world, and the ground of *māyā*, viz, Lord's Śakti are compared to the seed, its shoot and earth.[32] If the seed comes into contact with the moist earth, it becomes capable of manifesting a shoot. So also, if *māyā* reposing at the feet of the Lord receives the Divine Will of His Śakti, it becomes capable of manifesting the world. If there is no moisture in the earth, the seed could not shoot. Likewise, if there is no will of Lord's Śakti the *māyā* could not evolve. The world is evolved from *māyā* with the will of Lord's Śakti which functions in accordance with the individual's *mala* to endow the concerned souls with the different types of psycho-physical organisms.

But some passages in the *Tirumuṟais* and *Āgamas* reveal that the world is emanated from God Himself[33] These portions are taken in a literal sense by some people who argue that God forms not only the efficient cause but also the material cause.[34] Such misunderstanding would

go against the same literature which describes Him to be immutable. Though the Lord transcends all the elements that constitute the universe, He is simultaneously immanent in them. His immanence should not be mistaken for material causality. Civañāna munivar,[35] the able exponent of *Saiva Siddhanta* submits an illustration to explain the figurative expressions in the texts. The lotus actually germinates from its root and not from the mud though it gets the name *pankayam* [Skt. paṅkaja] which really means that which is born of mud. Similarly, the world is evolved directly from its root *māyā* and not from God. Nevertheless, it is fuguratively said that the world is proceeded from God who acutally provides the ground for *māyā* . So, the material universe (i.e. non-intelligent principle) could not originate from the Intelligent principle, viz., God.

If God is held to be the material cause, the product (i.e world) also should resemble Him in content and quality. Since there are many imperfections and defects in the world, they are also to be accounted form the material cause. Since, God is conceived to be absolutely perfect, impeccable and immutable by nature, He could not be postulated to be the material cause which is subject to changes. The defects and diverse features are due to *āṇava* and *mūlakarma* of the souls.

However, K. Sivaraman attempts to explain the material causality in order to reconcile the two views in the follwing passage of his dissertaion.[36]

"The intelligent agent of the world is not as such the material cause of the world but only as related to the non-intelligent *māyā* .... It is efficient cause which is also material cause by virtue of its being inseparably qualified by *māyā* .....Just as the hair and the nails, etc., are not born of the body alone (insentient) or the soul alone (sentient), so the universe is born not of *māyā* alone or Maheśvara alone, but of the Embodied unity which is accordingly described as the 'womb' of all elements and also as the Supreme Lord, the Mighty etc.," His interpretation obviosuly confirms the sole causality of God.

Third Adhikaraṇa (Part III)

This *adhikarana* is devoted to clarify whether the efficient cause of the universe is one or many. Saiva Śiddhanta advocates monotheism,

and so it does not subscribe to the view of polytheism. The syllogism is as follows:

Proposition : *The Universal Destroyer is the Primal Mover of the unvierse.*

The second *adhikaraṇa* concludes that the primary God to the universe is the Universal Destroyer. This *adhikaraṇa* examines the view of the polytheists. They argue that the production of a chariot involves many carpenters and the creation of a more wonderful and stupendous universe naturally should require more than one God. But their concept is refuted by the *Saiva Siddhantin* maintaining his proposition.

Reason : Because the souls that cognize things through determinate perception have no independence without the Universal Destroyer, who transcends such a kind of perception.

Śaiva Siddhānta subsumes all the minor gods and the spiritually elevated souls under the category of *paśu.* There are also the defective souls. They are all dependent on Lord Śiva who alone is independent, omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. Though there are many carpenters in fashioning a chariot, all of them are directed by one master carpenter. So also, the deities are not autonomous and they discharge the assigned duties under the overall supervision and direction of the Supreme God Śiva. The released souls which obtained godliness (*śivatvam*) would not be accounted for the cosmic functions, for they are held to be in constant enjoyment of eternal bliss of the Lord which is the summum bonum of their spiritual sojourn.

Another version of Cosmological Argument

There are many types of cosmological arguments propounded by the western thinkers to prove the existence of God. One of them is the argument from motion. It is as old as Plato and Artistotle and it is fashioned by St. Thomas Aquinas.[37] According to this argument, the things in the universe are movable and they require a mover. There are two kinds of movers, viz., the primary and secondary. If there is no primary mover, then there is no subsequent movers. For instance, the book is moved by hand which in turn is moved by the consciousness of one's self. To avoid infinite regress, it is postulated that there should be a First Mover who causes everything to move, but Himself is not moved by anything.

Movement of an object indicates passing from one place or condition to another. It is always associated with variation, mutation, limit and contingency. The ultimate force or Prime Mover should be free form mutation, limitation and temporality, and that is the eternal reality.

According to Plato, the power that generates motion should be logically anterior to the power that gets it and passes it on. This primal force is the uncaused cause. His disciple, Artistotle envisaged that change implied an unchanging absolute source of motion which could be designated as God.

This sort of cosmological argument is not unknown to Saiva Siddhanta[38] The commentator (before 1400 A.D.) of Ñānāmirutam presents from the contents of the text the following five membered syllogism.

Proposition	:	The universe should have a creator.
Reason	:	Since it is inert, its evolution and resolution would become impossible without an intelligent being.
Example	:	Like the vehicles such as a chariot etc.
Application	:	The vehicles could not move by themselves. They require a driver to move them.
Conclusion	:	So also, the universe requires a mover who actuates it in accordance with the Moral Law.

Thus, the existence of the Primal Mover is established.

However, the author from the standpoint of a novice produces two examples to propose that even inanimate objects possess the force of motion. They are :

1. Cow's milk is inert. But it nurtures the calf to grow.

2. The insentient magnet attracts the inanimate filament of iron.

Nevertheless, the author exposes the folly of the examples pointing out that the milk is possible only from a sentient cow, and an intelligent agent is essential to bring the magnet and iron in close quarters, thus making the original proposition tenable and reasonable.[39]

In this context, it is appropriate to quote Tirikūṭarācappakkavirāyar (1700 A.D.), a great Śaiva poet who beautifully portrays that the Lord set all the worlds in motion and they revolve like toys without thread (by the mere will of God).[40] The concept of God as the Prime Mover is further attested in one of the poems of Tāyumāṉavar (18th century A.D.), who declares that even an atom could not move without Him.[41] This idea has also reference in Kenopaniṣad.[42]

Moral Argument

The supplementary argument adduced in favour of the theistic hypothesis is known as the moral argument. The cosmological argument attempts to prove the efficient cause of the universe. The purpose of the moral argument is to point out that the Lord is also the Moral Governor of the universe who effects orderlines in the life of individuals on the basis of their action. This argument stands on the doctrine of karma. Saint Cēkkiḻār[43] enumerates four cardinal tenets of Śaivism viz., 1. the soul performing the *karma*; 2. the performed deeds; 3. their effects and 4. the Lord who allots the fruits of the deeds to the respective souls. These four aspects.[44] are further attested by Umāpaticivam and they are very important to apprehend the moral argument. In order to exhaust the potency of āṇava, the soul is invested with a body, a habitat and objects of experience. In the embodied condition, the soul is capable of engaging in multifarious activities which may be good or bad, but they are forgotten or neglected. According to Śaiva Siddhānta, everyone is conditioned and governed by the doctrine of *karma*. Nobody can escape the consequences of one's own deeds. The law of *karma* is relentless and inexorable. "As we sow so we reap" is the Tamil proverb. Though the doer ignores or forgets his actions, they are taken into account by the Unseen Absolute Observer who distributes the deserts to the individual. The present life of a person is the outcome of his deeds in the past birth and also it prepares for the future. The Lord leaves free will to the individuals either to make or mar his future. In this sense, the man is held to be the architect of his own self.

The Jains uphold that the *karma* itself can yield fruits and there is no need for God. They give a fine simile to explain their view. In the herd of cows, a particular calf, if released, would search and reach its own mother to sukle the milk. So also the fruit of karma by itself would identify and join its doer in the midst of many.[45] But the folly of this

analogy is noted by the Saiva Siddhāntin. The *karma* is insentient object and hence the analogy is fallacious. Civajñānacittiyār also refers to a similar comparison. One may say that *karma* can fructify all by itself just like an arrow travelling by itself. But it has been pointed out that this analogy is equally shortsighted, since without an archer the travel of an arrow is impossible. The Tamil proverb says that there is no point in blaming the arrow when there is an archer. So, Saiva Siddhānta concludes that the *karma* becomes inert and insentient and hence it cannot remember or identify its doer to join him. Then, it follows that there should be an Omniscient Being to administer the fruits of *karma* to the concerned doer. The Absolute Being is held to be the Legislator and Executor of moral law.[46] He is the Divine Justice who is impartial in enforcing the law. The God as moral governor is compared to the king, physician and parents. If the subjects go astray, they are penalised by the king. If they do some signal service, they are rewarded. The Lord is the Ruler of the universe. If there is any upset in the natural course of the universe, He sets it right. The purāṇic stories of punishing the atrocious demons and rākṣasas are ample evidence for the Lord's moral administration. He punishes the wicked in order to make them realise the folly of their conduct and to instruct the need for undertaking a virtuous way of life. All such actions are reformatory in character. He showers grace on the virtuous pepple offering all benevolence. The chastening of the Lord is meant for the betterment of the souls. Saiva Siddhānta classifies Lord's grace into two, viz., virtuous grace (aṟakkaruṇai)-this is meant for the virtuous souls, and heroic grace (maṟakkaruṇai)- this is directed towards the vicious souls.

God is also compared to the physician. "The physician doctors the body, whereas God doctors the soul." The concept of God, as a healer or physician is also found in Buddhism and Christianity. The physician administers at times bitter medicines to the patient and also prescribes sugar-coated pills in order to relieve him from physical ailments. Similarly, the pains and pleasures being the consequence of one's own deeds are carefully given as medicine by God as a remedy to the malady of transmigration which is considered as a great disease. Saint Tirunāvukkaracar[47] extols the Lord to be the great physician who alone could cure the incurable disease of birth.

God is also compared to the parents. He is the parent patronizing all kinds of beings in all ages at all places. If the children are mischievous, it is the duty of the parents to correct them. Civajñāna Cittiyār[48] says,

"Parents thrash their children for disobedience and handcuff them - punishing them, not because they hate their children but because they love them though it may not appear to be so". They actually derive much pleasure on hearing the rare achievements of their children. Like the parents, God treats the souls through punishment and reward, with the sole purpose of liberating them from the clutches of mundane life.

God is also compared to the washerman.[49] The washerman smashes the cloth against the washing stone not to tear it, but to cleanse it. The pain inflicted by God is merely the bleeching powder to wash the impurity of the soul.

The concept of God as a moral governor is very old in the Tamil traditicn. Tolkāppiyam[50] (500 B.C.) designates the Lord as 'Fate deciding God" (pālvarai teyvam) The same idea is preserved in Tiruccir̲r̲ampalakkōvaiyar of Manikkavacakar.[51] The ancient Tamil ethics, Tirukkuṟaḷ (50 B.C.-50 A.D.), denotes God as 'vakuttāṉ' meaning Apportioner. "Those who have accumulated wealth could enjoy nothing but what the Divine Disposer has apportioned to them,"[52] declares Tiruvaḷḷuvar. From this couplet, it is crystal clear that Tiruvaḷḷuvar represents the Tamil tradition which preserves firm belief in the Divine dispensation.

Thus it is evident that Śaiva Siddhānta postulates the fact of Absolute God in order to account for the fact of ethical order.

After having understood the existence of God, let us proceed to know about His nature, functions and forms, His relation with the souls and the ways of realising Him as evidenced from the Śaiva lore.

Nature of God

Śaiva Sidddhānta identifies two-fold nature of God known as Svarūpalakṣaṇa (Ciṟappu iyalpu) and Tatasthalakṣaṇa (Potuiyalpu). Svarūpalakṣaṇa denotes His essential and intrinsic nature, while Tatasthalakṣaṇa refers to His general or accidental nature that arises due to His relation to the souls. God in HIs essential nature is static,. immutable and immeasurable by the limits of time and space. He transcends all the sources of empirical knowledge. He has no name and form. Manikkavacakar[53] refers to this nature of God in his Tiruvācakam as "orunāmam ōruruvam oṉṟum ilāṉ", "ētu avaṉ ūr? ētu avaṉ pēr?" etc.

God is the Pure Being (Sat), the very source of all knowledge (Cit) and eternal bliss (Ānanda). The Śaiva Āgamas mention eight divine qualities to be His essential characteristics, as identified by Parimēlaḻakar, a staunch Vaisnavite in his learned commentary on Tirukkuṟaḷ.[54] They are the following :

	Tamil	Sanskrit	English equivalent
1.	*Taṉvayattaṉ ātal*	Svatantra	Self-dependence
2.	*Tūyauṭampiṉaṉ ātal*	Viśuddha deha	Immaculate Body
3.	*Iyaṟkai uṇarviṉaṉ ātal*	Anādhi bodham	Natural understanding
4.	*Muṟrum uṇartal*	Sarvajñatā	Omniscience
5.	*Iyalpakāvē pācaṅkaḷiṉ niṅkutaḷ*	Nirāmayam	Eternally free from bonds
6.	*Pēraruḷuṭaimai*	Nityaluptaśaktitva	Infinite grace
7.	*Muṭivil āṟral uṭaimai*	Anantaśaktita	Infinite potency
8.	*Varampil iṉpam uṭaimai*	Nityatriptaka	Infinite bliss

Since the Lord is associated inherently with thess eight divine features, He is known as *eṇkuṇāttaṉ*; this term occurs in the ninth couplet of the first chapter in Tirukkuṟaḷ (i.e., kaṭavul vaḻttu - The Praise of God) and hence one commentator ably attempted to isolate the eight qualities under reference in the first eight couplets of the same chapter.[55] Some considered the third and the fourth qualities may be counted as one as well as the second and fifth as one. Thus, the Lord is said to possess six divine characteristics and hence He is known as '*Pakavan*' which name occurs in Śvetaśvatara Upaniṣad, Tirukkuṟal and Tevāram to denote Lord Śiva.[56] However, Mānikkavācakar reminds one that the Lord's auspicious qualities are innumerable.[57]

God in His essential nature is called as Paraśivam or Svarūpaśivam, and His inseparable energy is known as Parāśakti.

Out of His boundless compassion towards the soul, He becomes dynamic through His will of Divine energy, assuming various forms and names for the benefit of the souls. "The Real appears in diverse ways. But the appearances are of the Real. The appearances, while not exhaustive

of the Real, are adequate for the purpose for which they are manifested and are wholly satisfying to the persons concerned. . . While the Infinite in its Grace is pleased to make Itself available to souls, It cannot be possessed in its fullness by the souls."[58] These forms are not material, but they are out of His grace, which is otherwise known as Śakti. In this state, God becomes Śivam and Śakti to commence the cosmic functions. Taṭastha forms of God become the object of worship. So, it is held that Taṭastha form is not illusory and it is as real as Svarūpa form.

Svarūpa and Tatastha concept of God should not be equated respectively with the concept of Nirguṇa Brahman and Saguṇa Brahman of Vedānta philosophy. Nirguṇa Brahman is devoid of any quality or attribute and it is a mere abstraction. But Svarūpaśiva has countless divine qualities. SaguṇaBrahman of Vedanta has material qualities and it is only fictitious like a snake in rope, water in mirage etc. But, Tatasthaśiva is a reality of the Absolute. However, in the Saiva Tamil devotional literature, God is depicted as one who has no quality or symbol which means that He is devoid of material qualities and forms.[59] It is worth mentioning that Tirumular praises the Lord as one who is bereft of the tripe material gunas, viz., sattva, rajas and tamas (Mukkuṇa nirkkuṇaṇ).[60]

Transcendence and Immanence

The spiritual experiences of the Tamil Śaiva saints as recorded in the devotional literature reveal the Lord's transcendental as well as immanent features. Let us briefly present some of these features.

God transcends description. He is beyond the word and its content.[61] He transcends the five-fold sense-perception.[62] He is beyond the ken of thoguht.[63] He is impenetrable even by the Scriptures.[64] He is inconceivable not only to the deities but also to the Hindu Trinities.[65] He surpasses the limits of beginning, middle and end of things.[66] He transcends all the elements (Tattvātīta). He has no origin and so no decay.[67] He is eternal and immutable.[68] He is free from bondage and liberation.[69] Before His greatness, even the universe is but an atom. Before His subtle state, even an atom would become the magnificient universe.[70] His greatness cannot be exhausted. He is Omniscient.[71] Though God transcends every thing, He pervades all objects. He is immanent in all animate and inanimate beings. He is their indweller and inner ruler. This feature of God is known as *antaryāmitva* which occupies a supreme place also in the Vaiṣṇava theology.[72]

The Lord abides everywhere without leaving any space.[73] He[74] is immanent in the five gross elements (viz., earth, water, fire. air and ether) and in the sun, moon and the souls (collectively known as Aṣṭamūrta). He is seated in the consciousness and also in the organs of knowledge.[75] He is the soul of all souls.[76]

His immanence with the souls and matter is compared to the inseparable relationship of body and soul, word and its meaning, fragrance and flower, relish and the fruit, oil and sesamum, etc.[77] He is the fire concealed in the wood; He is likewise the ghee in the milk and the brilliance in the great gem. If one churns in his consciousness with the stick of intense devotion entwined by the rope of knowledge, the immanent God becomes transparent to the devotee.[78]

The description of the immanent nature of Śiva by the Tamil devotional poets seems to be similar to that of the Upaniṣaḍic seers. A significant parallel is given below from the Śvetaśvatara Upaniṣaḍ.

"As oil in sesamum seeds, as butter in cream, as water in the dry bed of a stream, as fire in friction sticks, so is the Self (God) seized in one's own soul if one looks for Him with truthfulness and austerity." "The self which pervades all things as butter is contained in milk, which is the root of self-knowledge and austerity, that is the Brahman, the highest mystic doctrine. That is the highest mystic doctrine."[79]

Śiva and Śakti

The static state of the Absolute is Śiva and its dynamic state is Śakti. Śiva and Śakti are like the sun and its rays. They are similar to the substance and its quality (guṇa guṇibhāva i.e. Samavāya sambandha). The two are inseparably connected like a tree and its hard core.[80] Like fire which is red in colour and hot in quality, the One God becomes Śiva and Śakti. There is no substance without quality and no quality without substance. So also, there is no Śiva without Śakti and no Śakti without Śiva. This sort of relationship is also known as *Tātātmya* (i.e., the relationship of two things which are really two aspects of one thing).

The Lord's grace is personified as His consort Śakti.[81] Śakti is the embodiment of Pure Intelligence.[82] Śiva's Śakti is One only known as Parāśakti (the Supreme Energy). But due to the variation in the consmic activities, It becomes many. Volitional Energy (Icchā Śakti) is the supreme

love of the Lord concerned with the removal of the impurities (malas) of the souls. Through Cognitive Energy (Jñāna Śakti), the Lord knows the needs of the souls and through Conative Energy (Kriyāśakti) He creates the universe to distribute their deserts.[83]

The Cosmic Functions

The Lord discharges the cosmic functions through His Śakti without any exertion or effort, by His mere Will. That is why they are described in the devotional literature as His sports.[84] Here, sport does not mean a pastime or an amusement. Surely, He would not derive any pleasure at the expense of untold miseries to the souls by subjecting them to undergo under cosmic functions. So, it is clear that the word sport indicates that He performs all the activities with effortless ease. The purpose of these functions is to bestow on the souls all the earthly and celestial happiness and finally when the ripe time dawns, granting them the everlasting eternal bliss from which there is no return to the temporal abode of empirical life. The five cosmic functions are as follows :[85]

	Tamil	Sanskrit	English Equivalent
1.	*Paṭaippu*	Sṛṣṭi	Creation
2.	*Kāppu*	Sthiti	Protection
3.	*Aḻippu*	Samhāra	Destruction
4.	*Maṟaippu*	Tirobhāva	Obscuration or concealment
5.	*Aruḷal*	Anugraha	Bestowal of Grace

Let us briefly consider them one by one :

1. Creation

God creates the universe from the material cause Māyā through His Cit-Śakti for the betterment of the souls, providing them with psychophysical organisms, and the world for habitation. Creation is intended to enable the souls to engage in activities and to get various kinds of experiences so that the potency of the root evil *āṇava* would be exhausted.

2. Protection

Protection or maintenance is exercised by the Lord through His Śakti with the sole purpose of making the souls experience the yields of

their *karma* accrued in various births. The Lord protects the souls in such a way that they should not miss the experience due to them, whether it is pleasurable or painful depending upon the nature of their *karma.* He protects the souls according to the Moral Law.

3. Destruction

According to the law of *karma,* the souls embark on transmigration vested with various kinds of bodies in various births. In experiencing the fruits of *karma,* their energies get tired and their physical frames become like the worn out clothes. In order to give them rest, destruction takes place. It is often compared with sleep that recoups one's energies for the task of the following birth. God destroys only the contact of soul with the matter.

4. Obscuration

The souls are eternally in conjunction with āṇava, the spiritual darkness which has the potency to veil the soul from having a clear knowledge of the three realities, viz., Pati, Paśu and Pāśa. Only by making the obscuring power of āṇava to fully function, its evil could be extirpated. So, Tirodhāna Śakti of the Lord works through *āṇava* to enchant the soul to earthly pursuits and sensual enjoyment, till its power is completely emptied. At this stage, the soul developes a sense of indifference towards the yields of *karma* and also a sense of equanimity in adversity and prosperity resulting in *karma-sāmya* (iruviṉai oppu). So, the purpose of obscuration is meant for the maturation of āṇava mala. As soon as the power of āṇava is destroyed, the soul is open to have the vision of God.

5. Bestowal of Grace

Observing the ripening of *āṇava* and the spiritual progress of the souls, the Lord appears in the form of Guru (Preceptor), purifies them through performance of some rites known as dīkṣā and imparts Divine Wisdom (Patijñāna) which illumines the souls to realise their oneness with the Lord. Through Anugraha Śakti, God bestows grace on the souls.

The first three functions are with particular reference to the physical aspects of the souls, i.e., God creates only the physical body, protects it and destroys it. But the last two actions are directly concerned

with the souls. He conceals the souls from Him in order to make them mature by exterminating their impurity (i.e., āṇava). On the perfected souls He showers grace which is really the grant of eternal freedom. The first four actions culminate in the final one. Anugraha is the aim and end of all souls. All His five actions are actually the acts of His Śakti which is otherwise known as Grace. These five cosmic functions of God are symbolically and artistically reflected in the beautiful image of Lord Nataraja.[86] Sometimes, protection and bestowal of grace are considered to be one action, while concealment and destruction are one. Thus, the Lord's functions are also known as three (muttolil). All His functions are actually the acts of grace.

The Ground of His Activities

Next, the question arises with regard to the place where God could station Himself to commence His cosmic functions. The potter places himself on earth before starting the production of pot. Likewise, is there any ground for the Lord to inaugurate His functions? If it were essential to station Himself in some place, then that space exists before His creation work. If He would not create, there could be no place. To this circular argument, the Āgamas present a clear explanation through the analogy of the Time principle.[87] It is the lapse of time that causes the production, maintenance and destruction of the seven worlds. But time does not require to station itself somewhere for bringing about the aforesaid changes. Like the time principle, the Lord requires no stand to place Himself, for He performs the functions through His Will, otherwise known as Śakti. This analogy is only partial, for Saiva Siddhanta considers that time is a product of impure matter (Aśuddha māyā), and so it is inert. It could not function automatically. It is employed as an auxiliary cause for the Lord's cosmic functions.

Does God undergo any changes?

The next doubt arises whether the Lord is affected by His cosmic activities. The Āgamas dispel this doubt again through analogy. In the presence of sun-shine, the lotus is blooming (creation), the sun-glass emits fire (protection) and the pool water evaporates (destruction). Though the sun is held responsible for these changes, they do not effect any change in the sun. The Lord is like the sun. He is not disturbed by His functions that take place in His mere presence.[88] The sun analogy gets a fresh

interpretation in Ñāṉāmirutam which states that though the sun causes some lotus-buds to bloom, the other flowers like lily to fade and the old ones to wither, these changes do not hit the sun. So also, God is untouched by any change due to His cosmic functions.[89] He does not suffer any weariness due to His activities. If He were only immanent in the things, surely He would be affected. But, He is simultaneously transcendent and hence no change is possible. Only those who act with physical body would be affected. Since God acts through His Śakti, He is least affected. He is eternally immutable (avikāri). Also it is to be noted that through His Will, the five modifications known as Śiva tattvas are emanated from the Śuddha māyā (pure matter) and they form the ground for the Lord's cosmic activities which are actually assigned to His inseparable Śakti.

Two more analogies are given in Civajñāṉa Cittiyār.[90] Though the different states of wakefulness, dreaming, dreamless sleep etc., arise and merge in the soul, they do not affect the soul. Though the words and their sense as understood in the books subside in and reemerge from the soul's consciousness, they do not affect the soul. So also, though the worlds are evolved and resolved in Him, He is not affected by them. He stands with the world being united and at the same time not united. One more analogy is worth mentioning. The three realities viz., Pati, Paśu and Pāśa are respectively compared to ether, sea and salt. God is like the ether that provides space for the waters of the sea which are compared to the souls. The tripe bonds (pāśa) that go with the souls and not with God are like the salt that clings to the water and not the space occupied by the sea. Thus, God remains unaffected though He is inseparable from the souls and matter.[91]

In *Civaneṟippirakācam* some more illustrations are found. Though the air that does not leave the ether mingles with the fragrance, heat and cold and moves in the ether, it does not affect the ether. The snake is not afflicted by the poison, though it possesses it. Though asafoetida kills any tree that comes into its contact, it will not kill the tree on which it grows.[92] These comparisons are sufficient to maintain that God is not at all affected by the triple bonds and He is eternally independent.

Next, let us proceed to deal with the relationship of God with the souls as found in the Saiva Siddhanta.

God's relationship with the souls

Tevāram and Meykaṇṭaśāstras denote three kinds of relationship of the Lord with the souls.[93] Accordingly, He is one with them (oṉṟāy), different from them (vēṟāy) and along with them (uṭaṉāy). These are illustrated through some analogies.

1. The soul and the body

The Lord becomes one with the souls in actuating them to undergo the fivefold functions. To illustrate this sort of relationship the usual simile is that of the soul and body. Like the soul that animates the body, the Lord animates the soul. Though the soul and the body are one due to their combination, they are different in substance. So also the Lord and the soul are one due to their intimacy, but they are different categories. This sort of oneness is known as *Advaita* or *Ananya* (non-difference). The intimate and inseparable contact of two things which makes them appear to be one is recognised as *Advaita* (or *abheda*) in Saiva Siddhānta. Advaita does not mean that God and soul are one as held in Vedānta philosophy of Śamkara.

2. The sunlight and the eye-sight

Though the soul and the Lord are inseparably connected, they are not of the same content. Their difference is just like the sunlight and the eye-sight. The eye cannot perceive things in its own right. It requires the help of an external power, viz., the sun light. The soul are like the eyes, while the Lord likens the sun. This analogy proclaims the concept of *bheda*.

3. The finite-consciousness and the eye-sight

The third comparison to explain the Lord's relationship with the souls is that of the finite consciousness and the eye-sight. In the former illustration, the eye-sight requires external light for its perception. Here, it is in need of inner-light known as ātman's cit-sakti (i.e. the soul's finite consciousness). It is purely internal and pervades the eye-sight in illuminating the objects. Like the soul's consciousness to the eye, the Lord's consciousness - force stands to the soul. He is the life of the souls. Here, in this relation He is one with the soul and at the same time different from it. Hence, this relationship is known as *bhedābheda*.

Thus, Śaiva Siddhanta propounds three kinds of relationship of God with soul, viz., 1. *abheda* like body and soul, 2. *bheda* like the sunlight and eye-sight, and 3. *bhedābheda* like the finite-consciousness and eye-sight. But other theistic schools prefer only one among the three and adduce different illustrations to maintain their view-points. The Kevalādvaita of Śaṁkara interprets the word advaita to mean one reality, and that is why it is known as monism. This school treats God and soul as the different modes of the same stuff like the gold and its ornament. The Dvaita of Madhva advocates dualism considering that the word advaita means more than one reality. According to this school, God and soul are completely different categories like light and darkness. The Pāñcarātras, a sect of Vaiṣṇavism propounds the concept of bhedabheda taking the two like word and its sense. All these ideas are presented here according to the commentary of Civañānapōtam. It seems that Śaiva Siddhanta did not agree with these views. Its concept of advaita is known as Śuddhādvaita, i.e. pure advaita as explained through the three analogies cited earlier.

The relationship of God and soul is further explained in Saiva Siddhanta through a fresh analogy derived from the alphabetical system.[94] 'A' is the first vowel sound in the alphabetical series. It is an independent sound, pronounced by the mere opening of mouth. Since all sounds - let them be vowels (uyir, also means soul) or consonants (mey -also means body) are to be pronounced only after mouth-opening, the influence of 'A' is naturally mingled in them. Its influence is implicitly found in the vowel series, whereas the consonants require the help of 'A' for their pronunciation. This is the position in the Indian languages. The Saiva Siddhanta develops an analogy from this source to elucidate the relationship of God with the souls and matter. God is like 'A'. He is the Primary Being. Souls are like the vowels, and the matter like the consonants. He pervades not only the souls (uyir) but also the matter (mey). If there is no 'A', there are no vowels and consonants. Likewise, if there is no God, there are no souls and matter. This Siddhantic concept has its root in the very first couplet of Tirukkuṟaḷ which illumines that like the alphabets having 'A' as their primary sound, so also the world has the Lord, Ātipakavaṉ, to be its Prime Head.

The Forms of God

The svarūpa state of the Lord denotes that He is the Absolute of philosophy, while His Tatastha state indicates that He is the God of theism.

It is natural to anticipate that the Lord who actuates the cosmic functions should possess some form. Some would think that if He had a form, He should be treated one among the people. Others would argue that if He had no form, the cosmic functions could not be carried out. In reply, Śaiva Siddhanta expatiates that the Lord can function even without form just like the soul that has no form, but animating the body. The Lord manifests Himself in some form not because that He cannot function without form, but because the souls would be benefited of His form. The Lord condescending from His Absolute nature comes to the reach of the souls. This simplicity of the Highest Being is known as *eḷivarutal* in Tiruvācakam and *Śaulabhya* in Viśiṣṭādvaita. "The devotee feels that God is closer to us than breathing and nearer than hands and feet."

He reveals Himself in various manifestations to His devotees under different situations. He even takes the form of a mother-pig at His own Will to feed her young-ones when they lose their mother. Nevertheless, the concept of incarnation (avatāra), one of the central tenets in Viśiṣṭādvaita is not admissible in Saiva Siddhanta. An erudite scholar in the system of Viśiṣṭādvaita observes :

"The vast purāṇic literature is said to be singularly free from any account of Śiva's birth in flesh and blood. It is contended that the author of evolution cannot Himself be subject to that process."[95]

It is said that the Lord appears and disappears at His own Will. His forms are radically different from those of the mortals whose forms are the products of matter (māyā). Since the souls are fettered by āṇava-type of pāsa, they get their bodies from the māya-type of pāśa. Since the Lord by nature is free from the three types of pāśa (viz., *āṇava, karma* and *māya*), His form has no connection with māyā. His own śakti manifests His form. All His forms are the forms of śakti which is grace, intelligence and brilliance all at once. Tirumular declares that love is God.[96]

All the objects have one of the three forms viz., corporeal form (rūpa) , incorporeal form (arūpa) and corporeal-cum-incorporeal form (rūpārūpa). Arūpa is not subject to sense-perception like the ether. It could be knowable through inference. Rūpa form is perceptible like earth. Rūpārūpa form is sometimes perceived and at other times inferred like the air and vapour. Likewise, the Lord's forms are also held to be threefold.[97] There are nine variations in the manifestation of Śiva, due to

the variation in the substrates where He stays for performing the cosmic functions. They are collectively known as '*navam taru pētam*' in Civañāṉacittiyār. They are classified into three groups. Śiva, Śakti, Nāda and Bindu constitute the arūpa forms. Sadāśiva is the rūpārūpa form and it is represented in the form of Sivalinga. Maheśvara, Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahma are the fully manifested forms (rūpa). From Śiva, Śakti arises; from Śakti, Nāda arises; from Nāda, Bindu arises and so on. Among these nine, Śakti and Bindu are the variations of Śakti tattva. Corresponding to the variations in the form of Śiva, the manifestations of Śakti also vary. Thus, Śiva and Śakti, Nāda and Bindu, Sadāśiva and Manonmaṇi, Maheśvara and Maheśvari, Rūdra and Umā, Viṣṇu and Mahālakṣmi and Brahman and Sarasvatī form the Divine couple to initiage the cosmic activities.

It is to be borne in mind that Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahma under reference belong to Sampupakṣa (i.e. the variations of Śiva) while the Trimūrtis belong to Anupakṣa (i.e the group of spiritually evolved souls). This sort of classification is also found in the Tirumuṟais.

Threefold Mūrtas

All the corporeal forms that the Lord has assumed for the deliverance of the souls are classified into three kinds, viz., *Bhoga*, *Vega* and *Yoga*.[98] *Bhoga* means enjoyment. In this manifestation, the Lord with His consort, Śakti is known as the Divine Father and Mother (*Ammai Appar*). Umamaheśvara mūrta belongs to this kind. This form is symbolic of enjoyment, conferring on the souls the earthly pleasures. The Lord Himself sets an example to all species of living beings to live in conjugal life. Saint Tirunāvukkaracar had the vision of God in the pairs of birds and animals when he was exposed to the sacred shrine at Tirvaiyāṟu.[99] The significance of this mūrta is also pointed out by Tiruñāṉacampantar and Māṇikkavacākar.[100] *Vega* means anger. *Vega mūrta* is symbolic of His righteous anger to correct the vicious and wicked people. Among his many heroic deeds, eight are important. They are portrayed in Tirumantiram.[101] They include the burning of the triple flying fortress of the Aśuras, the kicking to death of Yama, the killing of Jalandhara, the subjugation of Ravaṇa, etc. *Yoga* means meditation. The Lord takes Yoga mūrta also. He becomes an ascetic of a very high order. He also becomes an ideal preceptor to instruct the matured souls to attain salvation. The best example of this mūrta is the form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti which is referred

to in Kalittokai and Cilappatikaram. In this form, He revealed the Vedas and Āgamas.

Though the Lord assumes these manifestations, He transcends the universe. Even the purāṇic story that narrates the arduous but vain attempts of Brahma and Visnu (anupakṣa) in search of His origin and end (literally His head and feet) indicates that He alone is the only transcendental Supremen Being.

Aṣṭamūrta

The Lord's eight-fold form (*aṣṭamūrta*) is a recurrent theme in the Tirumuṟais. It includes the five gross-elements, the sun and moon besides the manifold souls. The first seven are material products in which the Lord abides as the inner principle. He is also the inner ruler of the souls. Through this form, His omnipresence is symbolically conveyed. The concept of *aṣṭamūrta* is very ancient.[102] It is noticed in the religion of the Indus Valley Civilization. Paripātal and Maṇimēkalai are the early extant Tamil literature to refer to this form. Kalidasa also extols this form of Śiva.

Adhvāmūrti

The concept of God as *adhvāmurti* is also worth mentioning.[103] *Adhvā* literally means pathway or steps leading one to progress. The Agamas mention six *adhvas*, viz., *mantra*, *pada*, *varṇa*, *bhuvana*, *tattva* and *kalā* to be His manifestation. Thus He is known as *adhvāmurti*. Since He pervades all these six material products, they are figuratively attributed to be His form. Among the six adhvas, mantra adhva is His special form. So, He is also known as Mantramūrti. Mantras are the modifications of the pure matter (śuddhamāyā). They are meant for the contemplation of the devotees to secure happiness and release. Even among the mantras, the five constitute His significant form, since they are the primary ones emanating before all other mantras from Śuddhamāyā. So, He is also known as Pañca Brahma mantra mūrti. This form is hinted in Maṇimekalai also.[104]

Realisation of God

The Meykaṇṭa Śāstra mentions two kinds of knowledge to be the means of realising God.[105] They are the knowledge of the Divine Grace

and the knowledge of the Agamas. The first one is to be directly derived from God. He chooses the ripe soul to impart divine knowledge known as *Patijñāna* or *Śivajñāna*. This is also known as *Tiruvaruḷñāṉam* as per the commentary of Civappirakācam which clearly mentions that the Tevarama Trio, Kāraikkālammai and others received this kind of divine knowledge. *Āgamajñāṉa* is to be obtained as a result of a close study of the Saiva Agamas. However, this is only indirect knowledge of God. The Santānakuravars are the receipients of this kind of *jñāna*.

The limitations of bookish knowledge are clearly pointed out in the Tamil devotional literature. The knowledge of the texts is of little use to the realisation of the Absolute. It is just like seeing a city in a map. Tiruvācakam declares that the bookish knowledge does not make one to apprehend the Reality. He is far away from the sixfold sources of knowledge (i.e. pramāṇas) which are like boats to cross the ocean of Vedas and Agamas.[106] He could not be adequately understood through the principles of epistemology. Intense devotion towards God is a preliminary requisite to realise Him. It is followed by the prescribed ethical preparations. The devotional hymnists have realised Him through devotion and meditation leading to Divine Grace. Because of their spiritual perfection, a thorough transformation took over their body which also attained divinity. It is said that God spoke through them. Their words are the true expression of their divine experience. They are held to be the trustworthy words being the only pramāṇa for the existence of God.

Tiruñānacampantar advises the people not to investigate God through logical means, since He is Self-Effulgent.[107] Tirunāvukkaracar declares : "How could I deny the existence of God who has thrust Himself into the circle of my consciousness.;"[108] Tirumuṟais and the life of the Nāyaṉmārs reveal that sincere service to God and society is the pathway to reach Him. Meykaṇṭaśāstras mention that knowledge obtained through pramāṇas is only *pāśajñāna* (i.e. material knowledge). It is only through *patijñāna* that realisation of God is made possible. Manikkavācakar proclaims that he saw God with his own eyes (perhaps after being possessed by Him).[109] He mentions in many contexts that he received patijñāna directly from the Lord.[110] He indicates also the manner by which he was initiated with the divine wisdom by the Lord Himself in the form of a Guru. He says that there is a way of seeing the reality. It is known as

kāṇumāṟu kāṇal, i.e. seeing in such a way as to grasp the Reality. This way is clearly elaborated in the 11th aphorism of *Civañānapōtam* and its commentaries.[111]

Without the guidance of the soul, the eye could not see an object. The eye serves only as instrument. It cannot see itself. It is inert and a product of matter. If it could see all by itself without the guidance of the soul, the eye in the dead body also should see. It is not so. It is actually the consciousness - force (ātman's cit-śakti) that is inherent with the soul pervades the eye to cognize a thing. Though it is commonly said that the eye sees, actually it is the soul that sees through the eye. The eye is the window of the soul. Thus, the soul helps the eye in two ways, viz., showing and seeing an object (*kāttum upakāram* and *kāṇum upakāram*). God is to the soul what the soul is to the eye. Lord's grace known as śakti pervades the soul, illumines it and reveals the Lord who is the life of the soul. In one of the hymns of Tevāram Divine Grace is extolled to be the eye of the soul (avaṉ aruḷē kaṇ).[112] The luminosity of soul's consciousness-force becomes explicit due to the on-set of Divine Grace. The Lord creates an unquenchable desire (*śivarāga* or *śivakāma*) in such soul to experience Him, and through this desire manifests *Śivānanda*, the eternal bliss.

Conclusion

Śaiva Siddhānta is a theistic philosophy based on revelation. It has a long history and rich literature. Though the Meykaṇṭaśāstras employ logical means to establish the existence of God, the devotional hymns of the Nāyaṉmārs are the authentic source to understand His existence and nature. His intrinsic as well as related characteristics, transcendence and immanence, static and dynamic features, His cosmic functions etc., are delineated in the Tamil devotional hymns and Meykaṇṭaśāstras. Through intense devotion and meditation, one could get Divine Grace which alone could unfold the mystery of God.

References And Notes

1. "That which stands many tests and is finally established is known as *Siddhānta*." Vide, M. Arunachalam, *Saiva Siddhanta* Journal, Volume III (Madras, 1968), p. 91.

   "*Siddhānta* means proved doctrine....... According to Uddyotakara, *Siddhānta* means the knowledge in the specific form of 'ascertaining the true implication of a system' (śāstrārtha-niścaya). Vide, Debiprasad Chattopadhyāya, Gautama's Nyayasūtra and Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya, Part I (Calcutta, 1967), p. 18.

   Though *Siddhānta* is a common name denoting any system of philosophy, it is generally used to denote the Saiva Siddhanta only. Vide, Tirumantiram, 8.15.1., 17, 25, etc.

2. "Dr. Pope, who gave much thought to this system, regards it as 'the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India'... The earliest Tamil works, like Tolkappiyam refers to Aṟivars or the seers who chalked out the path to freedom and bliss... The twenty eight Śaiva Āgamas, especially the parts dealing with jñāna or knowledge, the hymns of the Śaiva saints, and the works of the later theologians form the chief sources of Southern Śaivism" - vide, S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosopphy, Vol. II pp.772-3.

3. R. Ramanujachari, *Saiva Siddhānta*, (Annamalai University, 1948) p.2.

4. A.P. Karmarkar, *The Religions of India*, (New Delhi, 1951) p. 276.

5. *Tirumantiram,* 5.1.3.

6. *Tevāram*, 3.57.10.

7. Ibid. 3.79.6.

   The Karnātaka state is the centre of Vīra Śaivam, a cult especially based on Vīra Agama, one of the nine Agamas mentioned in Tirumantiram. Campantar also mentions that the Vedas, Angas and Agamas are compiled by Śiva Himself. Vide, Tevāram, 3.23.6. Further, he differentiates between Agamas and Mantras which denote the Vedas, Vide, Ibid., 3. 39.2.

8. Ibid. 5.15.4.

9. Ibid. 7.84.8.

10. Ibid., 7.100.8.

11. i. M. Irācamānikkaṉār, *Pallavar Varalaru* (Madras, 1956), pp. 152-3.

    ii. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāñcipuram in Early South Indian History*, (Madras, 1968),p.123.

12. *Tiruvācakam*, 1.4.2.9 - 10, 17-10

    The Agamic concepts such as mummalam, iruviṉai oppu etc., are also found in the text, Vide, Ibid., 2.111-3, 19.7, 30.7, 43.2, 51.9, 30.1. Reference to the five-fold malas is also found. Ibid. 6.29.

13. The second hymn of Tiruvācakam (i.e. Kīrtti Tiruakaval) enlists the sacred places of Śiva. Among them, Mount Mahendra tops the list. The Lord is known as Makentira veṟpaṉ (2.100 - 101), and Cōti Makentiranātan' (43.9) Professor Paul Wheatley has identified this mountain in South East Asia. Vide, His Lecture on "*The Kings of the Mountain*", (Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya, 1980), pp. 1-2.

    But the traditional scholars on the authority of Ramayana of Valmiki and of Kampan and also Sivadharmottra considered that the said Mount existed somewhere in the south of Potiyil Hills.

    Vide, K.S. Navanītrakiruttina Pārati, *Tiruvacakam āraycci pērurai*, (Madras, 1954), p. 74.

    According to Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ, the Mount Mahendra is found somewhere in the Andhra Pradesh. Vide, Tiruvācaka Virivurai, (Madras, 1948), p. 79.

14. *Tiruvācakam*, 1.14.

15. Ibid., 1.34-5.

16. i. *Tirukkaḷirruppatiyār*, 5.

    ii. *Civañāna cittiyār*, 1.2.46; 8.2.13, etc.

    According to Civañāna Muṉivar, Civañānapotam is a translation of jñānapāda of Rourava Agama. But modern scholars differed from him and suggested that it should be an original work in Tamil.

17. *Tirumantiram*, 8.15.28.

    There is a Tamil verse of unknown authorship stating the close relationship of the various scriptures. The substance is this: "The

Veda is the cow and the Agamas are its milk; the *Tevaram* and *Tiruvacakam* are the extracted ghee and Civañānapotam of Meykantār is the relish of the ghee". Tiruñānacampantar also praises the Lord as *Vetavetāntan*, i.e. the essence of Vedas and Upanisads. Vide, *Tevāram*, 3.35.4.

18. *Piṅkala nikantu*, (Madras, 1890), p. 236.

19. *Akanānūru*, 181.

Puranānuru, 6.17-18, 55.1-6, 56.1-2, 11, 91.5-6, 166.1-4.

Maturakkāñci, 453-455.

20. *Manimekalai*, 27. 86-95.

21. Sarva darśana saṁgraha, Chapter VII.

22. This treatise has been critically edited along with the old commentary and with valuable comments by the Siddhanta Scholar, Avvai, S. Duraisamy Pillai and published by the Annamalai University in 1954.

23. Among his eight works, *Unmaineṟivilakkam* is ascribed by Professor Anavaradavinayagam Pillai to Tattuvanātar of Cirkali, though traditional scholars did not accept his view.

24. Ñānāmirutam, 57.1-3.

25. Ibid., 57.4-8.

26. Ibid., 57.9-18.

27. Ibid., 57.19-20.

28. Ibid., 57.21-23

29. i. *Civañānapōtam, Cirrurai*, (Madras, Kalakam Edition, 1981), pp. 8-20.

ii. Civañāncittiyār, (Madras, Kalakam edition, 1973), 1.1-17.

30. i. *Cilappatikāram*, 5. 169.

ii. *Tiruvacakam*, 12.3.

31. K. Sivaraman, *Śaivism in Philosophical Perspective*, (Delhi, 1973), pp. 47-50.

32. *Civañānapōtam*, pp. 15-16.

33. i. *Tiruvācakam*, 3.44, 4.137-141, 5.15, 70; 22.8. etc..

ii. *Civañānapōtam*, p. 16.

34. i. *There can be only one final conclusion*, (Hawaii, Kauai Aadheenam, The Saiva Siddhanta Church, 1983), pp. 11-12.

    ii. *Monism and Pluralism in Saiva Siddhanta*, (Ibid., 1984), pp. 16-20.

35. i. *Civañānapōtam*, p. 16.

    ii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.48, and its commentary by Civañānamuṉivar.

36. K. Sivaraman, op.cit. pp. 112-115.

37. John Hick, *Philosophy of Religion*, (New Jersey, 1973), pp. 71-73.

38. Ñānāmirutam, 58.4-7.

39. Ibid., 58.8-17. It seems that the author refutes the view of Sāmkhyas. Vide, John Davies (Td.), *The Samkhya Karika* of *Iswara Krishna*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 48, p. 66.

40. *Tirukkuṟṟālakkuṟavañci*, (Madras, 1962) p. 119.

41. *Tāyumāṉavar Tiruppāṭal Tiraṭṭu*, eṅkum niṟaikiṉṟaporuḷ, 1.

42. *Kenopaniṣaḍ*, 3.1-12, 4.1-3. Radhakrishnan translation. In this Upanisad, the supremacy of Lord Śiva over the Vedic gods is established beyond doubt.

43. *Tiruttoṇṭar purāṇam*, 34.5.

44. *Tiruvarutpayaṉ*, 53.

45. *Nālatiyār*, 101.

46. Rev. G.U. Pope in his translation of Tirukkuṟaḷ (vide, The Sacred Kural, New Delhi, 1980), pp. 188, mentioned that every Hindu enumeration omitted justice as one of the attributes of God. But, it is a wrong observation for God is praised as Justice in many hymns of Tirumuṟai, e.g. Tevāram, 2.28.2; 5.33.4, 94.6; 6.99.5, 8; Tiruvācakam 29.1.

47. *Tevāram*, 6.54.8.

48. V.A. Devasenapathi, *Śaiva Siddhanta*, (University of Madras, 1974), p. 89. Also vide, *Civañānacittiyār* 2.2.12-16, 30.35.

49. S.N. Kandaswamy, *Timiḻum Tattuvamum*, (Madras, 1976), pp. 331-332.

50. *Tolkāppiyam*, Col. 57.

51. *Tiruccirrampalakkovaiyār*, 8.

52. *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 377.

53. *Tiruvācakam*, 11.1; 7.10.

54. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with Parimēlaḻakar's commentary, (Madras, Kaḻakam edition, 1956), p.6.

55. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with Taṇṭapāni Pillai's Commentary, (Madras, 1956), pp. 1-8. "eṇkuṇattāṉ" being an epithet to Lord Śiva occurs in Tevāram, 5.89.8; 6.16.4; 6.98.10; 7.40.3.

56. i. *Śvetaśvatara Upaniṣaḍ*, 3.11. Radhakrishnan translation.

ii. *Tevāram*, 1.121.1.

57. *Tiruvācakam*, 2.3.

58. V.A. Denasenapathi, *Of Human Bondage and Divine Grace*, Annamalainagar, Annamalai University, 1963, pp. 16-17.

59. Tiruvācakam, .46, 18.1, 22.4, 40.4, 41.6, etc.

60. *Tirumantiram*, 8.9.1.

61. *Tiruvācakam*, 3.40, 111, 27.4, etc.

62. Ibi qd. 3.113, 5.76, etc.

63. Ibid., 1.24, 3.41, 4.204, 7.7, 10.16, etc.

64. Ibid., 3.49, 5.95, 11.4.

65. Ibid., 4.1-9, 5.30, 43, 8.2, 11.14, 41.1, etc.

66. Ibid., 1.41, 73.

67. Ibid., 4.133, 5.70, 7.1, etc.

68. Ibid., 5.91, 22.5.

69. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.44.

70. i. *Tiruvācakam*, 3.5-12.

ii. *Ñanāmirutam*, 55.21-23.

71. *Tiruvācakam*, 1.38, 40, 4.107, 5.50, 25.10, etc.

72. S. Radhakrishnan, (Tr.,), *The Brahma Sutra - The Philosophy of Spiritual Life*, (London, 1960), pp. 53-54.

73. *Tiruvācakam*, 3.116-117.

74. Ibid., 15.5.

75. Ibid., 33.5, 34.4, etc.

76. Ibid., 1.69, 2.2, 22.4.

77. i. *Tevāram*, 3.105.1, 34.4.

ii. *Tiruvācakam*, 1.44; 3.116-7, 20.7; 5.46.

78. *Tevāram*, 5.90.10.

79. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 1.15, 16. Radhakrishnan Translation.

80. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.3.67.

81. Ibid., 5.2.9.

82. Ibid., 1.3.62.

83. Ibid., 1.3.63.

84. i. *Tiruvācakam*, 7.11, 12.

   ii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.36.

85. i. Tirumantiram, 2.9.1-10; 2.10.1-10; 2.11.1-10; 2.12.1-10; 2.13.1-10.

   ii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.37.

86. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Shiva*, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 66-79.

87. i. *Ñanāmirutam*, 62.4-7.

   ii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.37.

88. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.33.

89. *Ñanāmirutam*, 63.1-4.

90. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.31.

91. i. Civañānapōtam, 7.3.44.

   ii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 7.3.

92. V.A. Devasenapathi, *Of Human Bondage and Divine Grace*, pp. 23-24.

93. i. *Tevāram*, 1.11.2.

   ii. *Civañānapōtam*, 2.1.

   iii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 2.1.

   iv. *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyār*, 86.

94. i. *Uṇmaivilakkam*, 29.

   ii. *Civañānapōtam*, 2.1.7.

   iii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 2.1.1.

   iv. *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ*, 1.1.

   This analogy has alread gained currency in the *Tirumuṟais*, Vide,

i. *Tirumantiram*, 7.5.1.

ii. *Tevāram*, 1.88.5; 6.28.5; 7.3.7.

Please see, *Bhagavad Gīta*, 10.33.

95. R. Ramanujachari, op.cit. p. 13.

96. *Tirumantiram*, 1.18.1.

97. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.38. 55.

98. Ibid., 1.2.50.

99. *Tevāram*, 4.21-31.

100. i. ibid, 3.24.1.

ii. *Tiruvacakam*, 12.9.

101. *Tirumantiram*, 2.2.1-8.

102. S.N. Kandaswamy, *Paripāṭalin kālam*, (Annamalainagar, 1972), pp. 34-35.

103. i. *Civañānacittiyār*, 1.2.56-59.

ii. *Kantarkalivenpā*, 60-62.

104. *Manimekalai*, 27.91.

105. *Civappirakācam*, Madras, Kalakam edition, 1975, pp. 39-42.

106. *Ñanāmirutam*, 55.24-27.

107. *Tevaram*, 3.54.5.

108. Ibid. 4.98.1.

109. Tiruvācakam, 3.58.

110. Ibid., 1.32, 2.102, 3.117-124, 5.43, 44, 84-5, 95, 8.12, 18, 10.4, 30.1-7, 31.1-10, etc.

111. i. Civañānapōtam, cirrurai, pp. 142-154.

ii. *Civañānacittiyār*, 11.1-6.

112. *Tevāram*, 6.97.10.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SĀMKHYA AND ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

The quest for the absolute truth stimulated the Indian thinkers to embark on speculations concerning the source and content of the universe. The variation in the conclusions that they derived with regard to the nature of reality after which they strived for contributed to the formation of the different systems of Indian philosophy. These systems are mainly classified into two divisions, viz, the Vedic systems and the Non-Vedic systems. The former systems accepted the authority of the Vedas while the latter systems denied the infallibility of the Vedas and developed their own texts. The Sāmkhya comes under the Vedic systems.

Though the Sāmkhya is included among the homogeneous schools, it represents a significant departure from the main stream of orthodox thought. The acceptance of Puruṣa (self or soul) and Prakṛti to be the two ontological realities and the introduction of the theory of evolution in the place of the concept of creation earmark its individuality in the realm of Indian speculation. The admittance of plurality of souls, the rejection of rituals, the ethics of social equality, the discriminative knowledge between Puruṣa and Prakṛti being the isolation of the soul from the contact of matter are the cardinal doctrines peculiar to this system. Though Kapila (700-800 B.C.) is the traditional founder of Sāmkhya, this system should have existed long before him.

Since the Sāmkhya differs from the Vedic thought in several respects, some scholars strongly advocated a Non-Vedic source of its origination.[1] The presence of Sāmkhya in the Sangam Classics especially in Paripāṭal and other classics like Manimekalai reveals a South Indian tradition of the system suggesting a local origin.[2] In this context, it is appropriate to mention that Badarayana, the author of Vedanta Sutra and Śankara, the eminent commentator of this text and official interpreter of Advaita Vedanta denounced Śamkhya to have run against the Vedic tradition.[3] Such accusations could not prevent Sāmkhya from its exercising a vital influence in almost all the systems of Indian philosophy including the Non-Vedic Buddhism.

Sāmkhya comes very close to Saiva Siddhanta, the history of which goes back to the period of Indus Valley Civilization. According to G.U. Pope, Saiva Siddhanta is the choicest product of the Tamilian intellect. S. Radhakrishnan regarded that the Arivars mentioned in Tolkappiyam are the forerunners of Saiva Siddhanta.[4] Though this system accepted the Vedas as a general source, the Saiva agamas form the bedrock on which the edifice of this system is built up and hence it is known as Āgamānta, as opposed to Vedānta. It is clear that the Indian speculation represents two traditions, viz., the Vedic and the Agamic. The latter one did not receive that amount of attention which is gained by the former from the Indologists. Karmarkar considered that the thoughts of Saiva Agamas are more ancient than those of the Vedas and concluded that the Saiva Siddhanta of the Tamils is the quintessence of the Agamic thought.[5] He opined that the Āgamic thought was native and hence more ancient than the Vedic thought.

The admittance of Satkārya Vāda, the acceptance of the twenty four tattvas being the evolutes from the primordial matter, the idea of triple guṇas, the concept of plurality of souls, the doctrine of karma and transmigration of souls, emphasis on enlightment being the means of release etc., are the significant characteristics found in Sāmkhya and Saiva Siddhanta. After the advent of Yoga philosophy, the concept of god was engrafted in the Sāmkhya which was henceforth called theistic Sāmkhya. So, the principle of triple realities viz. God, Soul and Matter is a striking feature of these two systems. In the field of epistemology also some notable agreement is observed.

The present study attempts not only to compare the similar aspects found in the two systems suggesting a common origin, but also to point out the unique features of Saiva Siddhanta.

With regard to the source materials, the Sāmkhyakārikā of Īśvarakrishna (200 A.D.) is the earliest available text, and for Saiva Siddhanta the Tirumurais and Meykaṇṭa Śāstras (500 A.D. -1400 A.D.) are the authoritative Tamil source which contains the message of Saiva āgamas.

Let us now take up the common aspects one by one and consider their position briefly in the two systems under reference.

Sources of Knowledge

Epistemology plays an important role in the domain of philosophy. Each system developed its own theory of pramāṇas to establish

its own findings. Sāmkhya kārikā (4) mentions three pramānas viz. 1. drṣṭam, 2. anumānam and 3. āptavacanam to be the sources of valid knowledge. The first pramāṇa is also known as pratyakṣa i.e., the direct cognition by the sense-organs. It includes both the indeterminate and determinate perception. Anumāna is inference by logical reasoning. It is of two kinds, viz., the affirmative and negative, based on the affirmative and negative concomitance. In his commentary Vācaspati (900 A.D.) included the five membered syllogism to convey one's inference to others. The third pramāṇa is the trustworthy word of veritable and knowledgeable person. In the commentary of Sāmkhya kārikā, an elaborate discussion on epistemology is made by Vacaspati.

Coming to Saiva Siddhanta, Arulnandi Sivāchāriyār (1250 A.D) a great master of all systems of Indian philosophy has presented the Saiva epistemology in the introductory chapter of his scholarly treatise, Sivañāna Siddhiyār. The aforesaid three pramāṇas are accepted in Saiva Siddhanta. Nevertheless, the definition and classification are different.

According to Saiva Siddhanta, perception is the cognitive energy (jñānaśakti) of the ātman which has a doubt free, errorless knowledge always preceded by indeterminate knowledge and followed by determinate knowledge. It is fourfold:-

1. *Indriya pratyaksa* is the direct perception of the ātman's inherent cognitive energy (i.e. Citśakti) through any one of the five sense organs. This type of valid perception is very similar to the Sāmkhya drṣṭam.

2. *Manasa pratyaksa* is the mental perception, i.e., the determinate perception of the objects with its name, genus, quality, etc.

3. *Svavedanā pratyaksa*: When directed by the five evolutes of Aśuddhamāyā (viz. kāla, niyati, kalā, vidyā and rāga) the intended pleasure and pain become objects of knowledge to the ātman's cit-śakti, subsequently svavedana pratyakṣa takes place.

4. *Yoga pratyaksa* : A perfect yogi because of his constant practice of yoga destroys the intense grip of āṇavamala that obscures the pervasive nature of atman's cit-sakti. In this perception, the yogi is capable of perceiving things of all times and places.

The last three types of valid perception are peculiar to Saiva Siddhanta. Further, it is upheld that atman's ci-sakti alone is the sole pramāṇa.

Anumāna

Again the jñāna śakti (i.e. cit-śakti) of the ātman cognizes an object hidden to view through the means of some symbol or reasoning. It is classified as I. inference for one self and 2. inference for others. Here again, some minor differences are to be found between the two systems.

Āptavacana is known as āgama pramāṇa in Saiva Siddhanta. It is impossible to gather all knowledge only through perception and inference. The dependence on trustworthy words is essential to have a clear understanding of the system. Āgama generally denotes reliable text. But, here it denotes the Śaiva āgamas consisting of three parts viz., tantra, mantra and upadeśa. Here again, one could understand the change in the concept of verbal testimony in the two systems.

Further Saiva Siddhanta subsumed the remaining seven pramāṇas prevalent in other systems of Indian philosophy under the primary ones. Accordingly, abhāva (non-existence) comes under perception, while upamāna (comparison), arthāpatti (presumption), pāriśeṣa (elimination), sambhāva (probability) and svabhava (nature) are brought under inference, and aitihya (tradition) is treated under āgama.

This sort of accommodation is not found in Śamkhya.

The Concept of Soul

Among the common aspects found in the metaphysics of the two systems, the concept of soul is significant. Soul or self is known as Puruṣa in Sāmkhya and Paśu in Saiva Siddhānta. First and foremost let us consider how the Sāmkhya adduced arguments to establish the existence of self.[6]

1. Every substance constituted by units exists for the benefit of a being which is not constituted by units. The aggregate of objects like the body, sense organs, mind, etc, being the products of Prakṛti should exist for the utility of some one, just like a bed which is an assemblage of various things is meant for the person who uses it. Since the products of Prakrti are inert and insentient, there should be some intelligent principle that utilises them. So it is evident that the purpose of evolution is to serve the soul for its enjoyment and realisation of the ultimate goal.

2. Since all the products of Prakrti are made up of three guṇas viz. Sattva, Rajas and Tamas which are insentient, they logically presuppose the existence of an intelligent self who is devoid of the triple guṇas and who witnesses them. All knowable things are objects, and there should be a subject being the knower of the objects.

3. Since the manifestations of Prakṛti are non-intelligent, there should be some intelligent principle to control them, just like a vehicle has the driver to control it. The coordination of all experiences requires the necessary existence of a self characterised by pure consciousness. The self is generally considered to be the ground of all knowledge. If there is no self, no knowledge is made possible. Hence, the ontological reality of the self is inferred.

4. Because the Prakṛti is inert and impossible to experience its own evolutes, there must be some intelligent principle to experience them. Since Prakṛti is bhogyā (- the enjoyable object), there should be bhogta (-the enjoyer).

5. Because there is aspiration and striving for liberation from the limitations of embodied life, there should be an aspirant.

By bringing forth the above arguments based on inference, the Śamkhya proved the realitty of self.

Now, let us pass on to Saiva Siddhanta which puts forth seven arguments to establish the existence of soul.[7] These arguments are being advanced in sucha a way as to refute the views of opposite schools. This could be possible only after a careful survey and scrutiny of other systems. Let us present them serially.

1. The Śūnya is Soul

According to the Śūnyavādins (-Mādhyamika Buddhists), the soul is nothing but void (-Śūnya). They indicate the various parts of body and decide that none of these can be taken to be soul. Apart from the physical organs, there is nothing visible to be known as soul, and hence the soul is a mere void.

The Saiva Siddhanta examines this statement and argues that after eliminating from the body whatever could not be treated as soul, there remains something which could not be identified with the body.

This something which informs that this is not the soul etc, should be the intelligent entity known as soul. Reminding the celebrated argument of Descartes, the eminent exponent of Saiva Siddhanta, V.A. Devasenapathi clearly points out, 'I doubt therefore I exist' and further continues that one cannot doubt one's existence and not exist at all and one exists at least in the act of doubting[8].

The intelligence, that informs that neither the physical nor the psychical aspects of a sentient being are soul, is grounded in the soul. If that informing agent is also taken for Śūnya, then it is just like saying one's mother is barren.

2. The body is soul

According to one branch of Indian materialists (-Cārvakas), apart from the physical body, there is nothing worth mentioning as soul. They viewed that the body itself cognizes objects. Though the sense organs in the body are inert, due to their combination intelligence is emerged out, just like the red colour resulted out of the combination of arecanuts, betel leaves and lime.

For this, the Saiva Siddhantin puts forth its rejoinder that red colour is impossible in the absence of an intelligent being to combine and chew the three things. So also, the mere combination of various limbs in a body does not give rise to intelligence which is possible only if there is some underlying reality.

Further the materialists insists that in the statements like '*I am fat*', '*I am thin*', etc., the physical body is referred to as one's soul. But according to Saiva Siddhanta, fatness and thinness being the feature of body are figuratively ascribed to the soul. Just like saying 'my wife, my house' etc., one says my hand, my leg, etc. In such statements, the possessor is different from the possession. The body is the possession and the possessor should be one, other than body. Since there is no such usuage as 'I am my body' etc, the soul should be different from body.

If the physical body itself can cognize, a dead body which is not deficient in any member of the body must be able to cognize. So, there should be some intelligent principle different from body responsible for cognition.

3. The Sense-organs constitute soul

Another group of Cārvakas considered that the sense organs constituted soul. In their opinion the five sense organs viz. ear, skin, eye, mouth and nose cognise their respective objects viz. sound, touch, light, taste and smell, and hence they are not inert. Further such usages as 'I saw', 'I heard' etc, are many. So, 'I' is to be equated with the sense organs which constituted the soul.

The rejoinder to this view follows thus: One sense organ can cognize only one object, i.e., the ear can hear and cannot do the functions of other sense organs. A single sense organ cannot cognize all kinds of objects, and its faculty is limited to a particular object. In statements like, 'I cognize the sound, light, touch, taste and smell', there are five experiences of cognition. There should be an experient who with the aid of the sense-instruments receives these manifold experiences and their results. That experient is the soul. Since the soul is enveloped by the root-evil āṇava, it could not cognize all the things at once. The evolved soul in whom the grip of āṇava is cast away attain pervasion to have a correct and clear vision of all things.

4. The internal organs (i.e. antahkaraṇa) or the subtle body should be the soul

Another school considered that the internal organs or the subtle body should be taken for soul. But this view is seriously criticised. During the dreaming state, the subtle body (Sūkṣma Sarīra) serves as an instrument to the soul to have dream cognition. But in the waking state, the same subtle body does not cognize the same dream experience. If the subtle body cognizes the same dream experience even in the waking state, there is no delusion or confusion in its awareness.

But the soul does not remain in the same condition. Withdrawal from and return to both internal and external sense organs is a peculiar feature only to the soul and not to the subtle body. Because of this difference, the soul in its waking state recalls its dream experience mingled with some delusion or confusion due to its association with some elements which did not function during the dreaming state. So there should be something which is different from the internal organs, even as it stands apart from the external organs. According to Saiva Siddhanta, both the internal and external organs are but products of matter, the former being

fine and subtle, while the latter being gross and concrete, and hence to be held as inert and so the intelligent reality known as soul is essential to experience the different kinds of cognition.

The internal organs viz., consciousness, intellect, ego and mind being the instruments in the process of cognition are very intimately associated with the souls making the impression that they themselves form the soul. They are to the souls what the ministers are to a king.[9] They serve the soul just like the lamp helping the eye sight. On the attainment of the supreme knowledge of one self and the Lord, it becomes evident that the internal organs are only instruments and not agents.

5. Vital air is soul

Some thinkers contended that the vital air (prāṇa) which is present throughout life cognizes through the sense organs. In the dead body the absence of this prāṇa is observed. So it should be taken as soul.

The refutation to this view runs thus : Since the vital air is inert and material, it could not cognize. If it is capable of cognition, though it is present during sleep, the crawling of reptiles over the body, the entry of thieves in the house etc., are not cognized. It is obvious that the vital air does not have the control over the sense organs, because it is inert and insentient. There should be some intelligent entity which even during the time of sleep causes the respiration of the vital air, reposes itself withdrawing from the contact of all organs both internal and external. And if that entity returns to its wakeful state, the organs commence to function.

6. Aggregate of organs constitute the soul

According to the Buddhists, the five-skandhas representing the psychic and physical aspects constitute the soul. The psychic aspects viz. Vijñāna skandha (the aggregate of consciousness), Samskāra skandha (the aggregate of innate impressions), Vedanā skandha (the aggregate of feelings) and Samjñā skandha (the symbol aggregates) are collectively known as nāmā skandha, while rūpa skandha (aggregate of physical aspects) represents the outer personality of a sentient being.

Since a sentient being is made up of these five skandhas, that being is known as nāmarūpa. Apart from the aggregate of five skandhas, there is no enduring entity known as soul.[10] Just as the collection of trees,

shrubs, plants etc., is taken to be forest, so also the collection of skandhas is to be considered as soul.

This sort of explanation is not agreeable to Saiva Siddhanta. It is fallacious to consider either each one of the physical or psychical organs or their collection to be the soul which is entirely and essentially different from them and which directs them to functioning. Since all the skandhas are products of matter, there should be some intelligent reality to reside in them.

7. Brahman is Atman

The Vedāntin upheld that ātman is nothing but Brahman. In the empirical level what appears as ātman (individual soul) remains as Brahman (Absolute soul) in the transcendental level.

Though ātman and Brahman belong to the same category of intelligent entities, there is a difference in the nature of their intelligence. Brahman knows everything by itself. It is the very essence of infinite pure consciousness, and hence it never forgets. But though the ātman is capable to know, will and do, in its kevala stage (i.e. pre-creation stage) it is in utter darkness due to the conjunction of āṇava. In this stage it does not know itself. It behaves like an asat or inorganic object. In the state of sakala (i.e. the embodied condition) it depends on the sense organs being the products of Māyā for its cognition. It forgets and misunderstands. The knowledge, derived through the material organs is only Pāśajñāna or knowledge of matter. Knowing the self to be other than the internal organs is called as Paśujñāna which is pre-requisite to Patijañāna which descends on the soul during the state of release (i.e. Śuddhāvasthā or mukti nilai) and this divine knowledge is the total illumination and enlightenment for eternal enjoyment.

So, the equation of ātman with Brahman is misleading. It is essential to note that while refuting the opposite views, the nature of soul is also indicated.

From the various arguments to prove the existence of soul or self advanced by Samkhya and Saiva Siddhanta, a fundamental agreement is noticed. Both the systems consider that either the internal organs or the external organs of the body are merely the products of māyā and hence they are non-intelligent, and hence there should be an abiding intelligent principle in the human organism and that principle is responsible for all the activities and experiences. It is known as Puruṣa or Paśu or Ātman.

The Plurality of Souls

Both the systems recognised the existence of plurality of souls First, let us consider the position of Sāmkhya.

Though the puruṣas are innumerable, they are basically alike. Their essential nature is pure consciousness. Only when they lodged in different bodies, due to the intimate association of the intellect, ego and mind, they seem to be tainted. Even bliss is considered only to be a material product of Sattvaguṇa. Its only nature is pure consciousness. Sāmkhya adduces the following arguments to prove the existence of the plurality of souls[11]:-

1. There is difference in the ethical and intellectual content and also in the physical appearance of each and every human being. If there is only one soul that resides in different bodies, then the bodily deformities like deafness, dumbness, lameness, etc., of one person should be found in all. All people are not equally intelligent. The experience of pleasure or pain of a particular person is not shared by others. Birth, growth and death also are different in persons. "The differences of outlook can not be due to the operations of Prakṛti, and so it is argued that there are different witnessing Consciousnes"[12]

2. If the self is one, all should get release if one attained liberation, since this does not happen, the plurality of souls is inferred. If there were a single soul simultaneously residing in various bodies, the activity of a single individual must guide to the functioning of others. Since the activities and experiences differ from person to person, the existence of countless souls becomes obvious.

3. Due to the variation in the grades of association of the triple guṇas, viz., Sattva, Rajas and Tamas being the qualities of Prakṛti, the embodied souls seem to vary in nature. It is held that the souls in the emancipated state are all alike, transcending the triple guṇas.

Saiva Siddhanta also brings forth sound arguments based on perception, inference and verbal testimony to prove the existence of plurality of souls. They are given hereunder:

1. Since births and deaths are perceived differently in different individuals, the plurality of souls is perceived directly. (This idea agrees with that of Sāmkhya).

2. The feelings, emotions and actions differ from person to person. One person desires for a travel, another for rest, and third one for a picture. One is active while another is dull. Because of this difference, the plurality of souls is to be inferred.

3. The scriptures contain portions in support of different kinds of innumerable souls.

The approach in the two systems is mainly empirical. The arguments do not vary much. The grades in the intimate association of triple guṇas is held responsible for the variety of souls in Samkhya while the difference in the degree of triple malas (i.e. āṇava, karma and māyā) with which all activities are connected is the cause for the countless souls in Saiva Siddhanta.

'Ekam Sat' - What does it mean?

The Vedic declaration about the existence of one reality (-Sat) receives different connotations in the Vedānta, Samkhya and Saiva Siddhanta. The first one quoted the Vedic statement in support of Monism. According to S. Radhakrishnan, "The passages of the scriptures which support monism are interpreted as referring to the non-difference of essential properties. They imply non-difference in kind and not homogeneity"[13]. i.e. The essential nature of all souls remains the same. According to Sāmkhya, pure consciousness is the only nature of all souls and this is indicated in the above Vedic statement.

But,[14] the Saiva Siddhanta interprets the same statement to mean that the Lord of Souls (Paśupati) to be one only and not to mean that there is only one soul as held by Vedānta, or its nature is only pure consciousness as held by Sāmkhya. Pure Consciousness is the eternal and intrinsic nature of the Lord, while the soul in its released state imbibes this nature due to the immense grace of Lord.

The Classification of Souls

In Samkhya kārikā III, Puruṣa is said to be neither creative nor created. In Kārikā XI, it is said to be opposite to Prakṛti. It is devoid of three guṇas. In Kārikā XIX, it is characterised as being a witness, a spectator and inactive. In the later texts, a distinction between the transcendental self and the empirical self is drawn. The former is known as Puruṣa, the latter is Jiva. Puruṣa is eternal, pervasive and pure conscious.

It is inactive, immutable and non-material. It has no experience of pleasure or pain. It is neither an agent nor an experient. According to Vijñānabhikṣu (1600 A.D.), the commentator on the Samkhyapravacanasutra, the embodied self (Jiva) is limited by egoism, while the transcendental self is free from all limitations. The activities and experiences belong to Jiva and not to Puruṣa. This sort of classification of souls is alleged due to the influence of Vedānta.

In Saiva Siddhanta, the innumerable souls are classified into three categories on the basis of the number of malas associated with them. Those souls which have only one mala (i.e. āṇava) are known as Vijñānakalas in whom the impure karma and māyā are absent, and those with two malas (i.e. āṇava and karma) are Pralayākalas in whom the prakrtimāyā is absent, and all others having all the three malas (i.e. āṇava, karma and māyā) are classified as Sakalas.

The concept of Prakrti

The second reality accepted in the two systems is Prakrti or primordial matter. It is classified in Saiva Siddhanta as one among the three malas known as pāśa, the other two being āṇava and karma. All these three bind the soul and hence the name paśu to denote the soul. Prakṛti is usually known as Māyā in Saiva Siddhanta. In these two systems, it is not a priniciple of illusion and ignorance as understood in Vedānta but contrary, it is instrumental for illumination of the souls. The unique feature of Saiva Siddhanta remains in the classification of Maya into three types, viz. Śuddhamāyā (pure matter), Miśramāyā (the mixed matter) and Prakṛtimāya (impure matter) in consonance with the threefold classification of souls. The two systems agree in the concept of Prakṛtimāyā and its evolutes. But, Saiva Siddhanta considers that this Prakrti and its products are solely meant for the souls endowed with triple malas (i.e. sakalas). The present world in which we live is the direct outcome of Prakṛtimāya. Since Samkhya did not think of souls of Vijñānakala and Prakṛtimāya types, it did not attempt to postulate two more types of māyā to provide the required accessories to them. Further Prakṛti in Samkhya is not created; it is eternal and the uncaused cause containing triple guṇas. It is the matrix of the manifested world. In Saiva Siddhanta, the Prakṛti of the Śamkhya type is a product from the still further principle *kalā* which in turn is a subtle product from Miśra-māyā.

The Samkhya system puts forth five arguments to establish the existence of Prakrti.[15]

1. All things that we experience are products and hence are limited and dependent. These products depend upon other causes for their production. The essence of these products should have been latent in the material cause. To avoid infinite regress, it is postulated that the ultimate cause must be the uncaused root principle from which the material world is manifested.

2. All individual things possess some common features which are held responsible for producing pleasure or pain. These common characteristics suggest a common source in which they exist implicity in the form of triple guṇas. This common source is designated as Prakrti. While the products are finite and transcient, the root principle should be infinite and eternal.

3. All effects should have evolved out concretely from the abstract principle of primordial matter, which should be the ubiquitous cause of all the products limited in magnitude. The original cause is not pervaded by the effects, but the effects are pervaded by it.

4. Though the essence of the effect and its cause remain the same, the effect differs from the cause and hence the finite world could not be its own cause. The evolved world indicates the necessary existence of a root cause which is Prakṛiti.

5. The unity and continuity of the universe suggest the existence of a single ultimate cause which should hold all the reality, meaning and worth of its effects.

Satkāryavāda is common to Sāmkhya and Śaiva Siddhānta. Out of nothing nothing is produced. All effects are produced out of something possessing the same features implicity. *Though this concept of Satkāryavāda is admitted in the two systems, there lies the striking difference.* According to Sāmkhya, the mere presence of the inactive puruṣa enables Prakṛiti to evolve, just like a filament of iron is attracted by a magnet. But, Saiva Siddhanta points out that since Prakṛti is inert and non-intelligent, the involvement of an all powerful intelligent agency is a must for evolution. In Sāmkhya, the material cause alone is established. But Saiva Siddhanta is rational in anticipating the requirements of an efficient cause and instrumental causes for the evolution of the universe.

From the empirical point of view, anything for its production requires three causes, viz, the material, the auxiliary or instrumental and efficient causes. In the example of a chair, the wood is the material cause and the tools the instrumental cause. If there were no intelligent being or efficient cause in the form of a carpenter, how can the chair be produced or evolved.

In the absence of any one of these three causes, the product is impossible. Though all the three causes are present, there should be the will to produce on the part of the carpenter. In explaining the evolution of the universe, Saiva Siddhanta accepts Prakṛiti to be the material cause and the Lord as the efficient cause and his inseparable Energy (Śakti) and the mūlakarma of the souls as the auxiliary causes.

The Nature of Prakṛiti

Prakṛiti is the uncaused, self-subsistent and independent reality beyond production or destruction It is the root cause of all objective existence. It is constituted of triple gunas viz, Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. In Sāmkhya, the concept of guṇa is different from the one in Nyāya vaiśesika which treated guṇa as the quality of a substance. Sāmkhya considered guṇas not as qualities but as substance of feelings. They are capable of conjunction and disjunction. The guṇas have their own qualities, they are inferred from their effects producing joy or sorrow. Sattva guṇa is luminous and buoyant possessing the power of manifestation, while rajas is the principle of activity and motion influences sattva and tamas to act. Tamas is inertia and heavy and it causes slothfulness and dullness. These guṇas combindly contribute to the evolution of the universe. The Sāmkhya kārikā (13) contains a simile i.e. The triple guṇas interact with one another and function for the sake of Purusa like a lamp. Paramārtha (500 A.D.), a native of Kāñci, who translated the same text in Chinese and also wrote a commentary on it, compares the collective functioning of the triple gunas to the joint functioning of the whick, oil and flame of a lamp in producing light.[16] Though each of these has a different make up, they jointly work to produce light. This comparison is complete in Saiva Siddhanta which we will consider later.

Guṇa also means rope. The three guṇas are intertwined as three strands to constitute the rope of primordial matter which binds the Puruṣas. In the language of Saiva Siddhanta, not only the guṇas of Prakrti but *karma* and *āṇava* are also considered as ropes (i.e. pāśa) to fetter the souls.

In Saiva Siddhanta, the avyakta (unmanifested) state is known as prakṛiti and the vyakta (-manifested) state is guṇatattva. Due to the contact of Energy by Srikaṇṭarudra (-under the authority of the Lord) the triple guṇas arise out of Prakrti. These guṇas are controlled by Trimurthis viz, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Kālarudra, who under the final authority of the Lord perform respectively the cosmic functions of creation, protection and destruction. The qualities of the guṇas are more or less the same found in Śamkhya. Intellectual firmness, efficiency, balanced outlook, g .le behaviour, cleanliness, contentment and sense control are due to sattva guṇa. Indulgence in wordly pursuits, egotism, cruel activities, excitement etc. are the result of rājasa guṇa. Lethargy, lack of contenment, avarice, excessive eating and sleeping etc. are due to tāmasa guṇa.

Sivajñāna Siddhiyār (1250 A.D.), the excellent metrical commentary on the authoritative text Sivajñānabodham of Meykaṇṭār, introduced nine types of guṇas out of the original three by way of permutation and combination.[17] Apart from the primary triple guṇas, there are six derivative guṇas. Due to the preponderance of sattva guṇa over rajas and tamas, two guṇas are derived viz, 1. Sattva rajas and 2. Sattva tamas. Owing to the excessive influence of rājasa guṇa over the remaining two 1. rājasa sattva and 2. rājasa tamasa are derived. Again due to the over whelming influence of tāmasa over the other two guṇas. 1. tamasa sattva and 2. tamasa rajas are resulted. The primary three guṇas plus the derivative six guṇas become nine. These guṇas joining with the buddhi tattva (i.e. intellect) enable the souls in the perception of objective world *just like the lamp illumines the eye to see the objective world.*

Tirujñāṉacampantar (7the century A.D.) clearly denotes the triple guṇas while he describes the immanent nature of the transcendent absolute (11:2,132:5). In other contexts also these guṇas are referred (126:7. 128:18).

A detailed description of the Māya tattva is found in Civajñāna Cittiyār (Cupakkam, 2,3.3); Māya is eternal; formless, one (-single entity), seed of all the universe, non-intelligent, omnipresent, a potency to the Lord and the material cause to the world of enjoyment, sense-organs, body etc., of the souls. It is also personified as the mother-principle (ie. māyāḷ). It is one of the triple malas. Usually it will illumine the soul's intelligence concealed by āṇava and at time it will delude or confuse it. In the latter aspect, it resembles the Māyā of Vedānta.

After having seen about the nature of Prakrti in the two systems, let us proceed to deal with the process of evolution.

Evolutes of Prakṛiti

According to Sāmkhya, Prakṛiti is the equilibrium of the triple guṇas. Due to the interaction of the guṇas, the equilibrium is disturbed and the tension is released under the influence of puruṣa. The preponderance of one guṇa over the remaining guṇas inaugurates the process of evolution.

Mahat is the first product evolved from Prakṛti. It forms the ground of the individual's intelligence. Mahat (-great) is also known as buddhi (-intellect). Though these two words are synonymously used, the first one denotes the cosmic aspect, while the second one refers to the psychological aspect of the individual. Ascertainment and decision are the functions of buddhi. The memories and thoughts of an individual are stored up in buddhi and not in the subsequent evolutes ahamkāra or manas. Like all other products of Prakṛti, Buddhi also has the triple guṇas and accordingly reflects three different qualities and activities.

Ahamkāra, the principle of individuation is evolved from buddhi. It is the basis for 'I'ness and 'My'ness. It decides the mental background of the individuals. It endorses to the self for taking decision the sensations and suggestions given by manas. Ahamkāra is also influenced by the triple guṇas and it is the substance out of which eleven sense-organs and five subtle elements are produced. There are three schools in Sāmkhya which present a slightly different description about the evolutes from ahamkāra. According to Sāmkhyakārikā (22), the aggregate of the sixteen (i.e. 11 sense organs including the internal organ mind and the five tanmātras or subtle essences) are evolved from ahamkāra. The commentator, Vācaspatimiśra (1000 A.D.) classifies ahamkāra into three. From the Sāttvika ahamkāra known as vaikārika, the manas (-mind), the five sense organs and the five organs of action are evolved. The mind is held responsible for explication or differentiation. From the Tamasa ahamkāra known as Bhūtādi, the five subtle elements (-tanmātras) are produced. The Rajasa ahamkāra known as Taijasa plays its role in both and is present in the effects. From the tanmātras, the five gross elements arise.

This account of cosmic evolution is slightly changed by Vijñānabhikṣu, who mentioned that from the Sāttvika aspect of ahamkāra

manas is evolved, while the rājasa aspect produces the five sense organs and the five motor organs. With regard to the evolution of tanmātras, there is no change.

In this context, it is better to point out the Saiva Siddhanta differs from Sāmkhya in designating the Sattva ahamkara as Taijasa and the rajasa ahamkāra as Vaikarika.[18] With regard to the tamasa aspect, the same name Bhūtādi is retained. One more difference deserves special mention. According to Saiva Siddhanta, from Sattva ahamkara the internal organ manas (-mind) and the five sense organs (Jnānendriyas) are produced, while from rājasa akamkāra the five motor organs (karmendriyas) are produced.[19] Since rājasa represents strenuous activity it is porper to think that the motor organs are effected from rājasa ahamkāra.

Sivajñāna Swamigal, the official interpreter of Saiva Siddhanta considers that the Buddhitattva is produced out of guṇatattva (i.e. the explicit form of the implicit prakṛti) due to the preponderance of sattva guṇa over the remaining two guṇas, and the Ahamkāra tattva is produced from Buddhi tattva due to the preponderance of rājasa over the other two guṇas.[20]

Further, the two systems differ in numbering the internal organs (-antahkarana). According to the Sāmkhya of Sanskrit tradition there are only three internal organs. These three have separate functions for their existence.[21] But in the Samkhya of Tamil tradition preserved in the Buddhist epic Manimekalai (450-500 A.D.) there is a reference to the reality of Cittam (i.e. consciousness). Perhaps, Iswarakrishna, the author of Sāmkhyakārikā, thinking that consciousness being the property of puruṣa did not consider it as a separate internal organ. It is clear from the Tamil portion, *"mūlap pqkuti cittattu"* (Maṇimēkalai XXVII-206) that Prakrti and Cittam are synonymously used and from this principle, Mahat (-mān) the cosmic intellect is emanated.

Anyhow in the metaphysics of Saiva Siddhanta the internal organs are four. The fourth aphorism of Sivajñānabodham and the first proposition made therein bear testimony to this fact. Meykaṇṭār's disciple Maṉavācakam kaṭantār also mention all the four antaḥkaraṇas with their specific functions (see, Uṇmaiviḷakkam, 16). His classmate and the primary disciple of Meykaṇṭār Aruḷnandisivam in verses 58,59 and 60 of supakkam mentions the four antakaranas in the order of cittam (citta), putti (Buddhi), akamkāram (ahamkāra) and maṉam (manas) and also

assigns different functions to them. It seems that Aruḷnandi equated cittam with the implicit prakṛiti (*cittamām avviyattam*) and mentions its function to be thinking (*-cintaṉai atuvum ceyyum*). Then he proceeds to present that the Buddhi tattva appears from it. When the virtues and vices of the soul cling themselves to Buddhi according to the law of karma, due to the command of Lord, then the buddhi determines the objects of twofold karmas, subsequently transforming itself into the forms of joy, sorrow and delusion (verse 58). Next, it is said that ahamkāra comes out of Buddhi tattva and it is the cause of egoism and self boasting, identifying itself with the objects claiming 'I' and 'Mine'. (verse 59). In the next verse, it is stated that manas (-mind) is produced out of Taijasa (i.e. Sattva ahamkāra) and its functions are recalling, remembering and doubting the objects.

But it seems that Sivajñāna Swamigal differs from the text and gives his own interpreation stating that cittam is only a modification of manas and it could not be equated with avyaktam.[22] In his Mahābhāṣyam on Sivajñāna bodham he accepts the existence of cittam only as a modification (-virutti) of mind, and he minimises the significance of cittam. But in his small commentary, he gives due recognition to all the four.[23]

It is clear that the 12 Tirumuṟais also furnish sufficient evidences to the concept of four different antaḥkaraṇas. It seems to the present author that cittam also is a synonym to Prakṛti as held by Aruḷnandisivam and this idea is already gained currency in the Tamil tradition of Sāmkhya in Manimēkalai. (XXVII-206)

Āṇava and Ahamkāra

The omission of *āṇava mala* in other systems of Indian Philosophy may be due to the acceptance of the concept of *ahamkāra*. In the common language of the Tamils, the two words are indiscriminately used as if they were synonyms. The difference is to be noted. Āṇava is not a product, it is an eternal evil attached to the soul. Ahamkāra is a product of Buddhitattva. Soul exhausts the potency of its āṇava through the internal organ ahamkāra. So, in the philosophical language of Saiva Ṡiddhanta, the two are treated separately.

The totality of Tattvas

Accroding to Sāmkhya, there are 25 tattvas, viz, puruṣa, Prakrti and the 23 evolutes i.e. Buddhi, Ahamkāra, Manas plus five sense organs,

five motor organs, five subtle elements and five gross elements. Leaving puruṣa, the remaining 24 tattvas are admitted to be ātma tattvas in Saiva Siddhanta. Since these tattvas are created and controlled by Srikaṇṭarudra, the chief of the Ātmas (-sakalas), they are so named. Sivajñāna Swamigal recorded in his elaborate commentary on Sivajñāna bodham three ways of counting the 24 tattvas and the difference is found only in identifying the internal organs.[24] According to one school, the first four are 1. Guṇa tattva, 2. Buddhi tattva, 3. Ahamkāra tattva and 4. Manas tattva. This school did not count cittam as a separate principle. Perhaps they included it with manas. According to another school, cittam, buddhi, ahamkara and manas (-mind) are the first four tattvas. This school considered that guṇa tattva was the explicit form of prakrti, and hence there is no need to count it separately. This view is also found in the Samkhya system. The third school counted Prakṛti, Buddhi, Ahamkāra and Manas.

With regard to these basic 24 principles, the Samkhya and Saiva Siddhanta go hand in hand. Instead of reading the influence of Sāmkhya over Saiva Siddhanta, it is reasonable to postulate a common source for the metaphysics of these two systems.

The Extra Tattvas

Samkhya did not penetrate beyond Prakṛti tattva. but Saiva Siddhanta speculated the existence of two more fine and subtle spheres revolving above this empirical universe, and also contemplated that innumerable souls with subtle and abstract frames are dwelling in those higher regions. As we have already pointed out, the Praḷāyakalas are existing in a higher sphere which is the outcome of seven evolutes of Miśramāyā. The Lord causes the evolution through the instrumental agent Anandadeva.

The first evolute from Miśramāyā is Kālatattva, the time principle. It denotes past, present and future. It is wonder how the supposed early attempt of Sāmkhya to build a systematic theory of evolution did not count the kālatattva. However,[25] Vijñānabhikṣu, the commentator of Sāmkhyapravacanasūtra stated that eternal space and time are the specific modifications of prakṛti and they are of the form of prakrti, or the root-cause of ākāśa. But Saiva Siddhanta reserves a special place for this principle. It commences only in the region of Miśramāyā and penetrates down to the earth of Prakrtimāyā. It is totally absent in the highest sphere of Śuddha māyā. It *may be presumed that Kāla tattva exists around the*

solar system which is held responsible for the time factor. It may also be inferred that the worlds of Śuddha maya exist beyond the solar system. It is said that *kāla* causes the three states of origination, maintenance and absorption of the universe in consonance with karma. Then, the question arises how in the absence of kāla tattva, the cosmic functions take place in the Śuddha māyā prapañca. Perhaps, as it comes downwards to the Prakṛti world, so also it may go upwards also, since it is in the initial position of Miśramāyā as a gateway to the Śuddha maya world. The modificatin of Śuddha.kāla (pure time) is also contenemplated to function in the highest sphere.

The principle of time (kāḷa tattva) fixes the time limit for the indivịdual's lease of life. Saint Manikkavacakar refers to the principle of time thus "*ivai vantupōm kālamē* (5.43). Here, he figuratively mentions that the Lord himself assumes the form of time principle but his statement should not be taken literally, because time is a product of impure matter. The ancient Tamil Grammar, Tolkappiyam clearly stated that the time principle belonged to the primary substance (mutaṟporul). In Paripātal, there is a clear reference to the time principle (13:24-25). Actually it is the first principle (-mutaṟporuḷ) evolved from Miśramāyā and its reality is empirically felt in the day to day activities of the people.

The second evolute of Miśramāyā is the Niyati tattva. Due to the command of the Lord, it allocates the results of the deeds to be experienced by the respective agents. The principle of Niyati is known as muṟai in Puṟanāṉūṟu (192:10). It is equated with ūḻ, viṉai, pāl etc. by Parimēlaḻakar, the learned commentator of Tirukkuṟaḷ (ch.38). Since these principles are all products of the lifeless māyā (-matter), they are also inert and non-intelligent and so they do not have autonomous functioning. Hence, the Lord Himself operates these principles for the redemption of the different types of souls. The references to this concept of God are available in Tolkāppiyam (Col.57) and Tirukkuṟal, (377). The same idea is also found in Tirukkōvaiyār (8).

Māyā is considered to be the primoridal substance that supplies not only the required energies but also the tools that are essential to the souls for the utilisation of the energies. The Lord converts the matter (-māyā) into cosmic energies which are stimulating the inherent energies of the souls that are compressed and constricted due to the intense influence of āṇava, the spiritual darkness.

The soul has jñāna (-cognitive), icchā (-volitional) and kriyā (-conative) śaktis (-energies) inherently; but these potencies are clouded by āṇava, the root evil. They require some stimulus for their functioning. So, the Lord out of mercy creates Vidyā, Rāga and Kalā the three cosmic energies from the Miśramāyā to arouse the inherent energies of the soul, by relieving the restriction due to āṇava. To put it clearly, the internal power of the soul is stimulated by the external power in the cosmos in accordance with the nature of karma of the individual souls. The jñāna śakti of the soul is stimulated by the Vidyā tattva, while the icchā śakti is aroused by the Rāga tattva and the kriyā śakti by Kalā tattva. The illumination of the soul's potency depends upon the nature of the individual karmas. The soul's knowledge, desire and activity are all conditioned by the content of its prārabdha karma.

With regard to the evolution of the three tattvas, kalā is a direct outcome of Miśramāyā. From Kalā, Vidyā tattva is evolved and from Vidyā, Rāga tattva is emanated. Though the usual order of the enumeration of these three tattvas is Kalā, Vidyā and Rāga, a slight change is made here. Only after the soul comes to know the existence of a thing it could desire, to possess it. So, knowledge is followed by desire. Because of desire, the soul acually attempts to acquire the thing, i.e., it engages in the direct action of acquiring it. So, psychologically speaking cognition, volition and conation follow in a sequence. Hence, the cognitive, volitional and conative energies of the soul are eventually influened by the external cosmic energies viz. Vidyā, Rāga and Kalā. Perhaps all the the three may have a simultaneous functioning.

When the soul puts on the coat of the aforesaid five tattvas it is called Puruṣa, the equipped state of the soul to experience the fruits of its karma. Thus the concept of Puruṣa in Saiva Siddhanta is different from that of Sāmkhya which we have already seen. Māyā after causing the five tattvas (viz, Kālam, niyati, kalai, vidyā and arākam) to be evolved from a portion of itself, remains as a separte category, just like a land after subdivision and fragmentation into plots, fields etc. remains as a separate unit.[26] Here we have to consider the view of other sholars also. According to them, the seventh category of Miśramāyā is not a residue of Miśramāyā. It denotes actually the Prakṛti māyā being evolved from one side of Kalā tattva which also produced Vidyā tattva. Then the seven tattvas of Aśuddha māyā are the following : 1. Kāla, 2. Niyati, 3. Kalā, 4. Vidyā, 5. Rāga, 6. Puruṣa and 7. Prakṛti māyā. The first three have the horizontal evolution and the remaining tattvas have vertical evolution from the Miśramāyā.

In the Uṇmai viḷakkam (19) it is said that this māyā obscures and deludes the soul. These seven tattvas are known as Vidyā tattvas, since they are created by Anandadeva of Vidyeśvara group under the authority of the Lord.

The tattvas of Śuddha māyā

Above the region of Miśramāyā world, exists Śuddha māyā prapañca. The Vijñānakalas are residing there. It is devoid of contamination and hence its name. Though it is generally said that in the Śuddha māyā world āṇava and karma are not found with the souls of Vijñānakalā type, it is understood that pure karma and āṇava are existing with the souls. Since these souls reached the zenith in their spiritual sojourn, their karma and ego are refined and purified. Hence, the presence of these two is not generally counted. Since they are bereft of impure karma and āṇava, they are said to posses only one mala, viz, Śuddha maya, i.e., their subtle body is made up of pure matter.

From this pure matter, *sabdaprapañca* and *arthaprapañca* are created directly by the Lord Himself. The first one denotes the world of language, and the next indicates the five Śiva tattvas with a purpose to perform the five cosmic functions viz., creation, maintenance, absorption, allurement and bestowel of grace. The Lord out of his compassion descends from his intrinsic nature (-svarūpalakṣaṇa) and assumes the attributive nature (-tatasthalakṣaṇa) to inagurate the cosmic functions. During this state, among the three absolute energies of the Lord vis., the cognitive, volitional (-or emotive) and the conative energies, there is no change in the volitional energy. It remains in the same condition all throughout during the cosmic functions. Among the remaining two, one preponderates over the other or they stand in equal proportion while the Lord commences the cosmic activities. The immutable Lord causes changes in the substance of premordial pure matter. The all intelligent principle i.e. the Lord comes into contact with the non-intelligent matter through the media of His Divine Energy. So, the Śakti is held responsible for the modifications and change in the matter and also for the Lord's contact with the same. The Lord is not affected by any of these changes, just like the sun that causes the blossoming of the flower, growth of the plants and drying up of the lake is not affected by these changes.

1. Śivam - Nādam (-The Jñāna aspect)

With regard to the modification of Śiva tattvas, first the Lord perceives Śuddha māyā through His cognitive energy and the first modification is effected from it. Since this modification forms the substrate for Śiva, this tattva is known as Śiva tattva. Also this tattva forms the support of the first subtle sound known as Nādam. For this reason it is also called as Nāda tattva.

2. Śakti - Bindu (-The Kriyā aspect)

While the Lord's conative energy affects Śuddha māyā, the second modification is emerged out. Since the second tattva forms the ground for the Lord Śakti, it is known as Śakti tattva. Also this tattva tends support to the second subtle sound *paiśanti* which is otherwise known as Bindu, and hence it is also called Bindu tattva.

3. Sadāśiva tattva (Jñāna and Kriyā in equal proportion)

While the Lord's cognitive and conative energies affect the Śuddha māyā in equal measure, the third modification is affected. This tattva is known as Sadāśivam which is the substrate for Śivaśakti or Sadāśiva. This tattva also provides ground to the third evolved sound Madhyama. Through this potential sound, the Lord creates Vedas and Agamas. This tattva is also known as Sādākya.

4. Īśvara tattva (-More kriyā and less jñāna)

When the Śuddhamāyā is affected very subtlely while the Lord's conative energy preponderates over the cognitive energy, the fourth modification is emanated. Here, the Lord assumes the name Īśvara or Maheśvara and hence the modification that he occupies is known as Īśvarm or Maheśvaram.

5. Śuddhavidyā (- More jñāna and less kriyā)

When the Śuddhamāyā is affected concretely, while the Lord's cognitive energy overwhelms His conative energy, the fifth modification is resulted. Here, the Lord is known as Vidyeśvara and the modification that he occupies is called as Śuddhavidyā, or Vidyā.

Since all the five modifications of Śuddhamāyā are directly affected by Śiva and since they form the substrate for his cosmic activities,

they are named as Śiva tattvas. Since they are the products of Śuddhamāya they are also called as śuddha tattvas.

In the first two modifications, i.e, Śivam and Śakti, the Lord manifests Himself in in-corporeal form. In the third tattva he assumes corporeal cum in-corporeal form. This aspect is well represented in the form of Sivalinga. In the last two modifications, He takes corporeal forms. The first two stages represent the state of absorption, while the middle one is the state of enjoyment and it is also the commencing condition of cosmic functions. Acutally the last two stages (i.e. Maheśvara and Vidyā) directly concern with the cosmic functions and they constitute the state of His authority.

[27]"So all in all there are 36 tattvas recognised in Śaiva Siddhānta, and this number of tattvas is not found in any other systems of Indian philosophy. In addition, there are 60 tāttvikas, most of them are products in the secondary evolution. In the Tevaram of Saint Tirunāvukkaracar (580-660 A.D), there is a reference to all the 96 principles of Saiva Siddhanta (4.252). Even before him, Tirumūlar has noted them in Tirumantiram [2179]. But it is to be borne in mind that the concept of 25 tattvas as held in Sāmkhya is not unknown to our Śaiva Saints who declared that the Absolute transcended beyond all these 25 principles (Tevāram II, 224:4;4.41).

The Doctrine of Karma

The doctrine of karma belongs to the national stock of Indian philosophy. It is shared by the Sāmkhya system and Saiva Siddanta. Nobody can escape the consequences of one's own deeds. The involvement of Sūkṣmasarīra (-subtle body) consisting of the internal organs and the five subtle essences in the transformation of the souls in accordance with the results of karma is a common feature in the two systems. But there is a notable difference. Samkhya ascribes or attributes all actions to the psychical aspects especially the Buddhi tattva and not to the Puruṣa. The self is neither an agent nor an experient. But due to its immediate presence with the matter, it seems to suffer or enjoy. Acutally the joy or sorrow belongs to the matter (i.e. the psychical aspect). Samkhya recognises three kinds of suffering due to evil deeds, viz,

1. ādhyātmika - the physical and psychical pains due to disease and agitation.

2. ādhibhautika - the pains afflicted by the external world.

3. ādhidaivika - the pains caused by suprnatural agencies.

These three kinds of pain are due to the prārabdha karma according to Saiva Siddhanta.

Śaiva Siddhanta classified all karmas into three groups. From the stored up karmas, what we experience at present life is called as Prārabdha. The remaining store is Sañcitakarma. While experiencing the prārabdha, one indulges in fresh karmas known as *agami.* According to V.A. Devasenapathi, *metampsychosis* is not approved in the system[28] Depending on one's own deserts, the soul takes any kind of birth in its long journey known as transmigration. Saint Manikkavasakar clearly pointed out the different types of births that he underwent due to karma, and finally he pronounced about the termination of his transmigration on having the glimpse of Lord's golden feet of grace.[29]

Means of Liberation

Sāmkhya like Buddhism and Jainism did not recognise the Vedic rituals and sacrifices as proper means of salvation, since it held that slaughtering living beings is a transgression of ethical norms. It treated all selves equal, since they are essentially pure and eternally free. Bondage and liberation actually belong to Prakṛti and they are by mistake attributed to the self. Ignorance is the caue of bondage, while discriminative knowledge between self and matter leads the former to detach and disentagle from the iron touch of matter and to return to abide in its own self which is knwon as liberation.

In Saiva Siddhanta, the soul is the agent and experient of the actions and their consequences. If the soul is dumb and inactive there is no difference between matter and itself. The purpose of evolution is not clearly justified in Sāmkhya. In Saiva Siddhanta, the concept of āṇava is introduced to account for the creation of the world. Āṇava is to the soul what verdigirs is to the copper. *It is wonder that this idea of Saiva Siddhanta occurs in Dhammapada, a part of Suttapiṭaka.*[30] Āṇava is characterised as darkness, producing delusion, desire, dejection and desolation. The Lord out of his intrinsic nature of immense compassion creates the universe from Māyā to provide the souls with the necessary equipments so that they could engage in various activities due to the impulse of āṇava, until

the potency of āṇava is completely exhausted. Āṇava is darkness while God is brilliance and hence the real antidote to āṇava is God.

Saiva Siddhanta being a theistic philosophy emphasises that service and worship (-the path of *cariyai* and *kiriyai*) are the preliminaries to attain salvation. Service to Devotees is stressed by Saint Suntarar (8th century A.D) to be the powerful means to secure the grace of God. Yoga (meditation) is the next sādhana. These three means are only steps to attain jñāna (i.e. the divine knowledge, patijñāna). By the constant practice of the sādhanas, the soul gets the balanced outlook and then it is neither annoyed nor elated in adversity or prosperity. While the soul is thus marching towards perfection, the Lord in the form of preceptor appears before him and instructs the nature of the triple realities viz, *pati*, *paśu* and *pāśa* and illumines the soul, ultimately to release the soul from the meshes of karmic world.

In Samkhya, isolation of the self is itself considered to be liberation. In Saiva Siddhanta, not only withdrawal of soul from the clutches of bonds, but eternal absorption with the Absolute is regarded to be the supreme bliss - the summum bonum of life.

The absence of the concept of God is a deficiency in the Samkhya system and that is why it was called as Niriśvara Sāmkhya. Nevertheless, the gap was filled by the introduction of the concept of God by the Yoga philosophy which totally adopted the metaphysics of Samkhya and hence it is known as theistic Samkhya (i.e. Seśvara Sāmkhya). That is why the Sakala āgama Paṇḍita Arulnandiśivam did not include this branch of Sāmkhya in his Parapakṣa for refutation and condemnation.

Conclusion

As a result of a comparative study of Sāmkhya and Śaiva Siddhānta, the common features such as the three fold pramāṇas, the reality of soul and matter, transmigration etc, are pointed out,. Also the individuality of Saiva Siddhanta in the classification of souls and māyā, the postulation of the concept of āṇava and the means of liberation are identified. The concept of God occupies a central position in this system.

Śaiva Siddhānta is a perennial living philosophy original in its content, universal in its outlook and unique in its practicability.

NOTES

1. Gerald James Larson, *Classical Samkhya* (Delhi, 1969), pp. 18-20.
2. Kandaswamy, S.N., "*The Philosophical aspects of Paripātal*", Philosophical Heritage of the Tamils (Madras, 1983), p. 120-127.
3. Kandaswamy, S.N., *Tamilum Tattuvamum*, (Madras, 1976), p. 163.
4. Radhakrishnan, S. *Indian Philosophy*, 9th edition (London, 1971) Vol. II., pp. 722-3.
5. Karmarkar, A.P., *The Religions of India*, p. 276.
6. Radhanath Phukan. (Ed.) *The Samkhya Kārikā of Īśvarakrisna* (Kārika 17 and its commentary) Calcutta, 1960 pp. 92-95.
7. Meykaṇṭār, Civañānapōtam Sūtra 3, and its elaborate commentary Kalakam Edition, pp. 270-286.
8. Devasenapathi, V.A., *Saiva Siddhanta as Expounded in Civañāna Cittiyār and its Six commentaries*, p. 195.
9. Sivañāna pōtam, Sutra 4.
10. Kandaswamy, S.N.

    1. *Buddhism as expounded in Manimekalai*, pp. 367-369.

    2. *Tamil Ilakkiyattil Pauttam*, p. 275.
11. *Sāmkhyakārikā* 18 and its commentary, p. 95.
12. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II. p. 282.
13. Ibid.
14. Sivajñāna bodham with Elaborate Commentary, pp. 115-116.
15. Sāmkhyakārikai 15 and its commentary, pp. 88-89.
16. *Classical Samkhya* p. 177. This idea is also found in the Āḻvār hymns. Vide Mutal Tiruvantati, 1 and Iraṇṭām Tiruvantati, 2.
17. *Sivajnāna Cittiyār*, Cupakkam, verse 57.
18. Ibid., verse, 59.

19. Ibid, verse, 60.

20. *Sivajnana bodham with Elaborate commentary*, p. 188, p. 197.

21. *Manimekalai*, XXVII - 238.

22. 1. *Sivajnana Siddhiyar*, Madras, Kaḻakam edition, 1969, pp. 135-6.

    2. *Sivajnana bodham*, with Elaborate commentary, p. 200.

23. *Sivajnana bodham*, Ciṟṟurai Saiva Thiru. P. Muthiya Piḷlai Edition p. 201, p. 205.

24. *Sivajnana bodham*, Elaborate commentary, pp. 199-206. It seems that the learned commentator attempts to reconcile the apparent difference of opinion on the concept of Cittam between Aruḷnandi Sivam and Umāpati Sivam, the two great apostles of Saiva Siddhanta.

25. *Indian Philsophy*, Vol. II. p. 277.

26. Saiva Thiru. Arunaivadivelu Mudaliar, S. *Cittānta viṉā viṭai* (Dharmapuram Adhinam Publication), p. 281.

27. Tirumantiram : "*ākiṉṟa āṟāṟu aruñcaivar, tattuvamum*" 2179; Also, see ibid, 126.

28. *Saiva Siddhanta*, pp. 179-180.

29. *Tiruvācakam*, Civapurāṇam, 2nd edition, 1: 26-32.

30. Kandaswamy, S.N. *Kappiyakkuṟikkōḷ*, pp. 129-130.

VEDĀNTA IN THE TAMIL CLASSICS OF PRE-SANKARA PERIOD

The first reference to the Vedantic writers is found in Maṇimēkalai [A.D.450 - A.D.500]. The author of this work mentions both Jaimini, the earliest exponent of Pūrva Mīmāmsa and Kṛtakoṭi, one of the earliest commentators of Uttara Mīmāmsa. According to Prof. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, Kṛtakoṭi and Bodhayana denoted the same person who has written the earliest commentary on Badarayana's Brahmasutra[1]. The great Indologist P.V. Kane has endorsed the same view in his learned article, "*Vedanta commentaries before Saṁkarāchārya*"[2]. So, it is clear that Kṛtakoti, one of the earliest commentators of Brahma Sutra has been well known to the epic poet of Maṇimēkalai, who has categorically stated that he has admitted eight sources of knowledge, viz., 1. Perception, 2. Inference, 3. Verbal testimony, 4. Comparison, 5. Presumption, 6. Negation, 7. Tradition and 8. Sambhava or Occurrence. In the Vedantic epistemology, it seems that the earliest exponents should have advocated these eight kinds of pramāṇas for the validity of knowledge. But, when we come to the period of Sivajñāna Siddhiyār (1250A.D.), in the portion of Parapakṣa, i.e. in the chapter on Māyāvāda, the advocate of Advaita has upheld only the first six kinds of pramāṇas[3]. Further, he clearly mentions that Brahman, the Absolute Reality cannot be cognized with the help of these sixfold pramāṇas. Also, Sivaprakāsar in his Vedāntacūḷāmaṇi endorsed the same view. However, Śaṁkara and other interpreters of Advaita Vedanta have accepted only the first three pramāṇas. They finally concluded that the perfect knowledge of the Sastras and anubhavajñāna, i.e. integral and intuitive experience alone would help one to his realisation of Brahman. It is essential to note that in Kaivalya navanītam (1400 A.D.), the authoritative Tamil text on Vedānta, the maximum sources of knowledge have been reduced to three, viz., perception, inference and verbal testimony, in conformity with the standard works in Sanksrit on the subject. However, the author of the Tamil text has stressed on the essential attainment of aparokshajñāna and anubhūti state for the correct cognition of the Absolute Reality.

Next to Maṇimēkalai, Tirumantiram (500 A.D.) deserves to be considered. The author of this Agamic treatise is Tirumūlar, frequently

identified with the earliest founder of Tamil Siddha system. Though the text is said to contain the quintessence of Sivāgamas,in it the various layers of philosophical thoughts are noticed. It is normally considered to be the earliest text on Saiva Siddhānta. In addition,one can find in the text the Tantric cult with all diagrams, incantations, cakras etc., connected with the worship of Śakti. There is reference to Vaishnavism. Neverthless, sufficient materials for the study of Advaita Vedanta are also enshrined in Tirumantiram. It gives surprise that this encyclopaedic text on various speculative and religious thoughts has been included in the list of twelve Tirumuṟai collections of the Saivities, and the author Tirumūlar has been reckoned one among the sixtythree Saiva Nāyaṉmārs, sung by Sundarar, Nampiyandar Nampi and Sekkizhar. Be that as it may.

Let us highlight the salient aspects of the Vedantic thought as embalmed in the Tirumantiram, to establish the fact that long before the advent of Saṁkara, the Advaita philosophy was widely spread in the Tamil country.

Name of the System

Vedānta

In many poems of Tirumantiram, Advaita is generally noted as Vedānta. But, in one poem, Advaita is known by two names, viz., 1. Vedānta and Māyāvāda[4]. It is known as Vedānta, since the philosophy is based on the concluding portions of Vedas, i.e. the Upanishads. It is the essence of Upanishadic teachings. It is interesting to note that Tirujnāna sambandhar (650 A.D.), who lived atleast one hundred years before Śaṁkara, has addressed Lord Siva of the sacrd shrine at Tiṭṭai, as Veda Vedāntaṉ, i.e. the embodiment of Veda and Vedanta[5]. Or, it may mean the Supreme Being who is explored and extolled by these twofold ancient scriptures. Hence, it becomes evident that by the time of the Saiva Apostle Tirujnāna Sambandhar, the usage of the word Vedānta became very significant and also popular.

Since Tirumūlar has used both the words Vedānta and Māyāvāda in the same poem, it seems that they either denote two subschools of the same system, or the same system with a particular emphasis on a specific concept and doctrine, advocated by the adherents of the school, denoted by each term i.e. Vedānta or Māyāvāda. In one poem (229) Tirumūlar defined Vedānta to denote the condition, when one is completely deprived of all desire and thurst.

Since the concept of Māyā occupied a central place in Advaita, it is proper that it has been called Māyāvāda.

Māyāvāda

Māyāvāda originally denoted Mādhyamika Buddhism as expounded by Nagarjuna[6]. It is said that Gauḍapāda has developed the theory of Māyā from the works of Mādhyamika authors. However, "Māyā" has been interpreted differently in the various systems of Indian Philosophy. The exponents of Śāṁkhya and Śaiva Siddhānta upheld that Māyā, or Prakṛti was a positive reality, being the Primordial Matter, out of which the phenomenal world has been evolved. In the Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, the word māyā has been used in the sense of illusion. According to Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā, all the skandhas which constitute the physical and psychical aspects of sentient beings and phenomenal world are but māyā, i.e. void. The pefection of supreme wisdom is considered to be the absolute cessation of all appearance. The exponents of both Śūnyavāda and Vijnānavāda upheld that there was no reality in anything, presented to our cognition. Everything of empirical experience is only fleeting appearance, akin to the dream or magic show, which has been attributed by the Buddhists of these two schools to the principle of Māyā. Hence in the early stage, Mahāyāna buddhism was known as Māyāvāda.

According to Dasgupta, Gauḍapāda was the first Advaitin to work out a system with the help of Māyā doctrine[7]. He asserted clearly and probablyfor the first time among Hindu thinkers, that the world did not exist in reality, and it was only an appearance, i.e. Māyā. However, Māyā with this description has also been depicted in some portions of the Principal Upanishads and hence, it is possible that Gauḍapāda should also have been inspired not only by the works of Mahāyāna Buddhists, but also by the Upanishads. However, in a subsequent period Vedānta came to be known as Māyāvāda, perhaps by the times of Tirumūlar when some early exponents of Advaita advocated the said doctrine forcefully.

In Vedānta, Māyā refers to the illusory appearance of a world, characterised by multiplicity due to the superimposition upon the unitary non-dual reality known as Brahman, by the potency of avidyā (-ignorance). Since the nature of Māyā is indescribable and inexplicable, it is called *anirvacanīya* or *avācya*. It is neither real as the Brahman, nor unreal as the sky- flower. It has bhāvarūpa. According to Vidyāraṇya, the reflection

of Brahman in Māyā of pure sāttvic nature is Isvara, while the reflection of Brahman in Māyā with the preponderence of Rajas and Tamas, is Jīva or the invidituаl self[8]. Māyā evolves a variety of names and forms (-nāmarūpa) which contribute to the stuff and substance of the Universe, i.e. Jagad. Eternal Brahman is concealed by its multiple forms and names. This concealment of Māyā is best illustrated in Tirumantiram[9]. The carved elephant has concealed the wood. Again, it is concealed in the wood. The five gross elements concealed the Brahman. Again they concealed in the Brahman".

The concealment of the real and the projection of the unreal are the two essential powers of Māyā. They are respectively called *āvaraṇa* and *vikshepa.*

Māyā is also called Avidyā, since it confuses and causes ignorance, doubtful and erroneous cognitions. Since Māyā represents the objective side, while avidyā the subjective side of one and the same principle, they are often spoken as one. Even as Brahman and Ātman are one, so also Māyā and Avidyā are treated one. Māyā is the Upādhi, i.e. adjunct of Isvara, while avidyā is the adjunct of Jīva.

Even in the devotional poem Tiruvācakam, an work of 8th century A.D. Advaita is known by the name *"Māyāvādam"*[10]. During the period of Māṇickavāsagar,the exponents of Māyāvāda conducted their boisterious debates like the whirlwind or tumultuous tempest (-Caṇḍa mārutam) and they held sway everywhere. In another passage, Māṇickavāsagar refers to the unmeasurable powers of Māyā which he calls, *"āṟu kōṭi māyā cattikaḷ, vēṟuvēṟu māyaikaḷ toṭankiṉa"*[11] Literally, the passage means six crores of māyā's energies caused multipled and variegated appearances in the phenomenal world.

So, it becomes evident that during 500 A.D. to 800 A.D. Vedānta was widely known as Māyāvāda in the Tamil Saiva texts. In Sivajnāna Siddhiyār (1250 A.D.) there is a section in the Parapakṣa with the caption "*Māyāvādam*", presenting the basic principles of Vedānta, which were current in the period of Aruḷnandisivam. Also in the Sankarpanirākaraṇam of Umapatisivam (1350 A.D.) the presentation and refutation of Māyāvāda are vividly made.

Next, let us proceed to project some of the cardinal tenets of Vedānta as enunciated in Tirumantiram.

The Concept of Tripuṭijñāna

The knower (jñātr), the object of knowledge (jñeya) and knowledge (jñāna) are collectively called Tripuṭi. Though the consciousness of the subject (jñātr) is present in the wakeful and dreaming states (avasthas), in the condition of dreamless consciousness (i.e. suṣupti), cognition of either external or internal objects does not occur. "There exists only a unity where all things melt into one indiscriminate man of sentiency"[12]. According to Gauḍapāda, the ātman is both the cognizer and the cognized, while the objective world subists in the ātman through māyā [13]. Since it is conceived that Ātman alone is real and all duality or plurality is illusion, it goes without saying that all kinds of experiences are nothing but illusory. Hence, it is understood that Ātman, the Jñātr being the one and only entity is alone the Reality, while jñāna is its intrinsic nature (svarūpa), and the objects are only its projection through the association of Māyā. This kind of unity of trinity is elucidated in nine poems of Tirumantiram[14]. In one poem, Tirumūlar clearly mentions that if one offers the flower of one's self to the feet of He (That-avaṉ), the difference of I and He melts away resulting in the realization of one only[15].

Kāraikkāl ammaiyār, a contemporary of Tirumūlar has beautifully expressed in one of her poems, the mystical experience of oneness, dissipating the diferences of duality or plurality of subject and object, finally concluding that all things including the five gross elements have their source in the Absolute and hence the only reality is "He" (i.e. Absolute). The poem under reference runs thus[16]:

> "aṟivāṉum tāṉē aṟivippāṉ tāṉē
> aṟivāy aṟikiṉran tāṉē-arikiṉṟa
> meypporuḷum tāṉē viricuṭar ākācam
> epporuḷum tāṉē avaṉ".

The substance of this unique poem is summarized here below :

> "He is the knower. He is the instructor.
> He assumes the form of knowledge and cognizes.
> He is the knowing reality (-meypporuḷ). He
> is all the objects including the expanding
> luminaries, and ether ".

Thus, It becomes evident that apart from ātman, nothing has independent existence. This poem of Kāraikālammaiyār briefly and beautifully presents the monistic view of triputi jnāna.

Self-realisation

Another significant concept of Advaita Vedānta consists in the advocacy of searching for one's self or recovery of one's reality. This aspect of Vedānta finds better expression in Tirumantiram. "Know Thyself" is the keynote of Vedānta. The ancient Greek thinkers have also expressed similar view. Knowledge of one's own intrinsic nature is the ātmajnāna. Tirumūlar says that if one ralises his own self, he becomes free from destruction[17]. Tāṇḍavarāya swamigal, the great exponent of Advaita, in a later period has endorsed the same idea[18].

Tirumūlar further mentions that after knowing his own self, nothing is left to be known[19]. After the realisation of one's own ātman, there is nothing to be cognized, since his own self projects the whole universe, due to the association of Māyā.

Reference to Mahāvākāya

One more important aspect of Vedānta is the exposition of the Mahāvākya, the Great statement of the Chandogya Upanishad (VI 8-7) proclaiming monism. Let us focus on the position of Tirumantiram which discusses in detail the esoteric significance of the Great statement.

The Upanishadic statement *'Tat tvam asi'* finds the Vedāntic interpretation in many poems of Tirumantiram[20]. He translates the Sanskrit *"Mahāvākya"* into the lucid Tamil *"Pērurai"*[21]. Saint Appar (650 A.D.) calls it "*perumpeyark kiḷavi*". Naccinārkkiniyar, the great classical commentator elucidated a passage in Tirumurukārrupaṭai (294-5), a Sangam poem (200 A.D.) in the light of the Mahāvākya. It is a clear evidence that the Tamil commentators evinced interest in the study of Upanishadic and Advaitic tradition. The great statement of the Upanishad is rendered into "nīatu āṉāy"[22]. This kind of realisation of oneness or non-duality with Brahman has been considered by Tirumūlar to be the summum bonum of life. The role of the divine preceptor Nandi is great in effecting the realisation of oneness. The phrase 'Civam ākkal' in the text indicates the transformation of Atman into Brahman. The same phrase is also found in Tiruvācakam, when Māṇickavāsagar has recorded his rare experience of becoming 'Siva'[23].

In many poems of Tirumantiram, the order of words occurring in the Mahāvākya i.e. '*Tat tvam asi*' has been slightly changed. Tvam occurs first, followed by 'tat'. If one realises the underlying principle of the triple words Tvam, tat and asi, he becomes the Absolute (-parāparam[24]). After leaving his mortal body, i.e. at the time of Videhamukti, he exists as 'Siva'[25].

There is one interesting passage where Tirumūlar has proclaimed that he and God became one[26]:

"*kaṭavuḷum nāṉum oṉrāṉēṉ*"

It is a bold statement which has equivalent in another Mahāvākya of Brahadāraṇyaka Upanishad (I-4-10), "*aham brahmāsmi*". The Upanishadic concept of Ātman-Brahman is aptly communicated in the Tamil passage. Similar expressions are also noticed in the hymns of Tēvāram, when the Saiva saints communicated their rare trans-emprical experiences.

Saint Appar has stated[27] :

" *tāṉum yāṉum ākiṉra taṉmaiyāṉai* "

It means that "He (-Siva) has the nature of assimilating Himself with myself". Saint Sundarar (710 A.D) has beautifully portrayed his mystical experience thus[28] :

"*nāṟrāṉattu oruvaṉai nāṉāya paraṉai*",

The Lord is the fourth state of Tuṟiya, the state of transcendental consciousness. The Upanishad says: "*Śivam Śāntan Caturtham*"

The Tamil phrase "*nāṉ āya paraṉ*" seems to be synonymous with the Upanishadic statement, "*aham brahmāsmi*".

Thus it is clear that the apostles of Saivism had expresssed their unique realisation of oneness in exact and effective language.

Lakṣaṇātraya

Another significant feature of Vedānta consists in the interpretation of the Mahāvākya with the help of the grammatical technique of *lakṣaṇātraya*, which has been employed even by Tirūmular in more than one context. In the popular Vedāntic text, Kaivalya

navanittam (1400 A.D.), a detailed description of the same technique has been presented to drive home the Vedāntic connotation of the Mahāvākya "Tat tvam asi".

According to the grammarians, a particular word conveys the primary sense known as *mukhyārtha* or *vācyārtha.* It is only a literal and direct meaning of the word. In special contexts, the same word connotes an indirect and figurative sense which is known as *lakshyārtha.* By such connotation, the implied sense of the word from the stand point of the interpreter is brought forth.

Lakṣaṇātraya has been rendered by Tirumūlar into lucid Tamil. Thus, jagal lakṣaṇa, ajagad lakṣaṇa and jagadajagal lakṣaṇa are respectively known as 1. viṭṭatu, 2. viṭātatu and 3. viṭṭu viṭātatu in the Tamil tradition[29]. Among them, Tirumūlar has singled out only the third type of connotation to annotate the significance of the Mahāvākya. He has given the popular illustration "*So ayam Devatatta*", literally meaning "He is that Devatatta"[30]. In this statement, the word 'He' denotes a person of his youthful days, while Devatatta refers to the same person of the present period, with sufficient advancement in age. Though the youthful person and the aged man are not exactly identical, their essence (rasa) or the piṇḍa remains the same, indicating that the two are not entirely different, but essentially the one person with difference in adjuncts such as place, age, dress, learning, change etc., Thus, in the interpretation of '*tat tvam asi*', the word '*tat*' denoting Brahman (through vācyārtha) and 'tvam' denoting 'Jiva' (due to vācyārtha) indicate the same unitary sentient entity, due to the application of Jagad ajagal lakṣaṇa. The text discloses the fact that the svarūpa of Brahman transcends all the three lakṣaṇas[31].

Tirumūlar clearly mentions that the Mahāvākya conveys the significant fact of the Jiva with realisation of becoming Paraśiva :

1. "..... *meyyaṟivu*
   ākiya cīvaṉ paracivaṉ āme"[32]

2. "*ākiya cīvaṉ paracivaṉ āmē*"[33]

The Tamil portions cīvaṉ (Jīva) becoming paracivaṉ (ParaŚiva, i.e. Para Brahman) convey both Jīva and Śiva denote the same reality at the Absolute or transcendental level. Let us explore some more Advaitic thoughts as embedded in Tirumantiram.

Some more Vedāntic aspects

a. In one poem Tirumūlar speaks of sevenfold adjuncts (upādhi) of Jīva and the same number of upādhis of Īśvara. The former is known as Kārya Upādhi, while the latter is noted as Kāraṇa upādhi[34].

b. The usage of the words '*Śūnya* (cūṉiyam) and its Tamil equivalent paazh to denote the transcendental reality is found in a section of Tirumantiram[35]. In the language of Tamil Siddhas, the Absolute or the eternal bliss has been indicated by the same words, in conformity with similar expressions in Vedāntic texts.

c. In one poem, Tirumūlar has referred to Nirguna Brahman.[36] He speaks of the three states (avasthatraya) of Jīva. According to him, the state of waking is characterised by satvaguṇa, dream state by rajas and dreamless state by tamas. When one transcends the triple avastha, he realises the fourth and final state, i.e. turiya which is devoid of any of the material guṇas and is identified with Absolute Brahman. In one poem, he calls the Absolute as Śuddha Brahma turiya and also the limitless effulgence embodying turiya[37]. In a subsequentt poem, he mentions that the Absolute is *turiyātīta* and *Śūnya* (paazh)[38]. He equates turiyātīta with indescribable *paazh* i.e. 'Śūnya. In Tiruvācakam also, the Supreme Reality is addressed as Turiya.

d. In the chapters on Sivasvarūpa darśana, Muktibheda and Karmanirvāṇa, Tirumūlar has depicted the essentials of Advaitic mokṣa. He says that the Absolute is Chaitanya (-consciousness); He is Jīva. Like the fragrance is intrinsic to the flower, He is one with jīva. He is beyond the ken of thought.[39]

There is no difference (-bedha) between jīva and civa (Śiva).[40] Turiya state is the original svarūpa.[41] If the realisation of the oneness of jīva and Siva is attained, then the immaculate Nirvāṇa is born.

From the study of the relevant portions in Tirumantiram we come to the conclustion that an active school of Advaita Vedānta should have existed in Tamilnadu, long before the advent of Ādi Śankara.

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MEANS OF LIBERATION IN THE VEDĀNTIC TAMIL LITERATURE

The Tamil metaphysicians with their erudition in the standard scriptures and commentaries, found in Sanskrit have written valuable manuals on Vedānta. Among them Kaivalya Navanītam is considered to be the best. Its author, Tandavaraya Swamigal (A.D. 1400) was a Jivan mukta, lived at Nannilam, near Nagapattinam. In this paper, an attempt is being made to explicate the means of liberation, primarily as enshrined in his text.

The Role of Preceptor

In the spiritual journey, the preceptor is the friend, philosopher and guide to the aspirant. His endearment and involvement in the progress of his disciple speak volumes to his greatness. Kaivalya Navanītam compares the preceptor to a mother who cares much for the wellbeing of her only son. He is of the nature of instructing the sterling qualities such as kindness, friendliness, compassion, liberality, neutrality, forebearance etc., with a view to eradicating the evil elements such as desire, lust, hatred, anger, ego, delusion, niggardliness etc.,

The preceptor closely observes the behaviour of the novice and after satisfied with his requirements to be a student, he gradully initiates him in the discipline of Vedānta philosophy. In order to make him fit to receive the initiation, the preceptor prefers to purify the disciple through the threefold means of dīkṣā. Tāṇḍavarāya quotes three analogies for the special care, associated with the administration of threefold dīkṣās[1]. Each of them elucidates the particular aspect of purification. They are as follows :

1. Like the tortoise, that laid its egg in the shore of a tank, contemplates after some time that it should be evolved into an offspring, the preceptor through his contemplation conceives that the disciple be relieved of the veil of his

self to realise his intrinsic nature. Through this process the *āgāmikarma,* that induces the disciple in the worldly pursuits, is terminated. This kind of mental initiation is known as *mānasa dīkṣā*. It is the common belief that the intensity of thought-power would do wonders.

2. Like the fish that passionately looks at its spawn to yeld its youngone, the preceptor glances at his disciple to the removal of his *sañcita karma.* This kind of visual initiation is called *nayana dīkṣā.*

3. Like the bird that tends its egg with its half-spreading wings to bring forth its offspring, the guru gracefully puts his abhaya hasta on the disciple's head to reduce the potency of *prārabdha karma.* Further he wishes him to succeed in his earnest efforts of involving in *ātmavicāra,* dispelling doubt-ful and erroneous perceptions. This kind of physical initiation is called *sparṣadīkṣā.*

After performing the threefold purifications, the preceptor begins his preaching with the sole aim of extirpating the continued process of transmigration and the attainment of the reality of *Aīmasvarūpa.*

Like the dry rubbish, caught in the whirl wind, he would wander again and again in the illusion of the wheel of time (kālacakra), involved in endless birth and death, until he knew his own real self[2]. "Know thyself" is the primary teaching of the preceptor[3]. There is no death if one who is established in the knowledge of his ownself. The realisation of the unity of Ātman and Brahman puts an end to the process of transmigration. The disciple is properly guided to dissociate himself from the identification with his mortal body. The spectator (*sākṣin*) who experiences the triple states viz., *Jāgra, Svapnā* and *Suṣupti* is the Real Self.[4]

The preceptor adopts the traditional method of instructing the subtle through the gross, the unknown through the known and the remote through the proximate. Tāṇḍavarāya has employed the well-known techniques of *sāka chandra nyāya and sthūla aruntati nyāya* to teach the neophyte the subtleties of Vedānta[5]. Like the

one who enables the ignorant to see the crescent moon after showing the tip of a tree's branch, and also to see the subtle star, *aruntati* after showing the somewhat gross stars, the preceptor guides the disciple first to know the characteristics of gross forms of Jagad and Jivas, ultimately leading him to the realisation of the subtle form of Brahman, being the root cause for all manifestations through the intervention of Māyā, the principle of multiplicity, delusion and illusion. The essentials of Vedānta are effectively and elaborately communicated through the two fold techniques of ad*hyāsa and apavāda.*

Sādhana catuṣṭaya

The fourfold means, which are indispensable and essential for an aspirant to attain the knowledge of the identification of Brahman and Ātman, are orginally discussed by Saṅkara in his elaborate commentry on Brahma Sūtra and in the poems of Viveka Cuḍāmaṇi. They are enumerated in Kaivalya Navanītam and the Tamil version of Viveka Cūḍāmaṇi. Further, the commentators of Kaivalya Navanitam have brought out the spiritual significance of the fourfold *sādhanas* very lucidly.

Tāṇḍavarāya has been emphatic in the efficacy of *sādhanas.* He asserted that those, who could achieve anything without proper means, would not be found in the world. So, he concluded that the devoted aspirant, who practised in full measure all the fourfold means would get the right knowledge, a pre-requisite for *Brahmānubhava.* Let us consider them one by one.

I Nittiya anittiyaṅkaḷ niṇṇayam teri vevekam[6]

This long statement is nothing but the original saying, "*nityānitya vastuviveka*". The fundamental and formative *sādhana* consists in the intellectual capacity to discriminate between the eternal and ephemeral. The discriminative knowledge enables one to grasp that ātman is real and eternal, while body and other material objects are unreal and impermanent. The eternal i.e. *nitya* (ātman) is formless, devoid of parts, indivisible, imperceptible, subtle and unproduced. The non-eternal i.e., *anitya* denotes other than *nitya* i.e., eternal. The physical objects, which are perceptible, possessing forms and parts, subject to division, gross and are

produced are all ephemeral. They commence with Prakṛti and end with body.

The technical terms *nitya* and *anitya* are also respectively known as *satya* and *mithyā*, as noticed in the translated Tamil text Viveka cūṭāmaṇi.

"Cattiyam pirama mēyām cakamitu mittaiākum". What is satya is Brahman and mithyā, the Jagat. This passage seems to be an adaptation of the following off-quoted verse:

"Brahma Satya Jagan mityā Jīva Brahmēvai Naparah"

An additional information in this verse discloses the fact that "Jiva is Brahman and not different from it"

Such a discriminative knowledge should be achieved through the discernment of Vedāntic scriptures. It is essential to develop an unsatiated and unquenching taste for the realisation of Brahman. As a result of this type of discriminiative contemplation, the sādhaka developes a sense for non-attachment towards empirical objects which produce either pleasurable or painful experience.

Now, let us pass on to deal with the second *sādhana*.

II Mattiya ikaparaṅkaḷ varupōkaṉkaḷiṉ nirācai[7]

This lengthy expression is known as *"iham utrārtha phala bhoga virāgaḥ"* in the original. Nirācai (-nirāśā) denotes free from desire. Since desire is considered to be the root cause of all evils and thereby for frequent births, all religions condemned it. It should be rooted out by one's will. This moral code is also called *vrāti*.

The word *pōkaṅkaḷ* (bhogas) denotes the enjoyment of wealth, gold, sensuous pleasure, food, drink etc., Disgust in the objects of enjoyment should not be shortlived, as in the case of *prasava vairāgya, mayāna vairāgya* and *purāṇavairāgya*. It should be a continuous feature. Then only, the *sādhaka* can detach himself from the worldly bondage. He should renounce the objects of enjoyment, which generate both hapiness and sorrow. The contemplation on the lothsome nature of things is essential to withdraw one's sense from the attachment of worldly objects. It is known as *"aruci"* or *"aśusi"*.

The commentator elucidates that like a man who despises the excreta of crow, fallen on his body, one should disgust with the pleasures and objects of enjoyment belonging to this world (-iha) and other worlds of heavenly existence (-paraṅkaḷ), reflecting on the unreal, detestable, sorrowful and defective features of all the objects. Since we are inclined towards worldly things, it is difficult to stop our senses. However, the strict adherence to *aśubha bhāvanā* results in the dispassionate outlook, slowly leading to austere detachment.

So far we have seen the significance of second *sādhana*. Let us move on to discuss the third one.

III Camātieṉṟu āṟu kūṭṭam[8]

The third *sādhana* is a cluster of six moral codes, as expressed in the title. It is called '*samādi saṭka sampatti*" in Sanskrit, i.e. the sixfold spiritual wealth beginning with sama. These principles constitute the essential stage of one's ethical preparation, which is inevitable for the attainment of brahman knowledge. Each of the six injunctions may be presented in the following order.

1. Camam (sama)

According to Maṇḍana, control of the mind is *śama*. Tāṇḍavarāyar defines sama as '*akakkaraṇa tanṭam*', i.e. condemnation of inner organs (*antaḥ karaṇas*). One should withdraw the mind, intellect, ego and consciousness, being the internal organs from their sway over the objects of enjoyment. The commentator explains that atleast even at the time of listening to the instructions of the preceptor, one has to control his mind from its hankering after worldly objects of threefold times, in the capacity as a knower, agent and enjoyer. One should not be carried away by the mind. Subjugation of inner organs is essential for an aspirant for *Brahman-jñāna*. Calmness of mind is required for the pursuit of spiritual life. After knowing the defects and defilements of all objects, one should get back his mind from its speedy ramblings, in order to fix it on the proper goal.

2. Tamam (Dama)

Maṇḍana elucidated that control of the senses was *dama*. Tāṇḍavarāyar defines *dama* as '*puṟakkaraṇa tanṭam*', i.e. condemnation of outer organs. According to the Tamil version of Viveka cūṭāmaṇi, the complete control over the fivefold sense organs and the same number of motor organs which sweep over the objects, is called *dama*. One should be watchful and careful in the check of these outer organs which usually pursue on their own path. Withdrawal of these organs from the contact of external objects is indispensable for the spiritual development.

The commentator explains that atleast during the period of *sravaṇa*, the *sādhaka* is required to station his organs in their own loci, fully listening to the lessons of the preceptor.

Thus, the first two moral codes are to be closely observed for the conquest of both internal and external organs. The control over these organs is required to transform the scriptual knowledge into immediate experience.

3. Viṭal (uparati)

Viṭal literally means abandoning. Its Sanskrit equivalents are *uparati* and *uparāma*. It denotes the extirpation of all the effects of karma which may be good, bad or both, done by thought, word and deed which actually result in confusion.

The commentator elucidates that *vitaḷ* denotes the complete removal of all karmas, both virtuous and vicious, associated with woman, wealth, caste and erroneous identification, without further clinging to the aspirant. If one would not detach himself from the actions and their effects, mental purification, grace of the preceptor and freedom from grief rendered impossible. For those who have practised *sama* and *dama*, the withdrawal from the effects of karma becomes easy.

In the Sanskrit text, *uparati* is reckoned as the fourth, while in the Tamil text, as the third.

4. Cakittal (Titīkṣā)

In is derived from the root *sah*, denoting forbearance. Tāṇḍavarāyar defines *cakittal* to be the endurance, if lust and other

hot passions besieged a person. Even if the aspirant strictly adhered the first three codes, the impressions of his previous experiences associating with lust and other serious feelings and emotions may raise their head again. In such a situation, exercising one's will, they should not be further expanded, but to be slowly subdued and finally curbed.

In Sanskrit, this is known as *titikṣā*. According to Tamil Viveka Cuṭāmaṇi one should not groan on any kind of distress and not make any means to avoid it, but with the heroism of one's firm intellect it should be endured patiently. This kind of tolerance is called *titikṣā*.

The commentator of Kaivalya navanītam explains that one should treat the polarities and dualities on equal footing. He should not be perturbed by cold or hot weather. Pain and pleasure, praise and blame should not disturbe his mind. If one does not delight at pleasure, he does not need to groan at grief. The development of '*sama citta*' is essential. Adversity and prosperity remain the same to the matured *sādhaka*.

Another commentator has elucidated that if one is faced by lust, anger and other adverse passions, he should continuously endure them, thinking that they were the outcome of past karmas (i.e. prārabdha). Further, he advises the aspirant to take cognizance of the unethical mythological characters like *Hiraṇya*, *Rāvaṇa*, *Narakāsura*, *Duryodhana* and others, who met with their destiny due to their own pride and lust. Such a reflection would be an antidote to the strong passions, which are impediments on the way to get purity of heart, profit of guru's grace and removal of sorrow.

Titikṣā is counted as the third member in Sanskrit text and as the fourth in Kaivalya navanītam.

5. Camātāṉam (samādhāna, samādhi)

According to Tāṇḍavarāyar, the contemplation and reflection on the real meaning of the spiritual discourses, transmitted by the preceptor, constituted *samādhāna*. It is actually the meditation on the religious instructions. *Samādhana* is also called *nididhyāsana*.

However, some considered that it denoted the mental condition, arising out of abandoning one's sleep and idleness. *Tamil Viveka Cūṭamaṇi* elucidates that fixing the wavering mind on the pure Brahman, without letting it go astray, through any means is the real *samādhi*, which is also called *samādhana* and also *samrādhana*, meaning complete satisfaction, resulting from meditation and contemplation.

6. Cirattai (śraddha)

Tāṇḍaverāyar defines '*śraddhā* to be the immense and intense faith in the utterance of sadguru and the statements of scriptures. According to Tamil Viveka Cutamani the scripture meant only the pure Vedāntic texts and the teacher, the subtle preceptor. Their words are infallible and efficacious. *Śraddhā* is also the steadfastness of mind fixing in concentration and meditation. It also denotes the limitless devotiom to Īśvara and guru.

Since the epistemology of Advaita Vedānta laid stress only on verbal testimony to be the reliable source of knowledge, the aspirant is advised to believe the teachings of preceptor and the import of scriptural statements.

Thus we have seen the sixfold components of spiritual exercise coming under the third sādhana, known as *samādi saṭka sampatti*.

Next in order, the fourth *sādhana* engages our attention.

IV Muttiyai virumpum iccai (Mumukṣatva)[9]

The *sādhaka* aspires for the removal of all kinds of sorrow and grief and the attainment of supreme and eternal bliss. All religions recommended liberation from the entanglement of earthly existence to be the summum bonum of life. In Indian context, it is the parama purushārtha i.e. supreme objective of life. Tāṇḍavarāyar stresses on the unabated desire to mukti, i.e. release, which is otherwise known as *mumukṣatva*.

Vivekacūṭāmani explains that ignorance is the sole cause for the origination of all phenomena and it is to be removed by its antidote, jñāna. The desire to extinguish bondage due to the onset

of Brahman knowledge is called *mumukṣatva.* It is the intense will for liberation from bondage. Even in Buddhism, Avidyā [-Avijjā] is the first among the ten fetters, to be dishelled by the brilliance of jñāna.

Of the aforesaid fourfold *sādhanas*, each earlier one guides the subsequent one. Thus, they are in a causal sequence. Discriminative knowledge leads one to develop a sense of detachment, which in turn effects complete control over one's subtle and gross sense organs, leading to the abandonment of thirst. As a result, forbearance of strong passions takes place, paving the way for one's reflection on the preachings of guru and subsequently unquenchable interest for the attainment of liberation, from the clutches of empirical life.

Finally, the ethical preparations in the form of fourfold means are absolutely essential for Brahman-knowledge and experience (i.e. *Brahma Jñāna* and *anubhava*).

On Renunciation

Vedānta lays stress more on the ascetic life than on the household life. Though it may be possible for the chosen few to lead perfectly the household life without any attachment like the water on the lotus, devoting much time on the main goal of Brahman-consciousness, there may be impediments on the path of spiritual development. Hence, renunciation has been emphasised to be essential for the total concentration to pursue the Vedāntic way of life. K.N. enumerates four types of renunciation on the basis of mental maturity and capability of the persons who undertake the life of recluse[10]. The are as follows:

1. *Kuṭīcaka* 2. *Bahūdaka* 3. *Hamsa* and 4. *Paramahamsa*

Absence of desire (*virāga*) in any object should be the real reason of renunciation and not any external signs such as donning on ascetic dress, wearing the stringed beads etc. Desirelessness is of three kinds, viz., *manda*, *tīvra* and *atitīvra*. *manda virāga* occurs due to the calamity, arising on the eve of the death of one's wife and children, loss of property etc. In such a desolate state, without any other go, one hates household life and becomes an ascetic. On the other hand, *tīvra virāga* denotes the active

desirelessness. It takes place when one envisages that until the death of his body due to prārabdha karma, he does not desire for wife, wealth, children etc. As a result of tīvra virāga, the first two types of renunciation viz., *kuṭīcaka* and *bahūdaka* occur with the aim of attaining celestial life in the next birth. However, *tīvratra virāga* is the most active desirelessnes, renouncing even the heavenly life to be gained through virtuous path, since such a life is also unreal, bound to disapper at the expiry of one's merit (*puṇya*).

Renunciation will not materialise in the case of *Mandavirāgins*, since their desirelessness is temporary and shortlived. For those with *tīvra virāga*, the first two kinds of renunciation are possible. Among the two, *Kuṭīcaka* is the inferior type of renunciation, since it is meant for the disabled persons who are incapable of undertaking any pilgrimage by walk and who get their food from the members of their family.

On the other hand, the latter i.e. *Bahūdaka* type has been practised by physically strong persons who can travel anywhere without anybody's help to perform the ascetic duties.

The last two types viz., *hamsa* and *pramahamsa* occur due to extreme desirelessness (*atitīvra virāga*). They are the most significant anchorites. He who adopts the first of these two is called *Hamsa*, while the second is called *Paramahamsa*. Among them, there is a difference. Though the first one cannot become a *Jīvanmukta* in this world, he gets mokṣa in Satyaloka i.e. Brahmaloka through the purification of his *antahkaraṇa*, resulting at the dawn of *tattvajnāna*. Nevertheless, the ascetic of paramahamsa type attains *Jivanmukti* during his existence in this very world through Brahman knowledge.

Paramahamsa recluses are also of two kinds, viz., *jiññāsu* and *jñānavān*. Among them, the first one constantly practises any one of the first three among the sevenfold *jñānabhūmis*. The second one exists as a jīvanmukta in anyone of the last four *jñānabhūmis*.

Jiññāsu, who exerts to alleviate the root nescience, is of two kinds. One type of them mentally gives up their wife,

children, wealth etc., being the fetters of spiritual progress and approach the preceptor (*sadguru*) to receive the Vedāntic lessons and engrosses in reflection and meditation, finally attaining *Brahmajñāna*. Another type of *Jijñāsu*, who belongs to any one of the fourfold *varnas*, discharging their obligations without any attachment or expectation of any recompense, is guided by the preceptor in the spiritual process of *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nidhidhyāsana*, attaining *Tattvajñāna*. Thus, it becomes clear that neither household life nor ascetic life procures one jīvanmuktahood which is attained only through non-attachment and desirelessness. Therefore, a family man with complete detachment attains liberation. As such, it goes without saying that a pure recluse without any defilement and attachment becomes *Jīvanmukta* without any doubt.

Finally, the idealistic view of Vedānta is briefly stated at the end of the text,[11] Kaivalya navanitam. The external world is the outcome of the modification of mind. The incessant thoughts of mind cast not onlythe outer world, but the manifold worlds both in nether and upper regions of the entire cosmos. Just like the thread and its effect cloth are implicitly contained in the cotton, the mind and its expansion of world systems, are contained in Ātman. So, one should contemplate that he is neither mind nor its modifications, but actually the all pervasive Brahman which is single, transcending all limits, adjuncts and differences. Those who practise *Śivoham bhāvanā* becomes Śiva himself.

The means for the attainment of *ānandānubhava* are also detailed out in the text. One should completely destroy the modes of *Māyā* viz., *indriyavṛtti*, *manovṛtti* and *avidyāvṛtti*, respectively arising out of three states viz., *Jāgra*, *Svapna* and *Suṣupti*, in order to realise that he is nothing but Brahman. The threefold ways of annihilating these *vṛttis* are also chalked out by the Vedāntins.[12] Let us consider them one by one.

The primary means of controlling the *vṛttis* consist in the firm knowledge that Ātman is the king while the fourfold internal organs, fivefold sense organs and motor organs are his servants (dāsas). One should not become slave to these instruments, instead

they should become under his control. Complete withdrawal of these elements results in the total absence of *vṛttis*. Another method is the exercise of *prāṇāyāma*. Through the control of one's breath, the germination of modes is nipped. It is possible only by means of *jnānābhyāsa*. Destruction of nescience results only on the discernment of Vedic utterances that the cosmos appears like the rope-snake in one's self which is intrinsically the real form of *Paripūrṇa* i.e. Brahman in its perfect nature.

The gross and subtle bodies, (for which ātman which is non different from Brahman forms the locus), their good and bad deeds with their effects of birth and death, heaven and hell, joy and sorrow and the related things are nothing but unreal, caused by *avidyā*. Just like the earth is not soiled and becomes different due to mirage-water, ātman is not defiled by the aggregates of the aforesaid constructed categories. If one knows without any doubt and error that world is nothing but a false appearance in one's self through *avidyā* (nescience), then the source of all unreals being *avidyā* itself automaticallly disappears from him. On the realisation that all products of *avidyā* viz., gross and subtle bodies including the world systems are *mithyā* (-unreal, imagery), their substratum being Ātman becomes transparent to be the embodiment of bliss (*ānandarūpa*). Such kind of realisation is otherwise known as *sarvakāmāpti*. For one, who has discovered his own real form i.e. Ātman as *cit* (knowledge) and *pūrṇa* (the complete all pervasive), should be firm in his realisation. He is unaffected by his thought, word and deed. Like the dream experience becomes unreal if one wakes up from sleep, all the experiences resulting from the trio, i.e. thought, word and deed become unreal on the eve of attaining Brahman knowledge. Thus, one should establish in the firmness that he is the very form of blissfulness (*ānandasvarūpa*), becoming *kṛitakṛtya* i.e. one who has accomplished all deserving actions to be done.[13]

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7. Ibid.
8. Ibid 8-10 pp.21-26 ; Vadivelu Chettiar urai, pp.6-9.
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ADVAITIC INFLUENCE IN MODERN TAMIL LITERATURE

In the history of Indian philosophy, Advaita Vedānta has been considered to be the acme of metaphysical thought. It is mainly based on Sankara's elaborate commentaries on **the Principal Upaniṣads, the Bhagavad Gita** and **the Brahma Sutra. The Central concept of Advaita is Monism,** which propounds that **Brahman alone is the ultimate and absolute Supreme Reality,** and the souls are Brahman, not different from it while the world is illusory. Śankara (A.D. 750), the official interpreter of this system was born at Kaladi, in the Chera deśa and his scholarship in the Tirumuṟai classics of Saiva saints is revealed in his devotional works. Even before him, Tirumūlar (A.D. 500) expounded the essentials of Vedānta in the Tirumantiram, suggesting the existence of a Pre-Sankara school in the South. Even in the later periods, many works on the subject were produced in Tamil. Among them, Taṇdavarayar's **Kaivalya Navanitam** (A.D. 1400) and Sivaprakasar's **Vedanta Cūḷāmaṇi** (A.D. 1700) exerted great influence on the Tamil poets and philosophers.

It is interesting to note that some creative writers of the last and present centuries evinced keen interest in the portrayal of Vedāntic concepts in their works. One should not mistake them to be substitutes for texts on Vedānta. First of all let us consider Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai (1855-1897 A.D.) who has enriched the modern Tamil literature through the creation of his immortal poetical drama, *Manonmaniyam* in which he has delineated the doctrines of Advaita through characterization and narration of the story. He was born in 1855 A.D. at Alapuzhai (Alleppey) in Kerala state in a traditional Saiva family. He had his education in the Maharaja College at Thiruvananthapuram and became Professor of Philosophy in the same institution. He studied Vedāntaunder his preceptor Sundara Swamikal of Kodakanallūr, a reputed exponent of Advaita. To express his gratitude to his guru, he created one character in the drama with the name *Sundara munivar,* the rajaguru of Jivaka Vazhuti, the Pandya king. In the introduction to his unique drama, the author has pointed out that if the readers, with interest to make philosophical study of the drama, treated the whole story a metaphorical expression i.e.

rūpakālaṅkāra, then it would certainly yield a good result to them. Sundaram Pillai himself has interpreted the allegorical significance of the characters, places and some actions. Accordingly Jivaka, the king represents the individual self (-Jiva) acting in accordance with the dictates of those in his company. *Kuṭila,* the treacherous minister who actuated Jivaka to his own tune, is nothing but the personification of Māyāśakti. *Manonmani,* the royal daughter of Jivāka denotes the excellent śuddha tattva, arising at the matured time of liberation of Jivātma. Her immediate confidante *Vāṇi* stands for buddhitattva. Vāṇi's lover, *Natarācaṉ,* is a symbol of *upasanāmurti,* who is the giver of jnāna. *Puruṭottamaṉ,* the royal lover of *Manonmani,* stands for anugraha śakti. Sundaramunivar assumes the role of Jnānāchārya, the embodiment of compassion. Madurai, the capital city of Jivaka Vazhuti, symbolically indicates the mūlasthāna, where Jivatma appears and dissolves. The castle, constructed by Jivaka and Kuṭila at Tirunelveli is the sarira of five fold sheaths (-pañcakośa), being the Māyākārya. The dream experience of Manonmani is the parokṣajñāna, arising out of satva ahamkāra. The dream experience of Purutottamaṉ, the prince of Ceranadu, is the consummation of the grace of Iśvara, the Supreme Lord. The subterraneous passage, constructed by Sundaramunivar, being the causeway for the meeting and subsequently wedding of Manonmaṇi and Puruṭottamaṉ denotes the means of liberation from worldly bonds (-pāśavimōcana) essential for the immediate absolute experience.

Thus, the author's attempt to give a philosophical interpretation deserves our attention. Though he studied Vedānta and gave prominence to Advaitic thoughts in many contexts, his knowledge in Śaiva Siddhānta, that he inherited from his family tradition also cast its mark in some places. For instance, dream-experience is false according to Vedānta. But the same is true in Saiva Siddhanta. Manonmaṇi and Purutottamaṉ, the heroine and hero of the drama never met before, but came to know each other only in the dreams and fell in love with each other, subsequently ending in inseparable union. A compromise between Vedānta and Siddhānta was attempted by great sages and saints like Tāyumāṉavar, and Sundaram Pillai represents this tradition, as attested by one more internal evidence. He has created two disciples of Sundara munivar, viz. *Nishtābarar* and *Karuṇākarar.* The former stands for Vedānta while the latter for Saiva Siddhānta, or atleast a different type of Advaita caring much for the welfare of the fellow beings, even at the loss of his own liberation. Their dialogue,

centering around the impending war and its consequences over the rights of a specific territory between the Pandya king and Cera prince, is really an interlude, purposefully introduced by the dramatist to highlight two different views of worldly existence (vide, Act III, Scene IV). Some salient aspects of the dialogue are presented herebelow to earmark the tone of the two disciples of the Vedānta teacher, Sundaramunivar.

Just then, Nishtabharar returned to wakeful existence from deep samādhi to witness the exited activities of Karuṇākarar to avoid the impending disaster and calamity due to war. He felt that the study of Veda and Vedānta should mould a man to be a non-social recluse, least worried about the activities in the empirical world. Nobody could resist the daily visit of the God of Death to take the innumerable lives. Nobody bothered about the sufferings of all kinds of animate and organic beings. For instance the cry of an insect, caught in the web-net of the cruel hands of a spider is never heeded by anybody. There is no difference between a human being and an insect, though their limbs such as hand and leg vary in size. When one considers the unimaginable expanse of the entire universe, then he will know that his body is immaterial. The whole world, which is said to possess a vast area of 50 crores of Yojanas is nothing but a dot in the entire Solar system. Each of the stars existing in the expanded space is really bigger than the burning sun. If the sun and the galaxy of constellation of stars put together, then it is called one Brahmāṇḍa. It is said that such Brahmāṇḍas are 1,008 in number, which means limitless. All the manifestations in the world including the celestials and gods like Brahma and Vishnu are nothing but a mirage before the Ultimate Reality. If that is true, where we are existing? Who are you? Who am I? What is the place and name? In the bowels of the ocean of Māyā, many many world systems appear and disappear like the bubbles of water. Who could stop it? Who could bear it? So, one should abandon one's worry for the impending danger of battle. The cosmos is the manifestation of Māyā which is nothing but Indrajāla which takes its own course. Those who enter into it are like the gram, caught into the grinder. Even if one weeps or worships, dances or sings, nobody could change the course. If one goes nearer, he would be caught by the potency of Māyā. Under the spell of Māyā, one's education and wisdom become like the light, lit to the blind king and like the twinkling of a person, put in a dark room. So, one should give up the worldly thought. The purpose of renouncing the worldly life, like the one who gives up instantaneously the hot bowel that burns

his hands, is to forget it. If one forgets, then selfness would disappear. If it disappears, then the mind also dies. If it dies, at the very moment dawns the Pratyakṣa prabodha. In that condition, there is no war, no world and no persons. That condition is the state of absolute bliss. It transcends the limits of world and consciousness. The attempt to define it will end just like the story of instructing a blind person that milk is white. So, without excitement one should taste the bliss of *Brahmānubhava*.

On listening to this learned speech of Nishṭābarar, which actually assumes the form of a lecture on the vital tenets of Vedānta addressed to a novice, Karuṇākarar promptly and properly responded. His views on fellow-beings differ widely from Nishṭābarar. They are briefly presented herebelow:

Karuṇākarar never worried about pleasure and other benefits in this and other world. Even at the expense of eternal bliss, he was prepared to go to the succour of the needy. He felt the importance and significance of the grace of the preceptor Sundaramuṉivar. He taught that though the whole world would be false, the flow of grace of his guru was not untrue. He indicated that Nishṭābarar's attainment of samādhi and purification of consciousness were due to the same grace. Before the contact with guru, both were in the routine life, selfish, lusty, arrogant and proud, committed many sins and underwent miseries which all vanishad due to the onset of guru's grace. The sympathy of preceptor over the two novices paved the way to get out of the mire of sensuous life. It was the guru who commanded them to wage relentless war with lust, anger and their allies. He instilled confidence and courage into their veins, when they declined in power to face the incessant attack of the evils.

Karuṇakarar further exposed the human limitations and weaknesses. Consciousness was like the limitless space and it had neither a castle nor a lock. Pançeñdriyas are like poison. The gates to consciousness are not just five but thousands. Within half a second, the innumerable vāsanas arise incessantly to transform the consciousness into a hell. Only with the aid of guru's compassion and grace, the darkness of ignorance was dispelled. In the absence of his beneficial look, renunciation and concentration become impossible. So, Karuṇākarar argued that one should not doubt the grace, even after tasting its effect. Since the divine grace is limitless, it is extended to all. The whole universe exists due to the principle of immense and endless grace which is equated with the

power of gravitation in modern science. This world that exists due to the gravitation of love between fellow-beings is but a training centre to learn and practise kindness and compassion, and not actual machine, created without any purpose. Further he illustrated the same spider analogy, already quoted by Nishṭābarar to indicate the greatness of affection out of which it tempted to feed its offsprings with the preyed insect in its web-net and thus it practised the first lesson in the book of kindness. One should treat the sufferings and sorrows of this empirical life, as a fire to burn the totality of impurities in order to transfer one as glittering gold. Further, he quoted many instances in the manifestations of nature to illustrate the strength of kindness and affection. On hearing the dialogue of his disciples, Sundaramunivar appeared before them and pascified them, stating that what each of them attained was sufficient for him and hence advised them to give up quarrels which were conspicuous only with religiologists.

A careful study of the dialogue between the two disciples reveals two different trends in the field of Advaita, one totally renouncing the world and the other lending a helping hand to fellow beings. Otherwise, it may be proper to think that Karuṇakarar's Vedānta is coloured with some aspects of Saiva Siddhānta, as already noted above.

P.R. Rajam Aiyar's **Kamalāmbāl** *Carittiram* is the first Tamil social novel with Vedāntic thoughts, published in 1896. The social and cultural conditions of the Tamils with their beliefs and traditions are beautifully depicted in this novel. Because of the author's genius, Swami Vivekananda made him the first editor of Prabuddha Bharata. Though he died at the age of 26, he becomes immortal through his wonderful novel, a unique piece of art. Since he was a native of Vathalakundu near Madurai, the whole story is centered around the life of the couple Kamalambal and Muthuswamy Aiyar of Chirukulam, a rural area of Madurai district. The novelist successfully attempted to expose the social foibles, beliefs, manners and customs and also to present different types of characters with good intentions and evil designs. Humour and pathos are the dominant emotions, evinced in this social novel.

In the introduction of the first edition of this novel, P.R. Rajam Aiyar has indicated that the main objective of this novel was to depict the

ups and downs of a person, tossed in the ocean of life, undergoing untold miseries and troubles and finally attaining immaculate bliss. Though the novel as a piece of art has abundant aspects of asthetic significance, the author has a profound message of Vedānta to be effectively and forcibly communicated through this fiction.

Virakti Vairāgya arises in the mind of Muthuswami Aiyar when his beloved son was carried away by some miscrients and lost his younger brother. In addition, he became pauper when his huge investment in business at Bombay was swindled by his partners. To add fire to the fuel, scandal was spread everywhere with regard to his wife, Kamalambal who was once held a paragon of chastity. Bearing the unbearable occurrences with a patient shrug, he developed a sense of detachment, realising the ephemeral and impermanent nature of earthly existence. To get mental solace, he went to Chidambaram to offer worship to Lord Nataraja, the cosmic dancer. Voluntarily and spontaneously he got the blessings of Satchidanda Swamigal, a great anubhūtimān with Vedāntic views. The author describes the personality of this great Jivanmukta in poetic language. He was glorified to be Parameśvara Himself who came to the rescue of Muthusamy, as he did in the past to Saint Sundarar (pp. 237-8). Muthusamy was completely transformed after having a dip in the sacred water of the lotus tank and a dharśan of Lord Nataraja. He followed closely his preceptor Satchidananda Swamigal upto Banaras. In the company of his guru, he experienced what is Reality and enjoyed the unalloyed bliss.

However, the author brings the story to an auspicious and comic end, though it surpassed various levels of tragic note. The lost son of Muthusamy Aiyar was recovered and his property was restored from the cheated partners. To his wonder, he found his wife immaculate and understood that some envious relatives wantonly heaped blames on her. However, he was able to maintain a balanced outlook, unperturbed both in adversity and prosperity and continued to live in household life with his sweet heart, immersing himself in the ocean of jñānānanda (wisdom and bliss).

In the end, the author has written an epilogue directly addressing the audience that Advaitic way of life is possible even one lives in routine life and it is the Absolute that pervades everything both good and bad. All actions ultimately take man to perfection. He instructs that knowing

the temporal nature of life, one should withdraw himself from the transactions of daily life, developing a sense of renunciation and reposing in the eternal through the meditation of *Sivohambhāvana.* Further, he concludes that everyone should exert to attain *Satchidānandasvarūpa,* being the summum bonum of life. In this context, it is essential to note that it is the tradition of Indian writers to create any work with a purpose, not merely to delight the readers, but to elevate them through instructions. All Kāvyas though dealt with the fourfold puruṣārthas, their quintessence consists in the delineation of liberation, variously called as mokṣa, nirvāṇa, realisation, absorption and identification with the absolute, otherwise known as Parampurushārtha. Since great novels are treated as Kāvyas in Kadyarūpa, the present novel following the Indian tradition consummates with the supreme message of Advaita Vedānta.

One more point deserves to be stated. The path of devotion is emphasised in this novel for the attainment of jñāna. Thus, Kamalāmbāl was a good devotee of Rama. Devotional hymns from Saiva Thirumurais are cited through the characters like Muthusamy Aiyar and his preceptor. The mystic experiences of Paṭṭinattār and Tāyumāṉavar are noted in suitable contexts. The author frequently quoted the poems of Tāyumāṉavar to support the views of Vedānta. Like P. Sundaram Pillai, his elder contemporary, P.R. Rajam Aiyar had belief in the reality of dream consciousness, as inferred from his narrative. It may be taken to represent not the classical Vedānta, but popular Vedānta as practised by the people though in an ultimate level, all avasthās vanished for ever, so that the unity of Atman-Brahman is attained.

The greatest among the modern Tamil poets is Mahākavi Subramanya Bharati (1882-1921). He was a devoted Shākta and profound Vedāntin. The Vedāntic writings of Swami Vivekananda inspired him very much. He spent his early life at Banaras, learning the Vedic and Vedāntic works. Later, when he lived in Pondicherry, he was influenced by the Vedāntic thoughts of Arabindo. He was an optimist. His poems and prose works are studded with Vedāntic thoughts which deserve a separate detailed study. However, some significant aspects of his staunch leanings towards Advaita are presented hereunder.

Bharati extolled Śaṅkara in many of his poems. In one poem, he glorified Sankara as one who understood the end of this earthly existence

and instructed others to realise the nature of Reality. In another poem, he praised Vivekananda to be none other than Śaṅkara himself returned to revisit this ancient land. Equally he complimented Swami Abhedānanda, one of the direct disciples of Sri Ramakrishna, who came to fulfil the service of Vivekānanda. Bharati closely followed the true spirit of Vedānta, as practised by these saints. In the introduction to his illuminating poems on "Poyyō? Meyyō?" (Illusion or Reality), he has given his own interpretation of Vedantic life. He elucidates that the religious life of a rich old man, who handed over the responsibility of looking after the domestic duties to his sons, and practised austerities, muttering the poems of Sundarakāndam and Kaṭopanishad is agreeable to him. But, the same way of life is not suited to the poor young boy, who had lost his father, and has to work hard so that he could save family members including his mother and sister. Bhārati does not want to discourage common people to abandon their obligations and to become ascetics. Contrary, he blames the non-social recluses of our country spending their time in repeatedly saying that everthing is illusion. He asks whether the house and lands, bequeathed by the fathers to their heirs are unreal. Is the wife, resembling the gold sculpture who shares in the domestic happiness and sorrow, and nurses the children, also unreal? Are the children illusory? Are the family deities unreal? For those leading family life, Vedānta in its conservative form is not enough. He advises that people should pray to their personal gods, who are essentially one, to bestow on them longevity, health, knowldege and wealth. If one experiences divine light in the triple objectives of dharma, artha and kāma (aṟam, poruḷ and iṉpam), then automatically the fourth end i.e. mokṣa (Vītu) is attained.

After giving his introduction, the poet addresses all sorts of animate and inanimate beings as well as different kinds of actions in the objective world, eliciting answer from them as to their existence either real or illusory. The following is a free rendition of the original poems of Bharati by the present author :

"Oh beings that stand, move and fly!
Are you mere dreams? or, perceptive errors?
Oh you, that one learns, listens and thinks
are only mere illusion? Without
any inner core in you?

Oh sky, tender sunshine and dense grove of trees!
Are you water in mirage? or erroneous perception?
Since what has gone has gone, sunken and faded
like the dream
Am I too a dream? Is this world too false?
Are the thoughts of time, perception and their
decoration too unreal? Are the qualities inherent
in them too unreal?
If the trees of a grove are germinated from a seed,
Is the grove unreal? Will the statement be classified
in the list of meaningful expressions?
If all that we see are bound to disappear,
Can we see all that are disappeared?
Can destiny chase daily the useless unreal?
What we perceive is reality which is not in
non-preception
The subject of perception is Śakti -
This perception is eternal".

After addressing the objective world, finally the poet concludes what is directly seen is permanent. In his words, perception does not denote the result of sensory function, but the immediate experience of Ātman, which is infallible and always true. In the epilogue, the poet asks that if the scorpion is unreal, whether its stinging is also unreal. It is not so. The reality is to be understood not by its appearance but by its core. Since Bhārati was a Karmayogi, he expected people to adopt the path of action to get perfection in earthly and spiritual life. His imaginative narrative "Kuyil Pāṭṭu" is an allegorical poem. The clue to unlock the contents of this metaphysical poem is suggested at the end of this poem, when the poet addressed the scholars to find out even a little scope to interpret the poem in the light of Vedānta.

In many of his poems, he has quoted the Upanishadic Mahāvākya '*tattvamasi*' in its original and Tamil rendition. In *Puthia Āthisoodi,* which is essentially meant for the kindergarten students, Bhārati instructs them

thus: "*Teyvam nī enru unar*" [Feel that thou art god]. If one developed the sense of Advaita, Bhārati exhorted that there was no death. Further, he said that sorrow would not come, if one regarded all beings as the manifestations of god. In a subsequent poem, he elaborated that the reptiles, birds and other animate beings were nothing but god. He even proclaimed that all the inorganic and insentient objects including the sun, moon, stars, clouds, etc.were also god. He claimed that his pen and his letters verily are god.

In his biographical poems, he made references to his Vedāntic preceptors who revealed the reality to him through illustrations, symbols and speech. One of them was Kuḷḷacchāmi who was both a Siddha and Jivanmukta. His teachings enabled Bhārati to grasp at least one root in the tree of Vedānta. It was he who enlightened Bhārati to conceive the esoteric significance of the Mahāvākya which the poet rendered "***nān kaṭavuḷ***" in **Tamil.** It is an equivalent of the Upanishadic statement, **'aham brahmasmi'.** Next preceptor was Govinda Jñāni who, like Buddha practised the perfection of compassion to all beings. He was like a mother in showering kindness to every one. He dispelled illusion. He treated all the things to be god. To the wonder of Bhārati, this preceptor showed his dead father in his own form at one time and also his dead mother at another time. He was greater than all things of the world. He was both a yogi and jnani who relieved him from the fear of death. Bhārati learnt the principles of Vedānta under this preceptor. According to him, 'tat' in the Mahāvākya denoted the name of object that stands before us. All the objects in the world are 'tat', including 'tvam' (-ni). After giving this interpretation, the preceptor added that if people with Advaitic knowledge discharged their duties without discrimination and evil intention, their life would prosper on earth itself. He indicated that fencing and protection, difference and discrimination were the path of the thieves. Further, he reconciled the apparent differences, surfaced in the world religions, viz: Buddhism, Jainism, Parsism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Taoism, Confuscianism etc., and instructed that the hidden truth in all of them remained the same. Impressed by his teaching, Bharati indicated the essence of all religions in the following passage which is nothing but a restatement of the Mahāvākya:

Cāminī; Cāminī; Kaṭavuḷ nīyē;
tatvamasi, tatvamasi; nīyē aḵtām"

The Tamil portion means 'God is you' and 'You are that!' In continuation, he stated that because of the entry of Māyā into the orbit of one's mind, one denied the truth that he was not God. So, he advocated to expel illusion (Māyā) from consciousness and absorb in eternal meditation of *Sivohambhāvana* to attain *Brahmānubhava.*

Another preceptor was Kuvaḷaikaṇṇaṉ, born in a Brahmin family, but treated even the outcastes on a par with other stratas of society. Bharati mentions one more guru, coming from Jaffna who was like a boat to cross the ocean of wisdom. He showered his blessings on Bharati to realise the Supreme reality. So the poet indirectly meant that the guidance of a preceptor was essential to attain liberation.

In yet another poem, Bharati has stated that the knowers of truth would not think of Māyā, which could not exert any harm to them who possessed strong will. Though Māyā would bring crores of army, it could not stand before the fire of clarified, calm and firm mind. Just like the deep ocean is nothing for a man, resolved to die, Māyā is nothing for the heroic jñānis who realised the impermanence of matter. It will not exist at the destruction of duality and also cannot stand without running before the seers of oneness. The realised will not accept the joy, offered by Māyā, just like the lion not receive the crown, given by a dog. The poet dared to hack Māyā to pieces, since he has been armed with jñāna.

In the poems with the caption "nāṉ" (="I"), Bharati beautifully portrays all the objective world, originated from the principle of "I" (nāṉ). It means that all the physical objects do not have a separate existence, apart from one's mind. Since Bharati was an idealist, and also a poet, he imagines that all the organic and inorganic beings in the universe are the manifestations of "I". A free rendition of the poems on *"nāṉ"* by the present author is given below:

I am all the birds that fly in the space
I am all the animals that ramble in the earth
I am all the trees that grow in the forest
I am all the wind, water and sea
I am all the stars that glitter in the sky
I am all the extension of immaculate space

I am all the worms that lie on earth
I am all the poems of Kamban̲
I am all the paintings of artist
I am all the wonderful chambers, city and towers
I am all the sweet melodies of damsels
I am all the collection of all pleasures
I am all the lies of the little people
I am all the mover of all Mantras
I am all the natures of all movable things
I am the creator of crores of Tantras
I am the giver of Śastras and Vedas
I am one who causes them to revolve
I am all the visible groups of power
I am their cause
I am he who conducts the illusion of 'I'
I am he who travels in the brilliant space of wisdom
I am the underlying principle in all objects which is the primal brilliance, shining as one and knowledge'

The Upanishad declared *"aham brahmāsmi"* (I am Brahman). But Bharati stated in the poem under reference that *'nān̲'* (aham-I), being the source of all beings through the intervention of Maya indicated the whole universe with its contents. In other poem, he has noted *'nān̲ kaṭavuḷ'* i.e. 'aham brahmasmi'. It is essential to note that Sri Krishna in Vibhūtiyoga of Bhagavadgita pronounced himself to be the best in every species. His significant statement, *"aham sarvasya prabhava:"* (10.8.). [i.e. "I am the source of all creations"] is relevant to grasp the philosophical import of Bharati's poem. It seems that his poem *'Nān̲'* is an elaboration of this unique statement of Bhagavatgīta. In this connection, it is pertinent to mention that Bharati's erudition in Bhagavadgita is evident from his translation of the text in Tamil. Another modern Tamil poet with multilingual knowledge and Vedāntic persuation was Suddhānandabharati. He was influenced by both Arobindo and Subramaniyabharati. His *Bharata Saktimahākāvyam* bears enough materials for Vedāntic study.

Bhagavan Ramaṇa, the saint of the sacred Arunachala Hills was a Jivan mukta and a great mystic. His original works such as Aruṇāchalapaṉcarattiṉam, Aruṇāchala Navamaṇimālai, Guruvāsaka-k-kōvai, Upadēśa untiyār, Ēkāṉmapañcakam, Ātmapōtam, Nāṉ yār, Uḷḷatu Nāṟpatu etc. are valuable contributions to the field of Advaita in modern Tamil.

Among the Tamil Novelists of our times, Jayakantan seems to be influenced by Advaita. His popular fiction with the title, *"Oru maṉitan oru vītu oru ulakam"* contains some Vedāntic views. But it is not certain that he has ever had a thorough knowledge of the philosophy.

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